

JINNAH PAPERS

PAKISTAN IN THE MAKING

3 June - 30 June 1947



FIRST SERIES

Volume II

Editor-in-Chief

Z. H. ZAIDI, S.I.

M.A., LL.B. (Alig), Ph.D. (London)

QUAID-I-AZAM PAPERS PROJECT
NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF PAKISTAN

**QUAID-I-AZAM
MOHAMMAD ALI JINNAH
PAPERS**

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3 June – 30 June 1947

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Jinnah broadcasting over the All India Radio on 3 June 1947 on the Partition Plan

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Jinnah broadcasting on 3 June 1947

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Mountbatten meeting Indian leaders on 3 June 1947¹

Jinnah with children

Jinnah's Bombay residence

Facsimile of Jinnah's handwriting

¹In the caption to the photograph, 'D' stands for Dickie Mountbatten.

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Number

Muslim Majority Districts of Bengal and Assam 1

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Community-wise Population in NWFP and
Jammu & Kashmir 3

Proposed Sikh State within Unpartitioned
Punjab Province of Pakistan 4

Proposed Non-Muslim Majority Areas in the
Partitioned Punjab 5

Proposed Partition of the Punjab in the event
of Sikhs and the Scheduled Castes deciding to
ally themselves with the Muslims 6

Design of Pakistan Flag as suggested
by Mountbatten but not agreed to by Jinnah

The present volume is the second in the series of *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah Papers*. The earlier volume, which was in two parts, covered the period from 20 February to 2 June 1947. Part I included 525 documents and Part II contained fourteen appendices on issues referred to in Part I. As against Volume I, the present one covers a much shorter period of four weeks, from 3 to 30 June 1947, though the issues dealt with are equally, if not more, important and the pace of events is even faster. In Volume II, ten appendices have also been provided.

In Volume I of the *Jinnah Papers* correspondence relating to Jinnah's assets and other personal matters was not included because it had been decided to compile his private correspondence in a separate volume. It was, however, felt that a separate volume of such documents would make dull and insipid reading. But they serve to remind us that Jinnah was not a statesman only, but a human being coping with family and personal matters, dealing with his business interests and beset by uncertain health. The achievements of the man, with his multi-faceted personality, seem the more heroic in consequence. These documents have, therefore, been included in the present volume. Besides the appendices, this volume contains 353 documents though only 55 were written by Jinnah himself, preoccupied as he was with momentous issues concerning the transfer of power. One wonders if he was always able to find the time to go through all the correspondence he received. However, he did pay attention to personal matters as some of the letters show. The documents have been arranged in chronological order and each one is represented by a distinct number.¹ References to the *Quaid-i-Azam Papers* in the National Archives of Pakistan have been identified by their file numbers. Thus F. 2/15-28 refers to file number 2 and folio numbers 15 to 28. References in footnotes to the QAP documents have been quoted as F. 156/33, QAP.

Documents in the Archives of the Freedom Movement at the Library of the University of Karachi have been referred to as AFM, followed by their file and page number. Thus AFM, 295/2 indicates Archives of the Freedom Movement, Volume 295, page 2. References to documents contained in the Miss Fatima Jinnah Register have been identified as MFJ Register.

Documents in or from the *Transfer of Power* volumes have been referred to as TP, XI, No. 45, 89-94. Other documents have been identified by quoting their source, viz. IOR or Mountbatten Papers. In the present volume we have given cross references to documents already published in the *Jinnah Papers*, Vol. I, Part I. They have been referred to by document number, volume, part and page(s), as will be the case in all future volumes, thus: No. 418, Vol. I, Part I, 743-7. References to the appendices included in Vol. I, Part II, have been given as Vol. I, Part II, Appendix III.1, 32-42.

References to notes at the end of the documents included in this volume are identified by document number. Appendices have been referred to as Appendix III.2 or simply as No. III.2. The page numbers in either case have not been given.

Six maps have been included at the end of the volume. Map 1 shows "Muslim-majority districts in Bengal and Assam" and Map 2 indicates the "Muslim-majority districts in the Punjab" on the basis of notional partition as mentioned in Appendix to No. 1.² Map 3 shows the "Community-wise population in the NWFP and Jammu & Kashmir" as mentioned in Enclosure 1 to No. 117 and is based on the report submitted by A.R. Khan about the "Resources of the Pakistan Areas". Map 4 indicates the "Proposed Sikh State within the Unpartitioned Punjab Province of Pakistan" as mentioned in Nos. 336 and 337. Map 5 shows the "Proposed Non-Muslim Majority areas in the Partitioned Punjab" as also indicated in the documents aforementioned. Map 6 indicates the "Proposed Partition of the Punjab in the Event of the Sikhs and the Scheduled Castes deciding to ally themselves with the Muslims" as mentioned in No. 337. Maps 3 to 6 have been reproduced from the QAP after suitably modifying the descriptive data. The design³ of the national flag of Pakistan suggested by Mountbatten, but not agreed to by Jinnah, appears at the end of the volume. Comprehensive indices of persons and subjects have also been given.

This volume has been compiled in telescoped time, thanks to the unstinted assistance so willingly rendered to me by my colleagues, including the computer staff. I gratefully acknowledge the help and support extended to me by many friends and well-wishers. Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada continues to take a keen interest in the publication of these papers and readily to extend whatever help is requested of him. Syed Zahid Hasan, Finance Member of the Pakistan Telecommunication Corporation, provided an intercom system for the Project. Mehmood A. Ghazi, Director-General, Da'wa Academy, International Islamic University, Islamabad, translated Arabic documents. Hans-C. von Sponeck of the United Nations Development Programme gave us support on many occasions. The British Council, too, has extended help. I also take the opportunity of thanking the management of the Pakistan International Airlines for providing free passages to our researchers. Ulrich Sigwart, my cardiologist at Royal Brompton and National Heart Hospital, London, has proved to be a friend in need as well as a friend indeed. He has looked after me in many a difficult moment, and has managed to keep my heart intact.

I am indeed grateful to M. D. McWilliam, Director, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, who, like his worthy predecessor, Sir Cyril Philips, has continued to take a deep and abiding interest in the Project, as well as offering much practical assistance. My thanks are also due to J. B. Harrison and David M. Blake.

Government procedures not infrequently are irksome and occasionally laggard, leading sometimes to rather unnecessary delays. Maybe, this is a legacy of colonial days, for in 1902 we find even Lord Curzon, Viceroy of India, complaining:

Round and round, like the diurnal revolution of the earth, went the file, stately, solemn, sure and slow: and now, in due season it has completed its orbit....⁴

Government files may not, at times, complete their orbit; the *Jinnah Papers* do. Be that as it may, there are oases, however few and far between, in the desert of officialdom. A Khwaja Shahid Hosain,⁵ a V. A. Jafarey,⁶ a Hasan Zaheer,⁷ an Omar Khan Afridi⁸ or a Syed Fasieh Iqbal⁹ does venture to cut across procedural rigmaroles and manage to deliver the goods. Perhaps, though, they are exceptions to the general rule.

Now that the Quaid-i-Azam Papers Project is well launched on its trajectory and gathering momentum, we expect Government and non-Government agencies to join and help us in paying the long-overdue tribute and homage to the Founding Father of Pakistan.

Z. H. ZAIDI

Quaid-i-Azam Papers Project
National Archives of Pakistan
Islamabad
 3 June 1994

Notes

¹Document Nos. 44-A, 226-A and 299-A which became available at a very late stage during editing could not be allotted a separate number but have been identified by suffixing A to the number of the preceding document.

²Maps 1 and 2 have been adapted from TP, XII.

³See No. 228.

⁴Minute by Curzon, 24 May 1902, *Curzon Collection*, MSS EUR F. 111/247.

⁵Secretary, Culture, Sports and Tourism.

⁶Adviser to the Prime Minister for Finance and Economic Affairs.

⁷Formerly Cabinet Secretary.

⁸Formerly Secretary, Culture, Sports and Tourism.

⁹Formerly Chairman, Standing Committee of the Senate on Culture, Tourism, etc.

No country owes its creation to one man as much as Pakistan does to Mohammad Ali Jinnah. Not only did he found the new State; he animated and organized the movement that culminated in the creation of Pakistan. It was he who transformed a hopelessly divided community into a politically vibrant and motivated people with a sense of direction and a determined and unwavering pursuit of its destiny. In the space of a few years he imbued them with an indomitable spirit and a resolute will to realise the goal their great leader had set. The first to felicitate her illustrious father following the announcement of the 3 June Plan¹ (hereafter referred to as the Plan) was his own daughter, Dina, who out of filial pride wrote:

I must say that it is wonderful what you have achieved in these last few years and I feel so proud and happy for you.

You have been the only man in India of late who has been a realist and a(n) honest and brilliant tactician.... Although you have not achieved everything you want, you have come a very long way.... Ahead of you now lies the greatest task, of putting into operation Pakistan. I know you will succeed.²

Jinnah had indeed "come a very long way" in an incredibly short time. He had stayed the course and stymied the machinations of both the British and the Congress designed to avert the division of India and the creation of Pakistan. It was a Herculean effort against a formidable and fierce opposition. This "brilliant tactician" had fought almost single-handed and won against all the odds a national homeland for the Muslims of India—a political triumph without precedent in modern history.

Finally persuaded that there was no alternative to the transference of power in India, the British Government announced on 20 February 1947³ their "definite intention" to transfer power not later than June 1948. As a sequel to that announcement, the British Government, on 3 June 1947, issued a policy statement which, in the event, paved the way for the partition of India on 15 August 1947. A comprehensive document, it embraced various aspects of the transfer of power: it anticipated and laid down modalities for resolving problems that were bound to arise as a result of the division of India in an atmosphere charged with communal discord and bitterness that were soon to engulf the country into violence and bloodshed on a large scale.

The cardinal principle underlying the Plan was to put the onus of partition on the Indians themselves. Even at that late hour—perhaps as a sop to the protagonists of a united India—the British Government indulged in wishful thinking by declaring that the Plan did not "preclude negotiations between communities for a united India".⁴ In fact, Mountbatten, in his broadcast on 3 June, said that "a unified India would be by far the best solution of the problem".⁵

In order to implement the provisions pertaining to the partition of Bengal and the Punjab as envisaged by the Plan, it was laid down that the provincial legislative assemblies would meet separately in two parts, one representing the Muslim majority districts and the other non-Muslim majority areas (on the basis of the 1941 Census), to decide on partition or otherwise by a simple majority vote. A Boundary Commission would be set up to demarcate the boundaries of the partitioned provinces for "ascertaining the contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims" taking into consideration "other factors" also. What these "other factors" were was left vague. The apparent ambiguity of this clause and the resulting consequences in demarcating the boundaries of Pakistan, though known to V. P. Menon and the British officers, were not then realised fully by the Muslim League. When Jinnah and Liaquat accepted this clause, they might have been under the impression that the Muslim League would profit by it inasmuch as "other factors" might help bring all contiguous Muslim majority areas into the fold of Pakistan.

While Sindh presented no difficulty, the position of the NWFP was exceptional in that two of its three representatives were already participating in the Constituent Assembly which the ML had boycotted. Moreover, a Congress Ministry was in power which pressed their demand for the option of Independence.⁶ The future of the NWFP was to be determined through a referendum only after the Punjab had voted for partition. If Bengal also voted for partition, a similar exercise was to be conducted in Sylhet District which was contiguous to Bengal and was predominantly Muslim. As regards Balochistan, it was to be given a fresh opportunity to reconsider its position in accordance with para. 4 of the Plan. As in the Punjab, so in Bengal, the Boundary Commission would demarcate the Muslim majority areas of Sylhet District and contiguous Muslim majority areas of adjoining districts for transfer to Eastern Bengal.

On 3 June, when the Plan was announced, the Viceroy broadcast a message⁷ to the Indian people, followed by broadcasts by Nehru, Jinnah and Baldev Singh. Nehru spoke of his dream of a "free and independent united India" but conceded that, in the prevailing circumstances, partition offered "the right course".⁸

In his broadcast Baldev Singh accepted the Plan in its entirety even though it did not "please every body, not the Sikh community anyway".⁹ Baldev Singh also identified several shortcomings in the Plan in a letter to Mountbatten. He lamented that as a result of the partition "a substantial part" of their community would go to Muslim-dominated areas where

they could expect "no security whatsoever". He requested that instructions be given to the Boundary Commission to ensure that "as large a percentage of Sikh population as possible is included in Eastern Punjab". He also suggested that while demarcating the boundaries "other factors" were also to be taken into consideration. According to him the term "other factors" had been left undefined and needed to be interpreted by the Boundary Commission to include "exchange of population with property and [*sic* for on] the basis of land revenue paid by non-Muslims". He expressed dissatisfaction over the notional division of the Punjab, which included Gurdaspur in Pakistan, and suggested that in addition to the Ambala and Jullundur Divisions, three districts of the Lahore Division, namely Amritsar, Gurdaspur and Lahore, be added to Eastern Punjab.¹⁰ In his letter of 2 June to Mountbatten, Kripalani not only endorsed the Sikh demand but fully supported it pointing out that "the Sikhs are distressed" by the notional division and that it should not be applied even "for any administrative purpose during the interim period" as it would "inevitably affect the final division and will give rise to a great deal of apprehension in the minds of the Sikhs".¹¹

To Jinnah, the Plan did not "meet in some important respects our point of view". He left it to the AIML Council to decide whether the Plan should be accepted "as a compromise or a settlement". He had no wish to "prejudge the decision" of the Council.¹²

This was in conformity with Jinnah's stand at the Viceroy's meeting¹³ with Indian leaders on 2 June that "he could speak only for himself" and was in no position to commit the AIML Council. The Muslim League, he emphasised, was a "democratic organisation": the ultimate decision rested with the people. He could not, therefore, "pre-determine the issue".¹⁴

Jinnah's reluctance to accept the Plan outright gave rise to misgivings. The Viceroy was upset; and Nehru dropped a hint saying that "owing to the peculiar nature of the case, the leaders themselves had had to make decisions".¹⁵

Jinnah clarified his position in a *tete-a-tete*¹⁶ with Mountbatten late that night by explaining the procedures followed by the ML Working Committee and the Council in such cases. But he assured Mountbatten that he would do all he could to persuade the Council to accept the Plan as a settlement.¹⁷

Why was Jinnah reluctant to give his consent to the Plan in writing as done by Kripalani and Baldev Singh? Was he, possibly, having second thoughts over the whole issue? Was the idea of a "truncated"

Pakistan so unpalatable that though he saw no other alternative, he was disinclined to commit the Council to its acceptance on his own? The fact is that Jinnah, a quintessential democrat and constitutionalist, was not given to overstepping the limits of his own constitutional powers without consulting his party—a point he made plain to the Viceroy.

There was yet another reason for Jinnah's reluctance to commit the ML as explained by Listowel:

It was perhaps hardly surprising that, with the example before them [ML] of what had happened in regard to the Cabinet Mission's plan, the Muslim League were chary about committing themselves to a definite acceptance of the announcement until they knew where the A.I.C.C. stood.¹⁸

The AIML's reaction to the Plan is contained in the resolution¹⁹ adopted at the Council meeting on 9 June which accepted the Plan "under protest" authorizing Jinnah to "take further necessary action". Strong dissent was voiced by Abdul Rahim, Z. H. Lari, Hasrat Mohani and others at the meeting over the offer of a "truncated" and "mutilated" Pakistan which they thought would not be economically viable; for, they argued, the "best and most prosperous portions" of the Punjab and Bengal would go to Hindustan and Pakistan would then be too weak and "lifeless" to stand on its own feet.

Professor Abdul Rahim of Bengal thought that the division of the Punjab and Bengal would weaken the Muslims as "the Eastern Bengal and the Western Punjab would be economically and industrially weak" and Western Bengal would be "three times" more affluent than Eastern Bengal. He maintained that the "truncated" Pakistan being offered was the same as agreed to by Congress leaders four years ago. He demanded that the Plan be "totally rejected".²⁰

Z. H. Lari of U.P. was also bitterly critical²¹ and regarded the Plan as "extremely disappointing". He declared that its acceptance would be a "major catastrophe" and that it had been conceived by the British to "placate" the Congress and gave the Muslims no more than what had already been conceded some years ago. The untold sacrifices rendered by Muslims over the years, he said, had thus been in vain. Besides, the Plan contained no safeguards for "the rights of Muslims in Muslim minority provinces". He demanded that, on the analogy of the partition of the Punjab and Bengal, Muslims in U.P. and Bombay Presidency should also be given a separate homeland "as they in numbers far exceeded the Sikh community". The Muslim nation, he maintained, was being "trifled with" and had been "befooled" by the British.²²

Maulana Hasrat Mohani was equally outspoken in his denunciation of the Plan. According to the *Sind Observer*, he was the "bitterest critic of the

League leader at the Council meeting. At one stage he became so inconvenient to the assembled luminaries that he was bundled out".²³

In this atmosphere of mutual bickering and recrimination, men like Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, Premier of Sindh, came out on Jinnah's side. For Hidayatullah, the overriding consideration in accepting the Plan was that Muslims had been recognized as a nation which would be "sovereign in its own country, and will solve its own problems".²⁴

Likewise, Maulvi Abdul Rahman of C.P., while supporting the acceptance of the Plan, pointed out that Pakistan would be the largest Muslim state: "we will have more land than what they have in Afghanistan, Iran, Arabia, Iraq, Yaman [Yemen] and Palestine"²⁵ and if they could be happy and free, so could Pakistan.

The choice before the Council was either the acceptance of the Plan in its entirety or its rejection outright. The Council voted for its acceptance, only 8 members out of 468 casting their vote against it.²⁶ Jinnah for his part said on the occasion: "I have done my part of the job. I have fulfilled my mission. I have given you Pakistan and your own Constituent Assembly. Now it is up to you to build up the New State and prove worthy of it".²⁷

Once the League had announced its acceptance, the All-India Congress Committee, meeting on 15 June, accepted the proposals embodied in the Plan and also the possibility of "secession of some parts of the country from India".²⁸

The acceptance of partition by the Congress was tantamount to the stultification of all that it had stood for. Even before the acceptance of the Plan by the AICC, Gandhi at his prayer meetings talked of doom and gloom. At the meeting of the Indian leaders with the Viceroy, Liaquat protested against Gandhi's stance and said that, though ostensibly preaching non-violence, many of Gandhi's pronouncements could be taken as an incitement to violence.²⁹ Even Mountbatten agreed with this view and observed that "the emotion engendered by Mr. Gandhi, particularly in the more unintelligent people", was to the effect that "this partition is wrong; we must resist it; we must not give in".³⁰ Patel also expressed his apprehensions by declaring that "Pakistan would merely be a spring-board for action against Hindustan".³¹ Patel in private conversation bragged that "Hindustan could quickly make an end of its Muslim inhabitants if Pakistan did not behave".³² No wonder his party loyalists thought the Plan to be "a master-stroke by Patel who, having pushed the Muslims into a corner (or into two corners), will be able to destroy them before very long".³³

* * * *

The Muslim League had won the epic battle of Pakistan for which it

had waged a historic struggle. It had to contend with formidable difficulties before Pakistan came into being. And yet the scramble for positions and power had already begun. According to Jenkins, Governor of the Punjab, "Indian members of the all-India Services are worried. The Muslims are, I understand, already parcelling out the more lucrative Pakistan appointments among themselves".³⁴ So, it would seem, were the politicians. Jenkins found Mamdot "too busy dividing the prospective spoils to do anything else".³⁵ About Sindh, Governor Mudie wrote: "My general impression however is that Sindhi Muslim is very pleased.... There is some *pro forma* criticism of the partition of the Punjab and Bengal, but Sindhis care little about the Punjab and nothing at all about Bengal".³⁶ Certainly these propensities, as reported by Jenkins and Mudie, did not augur well for Pakistan and became rather the forerunners of the deluge that was to follow.

But there were other problems as well. One of the intractable issues that confronted the political leaders on the eve of partition was the future of the NWFP. Its geo-political situation, a Congress Ministry in power, participation of two of its three members in the existing Constituent Assembly, and the demand from certain quarters for independence for the Province, compounded the problem. Describing the position of the Province as "exceptional", the Plan³⁷ laid down that if the Punjab voted for partition, a referendum would be held in NWFP to decide which of the two Constituent Assemblies it would join.

Taking the partition of the Punjab for granted, Jinnah in his broadcast³⁸ of 3 June had given a clarion call to the people of NWFP to vote solidly for Pakistan. This offended both Sardar Patel and Dr Khan Sahib, Premier of NWFP, who remonstrated³⁹ with Mountbatten about what they thought was a "propagandist[ic]" broadcast, violative of recognised conventions.

Though having accepted the Plan in its entirety, the Congress suggested⁴⁰ that a third option, that of independence, be also included in the referendum. Khan Sahib held out the threat that if the option for independence was not conceded, his Ministry would not "in any circumstances cooperate in the referendum".⁴¹ Ghaffar Khan orchestrated the demand and threatened a boycott of the referendum as well.⁴² Nehru, after a discussion with Mountbatten, agreed that a province of just about three million people could not "stand out alone with a reasonable chance of success.... and would have to join one or other of the new States".⁴³

The NWFP Congress leaders, including Ghaffar Khan, were, however, adamant; they continued to agitate for an independent

Pakhtoonistan. Gandhi on the other hand equivocated; he would have Jinnah go to the NWFP "and put the case of Pakistan to the leaders and people up there" in order to ward off any eruption of violence.⁴⁴ Jinnah had no objection provided the Congress undertook not to "interfere with the people of the Frontier in any way whatsoever".⁴⁵ Unable to convince the Congress, Gandhi replied that he could not "ask the Congress to commit *hara-kiri*".⁴⁶

However, Gandhi was keen that Jinnah should meet Ghaffar Khan and come to terms with him. Jinnah did not demur: a meeting was arranged by Mountbatten between the two at the Viceroy's House at 7.45 p.m. on 17 June but Ghaffar Khan stayed out of Delhi and, as Mountbatten put it, "cannot be found".⁴⁷ However, the two leaders did meet the next day (18 June) at the Viceroy's House at 4.30 p.m.⁴⁸ That same evening, they had a 100-minute meeting at Jinnah's residence. No agreement could, however, be reached apparently because Ghaffar Khan insisted on a free Pathanistan. On 25 June, he appealed to Pathans "not to submit to any non-Pakhtoon domination"⁴⁹ and announced a boycott of the referendum "except on the issue of Pathanistan versus Pakistan". "We cannot vote", he declared, "as we want to vote for a free Pathan State".⁵⁰

Jinnah found all this rather repugnant. In his press statement⁵¹ of 28 June he described the Frontier Congress stand on the referendum as "a direct breach of the acceptance by the Congress" of the Plan. The Congress attitude did not disconcert Jinnah. He was confident that the Pathans would give a "clear and thumping verdict in favour of the Province joining the Pakistan Constituent Assembly".⁵²

About this time, the Afghan Government, realising that the British were finally quitting India, began questioning the legality of the Durand Line. They maintained, as reported by Giles Squire, British Minister to Kabul, that the tribes had close affinity with Afghanistan and demanded that they be given the option of securing complete independence or joining Afghanistan "rather than continue as part of India".⁵³ The British Government was not prepared to concede the demand and insisted that "all territory including the tribal areas on the Indian side of the Durand Line forms part of India" and was recognised as such by the Durand Agreement of 1893.⁵⁴ But the Afghan Government claimed that the Pathans were Afghans rather than Indians and demanded that "the population of the former Afghan territories annexed by Great Britain to India during the last century" should be afforded an opportunity to decide "whether they wished to rejoin Afghanistan or to form a separate State enjoying complete independence".⁵⁵ They wanted the issue to be dealt with on "ethnological considerations" though their

main concern was "an outlet to sea".⁵⁶ Any other course, they held, would be inconsistent with justice and fair play. One of the Afghan Ministers went so far as to demand that an independent state of the NWFP and Balochistan having "intimate relations with Afghanistan" should be formed.⁵⁷

The British Government was not prepared to admit the Afghan claim and maintained that Article 2 of the Durand Agreement bound Afghanistan "to refrain from interference in the territories lying beyond the Durand Line" on the Indian side.⁵⁸ They dismissed the Afghan representation on the ground that the matter related to an area which formed an integral part of India according to the Anglo-Afghan Treaty of 1921. They held that the Government of Pakistan when it came into being would be the "successor to all applicable treaty rights and obligations".⁵⁹

The Congress Ministry of the NWFP had developed serious differences with the Governor, Olaf Caroe. In March 1947, Nehru had informed Wavell that "there is no cooperation between the Prime Minister and the Governor". He went on to add: "Indeed there is distrust and lack of confidence in each other, and the Frontier Ministry think that the Governor's weight is usually cast on the side opposed to them". He suggested that Caroe should be "requested to retire".⁶⁰

Interestingly, Caroe had advised Khan Sahib and Ghaffar Khan to step up the propaganda for "a Pathan national Province under a coalition if possible, and making its own alliances as may suit it". Caroe had no doubt that the appeal of this slogan would be "a far more constructive one than that of Islam in danger".⁶¹ It was indeed ironical that the Khan Sahib Ministry should have found it hard to get on with Caroe who was sympathetic towards their nationalistic aspirations.

The hue and cry raised by Congress over Caroe's alleged partiality led Mountbatten to advise Caroe to proceed on leave.⁶² Liaquat was unhappy over this decision and lodged a strong protest with Mountbatten, demanding that if the Governor was being removed, the Khan Sahib Ministry should go as well, for otherwise it would imply "complete surrender to the Congress", and "mar all chance of a free and fair referendum".⁶³ Liaquat's protest, however, proved ineffectual. Caroe was replaced by Lockhart as Acting Governor, who had to make all arrangements for the referendum.⁶⁴

As for Balochistan, because of "its geographical situation", the Governor-General was to examine how the Province could most appropriately "be given an opportunity to reconsider its position" and to choose which of the Constituent Assemblies to have its constitution framed by.⁶⁵

Whereas British India by and large had adult franchise and the

future of the Punjab, NWFP, Bengal and Sylhet District was to be determined either by the provincial assemblies or through referendum, the case of Balochistan was altogether different. Here a very limited franchise obtained, comprising the *Shahi Jirga* and the members of Quetta Municipality.

In order to meet the situation, at a meeting called by Mountbatten on 2 June,⁶⁶ Geoffrey Prior, Agent to the Governor-General in Balochistan, suggested that a wider franchise could be secured by starting "at a level just above the village headman". This, he indicated, would result in "a body similar to the *Shahi Jirga* but without the hereditary members of the latter body". The Viceroy decided to consult Nehru before accepting Prior's suggestion.⁶⁷

Even Nehru was dissatisfied with the mode of representation in Balochistan and had urged that "as large a number of people as possible" should be consulted instead of "the selected few of the *Shahi Jirga*".⁶⁸

But before the question of a wider franchise for Balochistan was addressed by the Government, the Balochistan Muslim League, in pursuance of the 20 February Statement of the British Government, had taken the lead by authorizing Qazi Mohammad Isa, its President, to prepare a scheme for a democratic system of government in Balochistan "in which every adult shall have a vote and no person or class... shall have any special privileges or power".⁶⁹

In consequence of the Plan, Qazi Isa took steps to rectify the position. In his note of 5 June 1947,⁷⁰ he wrote that the "*Jirga* in no way represents the popular wishes of the masses" and that it was an "antiquated" system which offered no opportunity to "the public to send their representative by a machinery based on elective system". He urged that a "limited plebiscite of all adult persons" be held "on the basis of the ration cards".⁷¹

Jinnah was dissatisfied about the existing limited electorate and might have been briefed by Qazi Isa. He raised the issue with Mountbatten and suggested the adoption of one of three alternatives for composition of the electorate: (1) Holders of ration cards (about 2,000); (2) All *Maliks* and *Mutibars* (about 500); (3) All members of district *Jirgas* (about 400).

Jinnah was informed that the Viceroy had considered "the possibility of making the reference to a more representative body...". He had examined Jinnah's suggestion but regretted that it would entail "considerable delay" which could not be afforded at the time. He was, therefore, convinced that, given the short time available, "the reference will have to be made to the same body as before, viz. the

members of the *Shahi Jirga* (excluding the *Sardars* nominated by the Kalat State) and the non-official members of the Quetta Municipality".⁷²

Jinnah did not accept this position and reminded the Viceroy that the Plan itself contemplated "a reference to a more representative body than on the last occasion".⁷³ It seems that had it not been for the time factor, the suggestions for a more representative vote for the future of Balochistan might have been accepted. But both Nehru and Jinnah were persuaded to withdraw their objections on the ground that the implementation of their suggestions would have caused considerable delay.⁷⁴

The poll in Balochistan was fixed for 30 June. On 25 June, Jinnah appealed to Balochistan "to vote in favour of joining the Pakistan Constituent Assembly". He declared that Balochistan "can only exist in Pakistan politically, geographically and economically".⁷⁵

The voting in Balochistan was completely in favour of joining Pakistan. Three members of the *Shahi Jirga* and five out of ten members of the Quetta Municipality were not present, but the "remaining fifty-four voted unanimously without a debate for joining Pakistan".⁷⁶

Whereas the modalities for determination of the future of NWFP and Balochistan had been settled, the more difficult questions of partitioning the provinces of the Punjab and Bengal and determining the future of Sylhet still remained.

* * * *

In the aftermath of the Cripps Offer of 1942,⁷⁷ which contained the seeds of Pakistan as it were, the British had set about determining the territories visualized by the Lahore Resolution⁷⁸ of 1940 as forming independent Muslim States in the North-West and the North-East of India. The exercise got under way not long after Wavell had assumed the Viceroyalty of India on 20 October 1943. A process of investigation and evaluation for demarcating the notional areas of Pakistan was thus begun both in England and in India.

In this "Pakistan enquiry", V. P. Menon came to play a rather crucial role. As Reforms Commissioner, he had had a close association with both Wavell and Mountbatten. By dint of unremitting hard work and a deep insight into the issues involved and their ramifications, he became virtually the arbiter of the destiny of millions whose future was to hinge on the lines to be drawn on the map of India. It was Menon who was often required to put "flesh" on "bare bones"⁷⁹ by a critical examination and perspicacious analysis of the issues frequently referred to him concerning the future boundaries of Pakistan.

In Bengal as well as in the Punjab, the two provinces most affected by the demand for Pakistan, the Governors carefully and closely watched the situation. Governor Casey of Bengal wanted to wean the Muslims "away from the Pakistan idea"⁸⁰ and Governor Glancy of the Punjab laid stress on the need "to deflate the theory of Pakistan".⁸¹

Despite this trend of opinion and specially in view of the Gandhi-Jinnah talks of 1944, it was suggested to Menon that an expert Commission composed of non-Indians be appointed "to examine the consequences of Pakistan, economic, constitutional and strategic".⁸²

Menon's gut reaction was "unfavourable"; he believed that Jinnah himself regarded Pakistan as a "bargaining counter" and that Jinnah would be "prepared to cash in on it when he had secured the best terms possible at the Centre"⁸³—a theory obviously implausible and one betraying ignorance of Jinnah's resoluteness and strength of spirit. Even Wavell seemed sceptical of Pakistan's capacity to survive. He wrote:

The driving force of Pakistan comes from the Provinces in which the Muslims are in a minority, and not from the prospective Pakistan itself.⁸⁴

There was another reason which prompted Wavell and other officials to take up the "Pakistan enquiry". Jinnah had repeatedly declared that the general elections scheduled for end of 1945 would "show an overwhelming verdict in favour of Pakistan". Its "potency as a political slogan", wrote Glancy, could not be brushed aside. But, then, men like Glancy—there was no dearth of them in the British hierarchy—urged Wavell to examine the whole issue, as pointed out earlier, in order to deflate "the theory of Pakistan". One way of doing it was to show to the Punjabis that in case Pakistan became a reality, it would have to forgo at least two non-Muslim majority Divisions, Ambala and Jullundur, and the District of Amritsar. This, said Glancy, would provide the Unionist Party with a "rallying cry against Pakistan". He added:

No Punjabi, however uninformed, would contemplate with equanimity so shattering a dismemberment of the Province involving in effect the disappearance of the word "Punjab"....⁸⁵

In the face of such circumstances, said Wavell, it was imperative that the British Government reach some "definite conclusions on the Pakistan issue".⁸⁶ Wavell, armed by Glancy, asked that the British Government unhesitatingly declare that they could not force "under Muslim rule substantial... predominantly non-Muslim" areas.⁸⁷ He also promised "a more detailed study of the problem".⁸⁸ Evan Jenkins was the first to produce that complex and delicate study. So intricate appeared the enquiry that even Wavell did not regard himself equal to the task, proposing "the Archangel Gabriel for the inquiry".⁸⁹ For all one knows, he might have had Menon in mind!

Within two months of Wavell's note, Menon was asked to examine the issue with particular reference to a memorandum which had been prepared by K. M. Panikkar in which he had recommended that "the principle of a Muslim homeland should be accepted subject to territorial adjustment" both in the Punjab and Bengal to meet the claim of Hindus including Sikhs in the Punjab.⁹⁰

From then on Menon became the virtual linchpin in the Viceroyalty of both Wavell and Mountbatten, the warning given to the latter by Abell notwithstanding:

Mr. Menon now is genuinely convinced of the rightness of the Congress view on the general political position.... I am convinced that it is not possible to take him into confidence as fully as has been done in the past.⁹¹

But the warning went unheeded and Menon continued to have a close rapport with Mountbatten. It was for this reason that we commented earlier:

The drawing and redrawing of maps was done by neither Wavell nor Mountbatten. Instead it was the handiwork of that *eminence grise*, V. P. Menon, and of B. N. Rau.⁹²

Indeed on 23 January 1946, Menon and B. N. Rau produced the required note under the caption: Note on Demarcation of "Pakistan" Areas.⁹³

Menon's plan stated that Muslims in British India numbered approximately 79 million out of a total population of 296 million or about 27 per cent. The total population of the Pakistan areas claimed by the Muslim League in the Western Zone was about 36 million out of which 22 million were Muslims and 14 million non-Muslims. In the Eastern Zone, out of a total population of about 70 million, about 34 million or 49 per cent were non-Muslims. Menon contended that according to these statistics, the non-Muslims in both zones were "a substantial minority"; they also formed a majority of population in certain "blocks of territory" in each zone. If Muslims, on the basis of 27 per cent of the total population, he argued, could claim separation of certain areas, the non-Muslims—Hindus and Sikhs—who formed a much larger percentage of the population in "blocks of territory" in those zones could not be included in Pakistan areas. He stipulated that two conditions had to be satisfied by the protagonists of Pakistan, i.e.

"(1) Each Zone must form a continuous block of territory in which the Muslims predominate.

"(2) The non-Muslim population in each Zone... should not be much more than 27 per cent of the total population".⁹⁴

Menon admitted, by obvious implication, that both the conditions, so presumptuously laid down by him, were satisfied, because in the

Western Zone Pakistan was to consist of Sindh, the North-West Frontier Province, Balochistan and the Lahore, Rawalpindi and Multan Divisions of the Punjab, and the Eastern Zone was to comprise Rajshahi, Dacca, and Chittagong Divisions of Bengal. The total population of non-Muslims in the Western Zone was a little over 26 per cent—about 7 million out of a total population of 26 million. In Bengal there were 30 per cent non-Muslims, i.e. 11 million out of a total population of 37 million. The discussion should have ended here, but Menon deviated from his own formula and conveniently adopted a district-wise partition, according to which he excluded Amritsar, sacred to the Sikhs, from Pakistan's Western Zone and Calcutta from the Eastern Zone because both the districts were largely non-Muslim. According to the district-wise device, Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri were excluded but Nadia, Murshidabad and Jessore remained in the Pakistan Zone. So far so good; but soon his axe was to fall on Gurdaspur which he lumped with Amritsar on the ground of their forming a "compact block",⁹⁵ while Wavell mentioned "geographical reasons" for allotment of Gurdaspur to India.⁹⁶

The novel criterion laid down by Menon was not only illogical but perverse; it ignored the fact that many of the non-Muslim majority districts in the proposed partitioned Punjab had more than 27 per cent Muslim population.

So far Menon had demarcated the areas on the basis of *divisional* boundaries. But he excluded Amritsar District from Lahore Division on the ground that it had a Muslim population of about 44 per cent and that it was "particularly sacred to the Sikhs". He did not stop here: the District of Gurdaspur was also included in the Indian Punjab. Surprisingly, in his note, he did not give the population figures of Gurdaspur, presumably as it had a Muslim majority population of 51.1 per cent. Ingeniously, he lumped Amritsar and Gurdaspur together, giving their total population with an explanation that these two districts had been excluded from Pakistan in order, ostensibly, to meet the Sikh objections.⁹⁷ But his stratagem could not substantially solve the Sikh problem as he himself admitted that "a substantial minority [of Sikhs] would still be left in Pakistan". In the Eastern Zone, Menon's plan was to exclude Calcutta. In fact, the inclusion of Gurdaspur in the Indian Punjab was not for the sake of the Sikhs. The real cause, as he wrote later, was:

It is possible that a predominantly Muslim State like Kashmir cannot be kept away from Pakistan for long and we may leave this matter to find its natural solution. Unlike Hyderabad, it does not lie in the bosom of Pakistan and it can claim an exit to India, especially if a portion of the Gurdaspur District goes to East Punjab.⁹⁸

We are not sure if Wavell was privy to Menon's machinations but he did admit that Gurdaspur had a Muslim majority, citing "geographical reasons" in favour of its inclusion in India. As for Amritsar, its inclusion in the Indian Punjab was justified on the ground of its being the holiest city of the Sikhs. But Wavell was not unmindful of the inconsistencies involved in the plan and admitted that but for "the special importance of Amritsar, demarcation in the Punjab could have been on divisional boundaries". He also realised that it was "awkward" to place Gurdaspur in India as much of the Lahore District was irrigated with water from the Upper Bari Doab Canal with headworks in Gurdaspur.⁹⁹ But the Viceroy as well as the others associated with the "Pakistan enquiry" chose to keep quiet except for I. D. Scott, Deputy Private Secretary to the Viceroy, who controverted Menon's formula for demarcation of boundaries. He pointed out the fallacy of Menon's argument by detecting the fact that while calculating the population figures, Menon had failed to take into account the Muslim population of the tribal areas in the NWFP which, if included, would reduce the non-Muslim element in the Western Zone from 27% to 25%. He also noted that Menon had conveniently overlooked including Sylhet, a predominantly Muslim district, in the Eastern Zone, which would have reduced Menon's figures of the non-Muslim population in that zone from 30% to about 28%.¹⁰⁰

Menon had purposely omitted discussion of Sylhet in his note. When asked by Abell,¹⁰¹ he explained, rather unconvincingly, that they, Menon and Rau, had adopted "the most convenient basis of demarcation" and had left out Sylhet, though a predominantly Muslim district, because without Sylhet, Assam would not be a viable province.¹⁰²

Governor Akbar Hydari of Assam suggested that the amalgamation of Sylhet with Bengal "should be conditional on small territorial adjustments to secure Assam's communications with Cachar."¹⁰³ Nehru suggested a referendum in Sylhet in view of "the balance of population there...".¹⁰⁴ In the final "Revised Draft Announcement", provision was made, for the first time, for a referendum in Sylhet as well as for demarcation of "Muslim majority areas of Sylhet district and contiguous Muslim majority areas of adjoining districts..."¹⁰⁵

The district-wise demarcation in the Western Zone and in Bengal was a well-thought-out manoeuvre. But for such demarcation, Assam would have been cut off completely from the rest of India. The exclusion of Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling from Pakistan and their inclusion in India was intended to "provide Hindustan with a corridor to

the non-Muslim areas of Assam".¹⁰⁶ As if Gurdaspur's inclusion in Eastern Punjab troubled Menon's conscience, he decided to include Dinajpur with a Muslim population of 50.2 per cent in Eastern Pakistan admitting:

Since we have excluded Gurdaspur from the western zone of Pakistan, we might well include Dinajpur in the eastern zone.¹⁰⁷

Some of the League supporters were not oblivious of the problems attending the partition of the Punjab and Bengal. In respect of the Punjab, some of those writing to Jinnah made suggestions about striving for an accommodation with the Sikhs¹⁰⁸ to enable Sikh areas adjoining Muslim majority pockets in Ferozpur, Zira, Ludhiana and Jullundur to be included in Pakistan. Others advocated an understanding with the Scheduled Castes¹⁰⁹ to enable the latter to throw in their lot with Pakistan. A few perceptive observers highlighted the importance of riparian rights¹¹⁰ and of sources of hydroelectricity¹¹¹ to Pakistan.

The division of Bengal and Assam into Muslim and non-Muslim majority areas as envisaged by the Plan came in for some trenchant criticism from a few of Jinnah's correspondents. They controverted the rationale of grouping the Scheduled Castes and the tribes with the Hindus,¹¹² and of including Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri, Goalpara, Cachar and Purnea in Hindustan. They contended that, given the chance, the Scheduled Castes would cast their lot with the Muslims. Besides, the tribes, as had already been pointed out by Yeats, Census Commissioner in 1941, could not be "classified religiously".¹¹³ They maintained that Goalpara and Cachar in Assam, and Purnea in Bihar, could be claimed by Pakistan on the basis of Muslim-majority population; also that a claim could be staked for Darjeeling, fairly endowed with mineral resources, as a recompense for the loss of mineral-rich areas to West Bengal.¹¹⁴

These suggestions, however, were obviously rather belated inasmuch as both Bengal and the Punjab Legislative Assemblies had already voted for partition on 20 and 23 June, respectively.

Jinnah and the Muslim League, to some extent, fell victims to the Lahore Resolution of 1940 which included a clause for "territorial adjustments". It is true that Jinnah had conceded that Ambala and Jullundur Divisions in the Punjab and certain areas in Bengal might have to be given up—a fact also confirmed by Aga Khan who informed Wavell that "Jinnah was prepared to concede Amritsar and Ambala and almost all—except Calcutta".¹¹⁵ But Jinnah had definitely not bargained for the plan which was ultimately prepared and drawn

up by Menon and British officers, particularly Glancy, Jenkins and Abell, and which was based on the following considerations:

- (i) to make Pakistan as "small and unattractive" as possible by reducing its area;
- (ii) to cede Gurdaspur to Hindustan in order to provide access to the Jammu and Kashmir State; and
- (iii) to provide Hindustan with a corridor to the non-Muslim areas of Assam.

* * * *

While the question of demarcation of provincial boundaries was ticklish enough, the problem of States and their future was no less tricky. The Cabinet Mission in their Memorandum of 12 May 1946¹¹⁶ on States' Treaties and Paramountcy had declared that the British Government would not in any circumstances transfer paramountcy to an Indian Government. However, with the emergence of "independent Government or Governments" in British India, the obligations of paramountcy were bound to cease. The void created by the lapse of paramountcy and the cessation of political and other arrangements between the States and the British Crown would "have to be filled either by the States entering into a federal relationship with the successor Government or Governments in British India, or failing this, entering into particular political arrangements with it or them".¹¹⁷ The intention not to "bring paramountcy... to a conclusion" was reiterated by the British Government in their Statement of 20 February 1947¹¹⁸ promising to transfer power before June 1948. Even the Plan declared that it related only to British India and that the policy towards the Indian States outlined in the Cabinet Mission Memorandum of 12 May 1946 remained unaltered.

These statements were rather ambiguous and did not specify the precise status of some 562 Indian States after the British had left India. However, during the discussions between the Viceroy and the States Negotiating Committee,¹¹⁹ which comprised the Rulers or their representatives, the Viceroy observed that, in order that there might be no administrative vacuum, interim arrangements, on a standstill basis, would have to be made for the period between the lapse of paramountcy and the conclusion of fresh or modified agreements. He also confirmed that the entry of States into either Constituent Assembly was a matter of free choice. But in any case the States would have to enter into negotiations for administrative arrangements with one or the other or perhaps both of the successor Governments.¹²⁰

As for the future of the States and their relationship with the two new Dominions, the Congress was far more advanced in its appraisal of the situation and had prepared a plan for their eventual absorption. To the Congress, the States represented an old-fashioned, antiquated, oligarchical system which had to be scrapped. They had to be integrated into the political framework astutely designed for their liquidation. The Muslim League, as pointed out by a correspondent earlier,¹²¹ had not been able to evolve a coherent and progressive policy in regard to the States' future. Moreover, Jinnah's attitude towards the States seems to have been influenced and shaped in part by the advice given by the Nawab of Bhopal and the Nizam of Hyderabad, both desperately trying to safeguard their own interests and to retain the age-old privileges, prerogatives and enviable positions to which they had been accustomed.

The respective attitudes of Nehru and Jinnah in the matter of States are reflected in the discussion that took place at the Viceroy's meeting with Indian leaders held on 13 June. The thrust of the discussion was whether the States had to join one of the two Dominions or could be allowed to claim independence. Nehru was quite clear that the question of any State claiming independence did not arise. Jinnah, on the contrary, maintained that "Every Indian State was a sovereign State" and was entitled to stay out of either Constituent Assembly—a view shared and supported by Monckton, Constitutional Adviser to the Nizam. He reiterated that the British Government could not, under the law or the Constitution, "lay down that every Indian State was bound to enter one Constituent Assembly or the other...". If a State wished to come in, he said, it could do so by agreement.¹²²

Jinnah's views coincided with those of the Nawab of Bhopal, who, on 6 June, had complained to Jinnah that the Viceroy had been, indirectly, pressuring the States into joining the "existing" Constituent Assembly. He was of the opinion that the States should be free to decide which Constituent Assembly to enter into. He suggested that an announcement be made by AIML offering liberal terms for future relationship with Pakistan to the States that might wish to associate themselves with it.¹²³

The Nawab emphasized that the States should be assured that "their sovereignty, integrity and autonomy are in no manner to be jeopardised..."¹²⁴ But even the Nawab could not ignore the rising tide of public opinion in favour of democratization of the system and recommended that it be specified that "Pakistan would wish the Ruler of each State to democratise its administration on popular basis" and that

"the States should so frame their constitution that they always rule as Constitutional Monarchs through clearly defined constitutional channels."¹²⁵ However, the Nawab was opposed to the States' association with Pakistan through entry into the Constituent Assembly. His preference was for "some form of Alliance or treaty relations..."¹²⁶

The Nawab of Bhopal was not the only one anxious and worried about the future. There were other rulers as well. The Maharaja of Travancore and the Nizam were not in favour of joining any of the Constituent Assemblies. In fact the Nizam had issued a *firman* on 11 June declaring that in law he would become entitled to the status of an independent Sovereign when the Paramount Power departed; that he had decided to join neither Constituent Assembly; and that the nature and extent of Hyderabad's relationship with the new Dominions would be determined after they had structured their respective Constitutions.¹²⁷

The Nizam had been importunately seeking Jinnah's advice as to the course of action he should follow.¹²⁸ He had also deputed Monckton, his Constitutional Adviser, to consult Jinnah. Jinnah was informed that the Congress had urged Hyderabad to join the Indian Union eventually,¹²⁹ which was quite incompatible with the advice given by Jinnah—to opt for independence. The Viceroy, however, had advised against the State declaring independence, which he thought would entail a dangerous isolation, and instead suggested negotiations with the Interim Government of India on matters of common concern.¹³⁰

However, Nehru kept reiterating the Indian position:

It is quite inconceivable that a State can become independent in the legal sense of the term, which means having external relations and the power to declare war or peace and controlling its defence and communications.¹³¹

If the States were allowed, he said, to declare independence, this would result in the "balkanisation" of the country. "We might well have to go back a hundred years", he added, "when the East India Company was consolidating its power in India..."¹³²

The Viceroy, under burgeoning pressure from the Congress, soon came round to the view that the States could possibly have no relations, direct or indirect, with the British Government following the lapse of paramountcy; that they had no option other than to join one or the other Constituent Assembly; and that, for the interim period, they had to negotiate administrative arrangements, on a standstill basis, with one or the other, or both, of the successor States.

Monckton protested against the attitude of the Viceroy and the

British Government. He expostulated with him about the States being left in the lurch. He was unhappy that they were treating "their old friends and allies shamefully"¹³³ and warned that the British public might have to be told of their Government's volte-face. To their utter chagrin, he bitterly complained, the States were being abandoned, indeed betrayed, by the British Government.

As regards the State of Jammu and Kashmir, Nehru was for the State joining the Hindustan Constituent Assembly. In one of his letters to Mountbatten, he wrote:

If any attempt is made to push Kashmir into the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, there is likely to be much trouble because the National Conference is not in favour of it and the Maharaja's position would also become very difficult. The normal and obvious course appears to be for Kashmir to join the Constituent Assembly of India.¹³⁴

But Kashmir was to become a problematic issue and to bedevil the relations between Pakistan and India as time wore on.

In substance, the League's policy towards the States was legalistic and academic while the Congress approach was pragmatic and practical. The administrative apparatus in most States was undemocratic and unresponsive to popular aspirations. The States were in fact anachronistic entities. The League, however, was against coercing the States into joining either of the Constituent Assemblies whereas the Congress remained implacably opposed to Dominion status for any State or to India being parcelled out into more than two Dominions and had categorically rejected even the concept of a united sovereign Bengal.

There were other States besides Hyderabad and Bhopal which did not intend to join either of the Constituent Assemblies. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Diwan of Travancore, declared that the State would become independent on 15 August 1947 when paramountcy would have lapsed.¹³⁵ He approached Jinnah to ensure uninterrupted supplies of rice to the State which had been relying on Sindh and the Punjab for such supplies; else the State would be left at the mercy of Hindustan.¹³⁶ Jinnah informed Aiyar that he would be ready to receive the envoy of the State and to establish mutually advantageous relationship with it.¹³⁷

An anonymous correspondent pleaded with Jinnah for support to the Rajasthan Union (composed of the States of Kathiawar, Baroda and the Gujerat States, Rajputana, Central India and Gwalior) being given Dominion status for the reasons that (a) it was a solid geographical entity, (b) it had access to the sea, (c) its area was comparable to that of France and Germany put together, and (d) it would be a buffer and a balancing and stabilizing factor between the none-too-friendly Dominions of Pakistan and Hindustan.¹³⁸

By now Jinnah was no longer impervious to the problems of the States. Neither was he unmindful of the Sikh aspirations and demands. He was even "agreeable to the inclusion of the Sikh States within Pakistan, giving them a very substantial measure of independent action". Jinnah had also "promised not to give any statement on any such question without first consulting the Raja" of Faridkot.¹³⁹

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While the future of the States hung in the balance, Jinnah found himself overwhelmed by matters as momentous as the division of assets, location of the capital, constitution-making, setting up of the central government and economic planning.

Shortly before the announcement of the Plan, Mountbatten had a meeting¹⁴⁰ with the Indian leaders at which a paper entitled "The Administrative Consequences of Partition"¹⁴¹ was handed round. The document identified issues like division of the armed forces, division of assets and liabilities and transfer of personnel, which had to be resolved before the transfer of power. It suggested that a Partition Committee be appointed to sort out these matters. A Steering Committee was also to be constituted to coordinate the work of Expert Committees and make recommendations to the Partition Committee.

The Committees had a complex and onerous task before them—a task made all the more difficult for want of mutual trust. At the outset, a dispute arose whether the authority for implementing partition vested in the Governor-General or in the Governor-General-in-Council. George Spence, Secretary, Legislative Department, was of the opinion that the authority vested in the Governor-General-in-Council. Jinnah, however, disagreed and held that it did not vest in the Governor-General-in-Council who was required to act on the advice of the Executive Council where Congress commanded a majority.

Jinnah's view was eventually upheld by the British Government. It was agreed that the Partition Committee should consist of two Congress and two Muslim League Members of the Interim Government but that it should not be described as a Cabinet Committee. As soon as the concerned Provinces had voted for partition, the Partition Committee was to be replaced by a Partition Council with full powers to make final decisions. The Council likewise was to consist of two members from each side who would not necessarily be Members of the Interim Government. It was also agreed that the Viceroy should preside over both the Partition Committee and the Partition Council, Mountbatten however stipulating that he should have no arbitral authority.¹⁴²

As disagreements were bound to crop up in the Partition Committee, the parties agreed¹⁴³ that there should be an Arbitral Tribunal consisting of three persons with high judicial experience. The parties had different views about the chairmanship of the Tribunal. Listowel suggested Radcliffe, who later was to become chairman of both Boundary Commissions, while Nehru proposed that the three Federal Court judges should form the Tribunal, to which Jinnah did not agree. It was later to be decided that the Tribunal would be headed by Patrick Spens, the outgoing Chief Justice of India.

The Steering Committee comprised H. M. Patel and Mohamad Ali, two distinguished senior civil servants. Ten Expert Committees, also manned by civil servants, were set up to make recommendations to the Steering Committee.

The members of the Steering Committee disagreed over the division of "material assets".¹⁴⁴ H. M. Patel wanted these assets to "be left where they are" for the reason of impairment of total value due to physical transfer. Mohamad Ali insisted that "the accident of geographical location should not have priority over the just and equitable distribution of assets like workshops and industrial installations between the two successor Governments". This difference of opinion was to operate to Pakistan's disadvantage in the matter of printing presses and many other items.¹⁴⁵

As regards division of personnel, most of the Muslim staff in the Central Secretariat was to opt for Pakistan. Many were to play a crucial role in the formative phase of the young Dominion though some were factionally oriented.¹⁴⁶ Provincialistic proclivities and regional prejudices among members of the bureaucracy were also becoming ominously apparent.¹⁴⁷

Soon after the announcement of the Plan, the question as to where the Government of Pakistan was to be housed began to exercise the minds of ML leaders. A number of suggestions were made. On 7 June, Mohammad Akram Khan, in a letter¹⁴⁸ to Jinnah, discussed the pros and cons of location of the capital at various important cities. Lahore was ruled out because of its close proximity to the border, which made it vulnerable and "geographically, strategically and politically" unsuitable. Karachi, the largest city of Pakistan, was not suitable either as it did not "command a central position". Besides, he thought, it was strategically unsound "to have the capital of the state in a coastal town" until Pakistan had built up a strong naval force. Nor were Quetta and Peshawar suitable, being the headquarters of the Provincial Governments. This restricted the choice of the capital to Rawalpindi and Multan. Multan, he said, occupied "the most central position" and

was "strategically safe". It was also an important religious and commercial centre. He asserted that, therefore, Multan was ideally suited to be the capital of Pakistan.¹⁴⁹

Akram Khan's views cut no ice with Jinnah or others who favoured Karachi. In an interview on 11 June with the *Pakistan Times*, "a prominent Muslim League leader" (who preferred to remain unnamed) stated that Karachi would "certainly be the capital of Pakistan" because it was "the nearest Indian seaport to Europe and also the best airport east of Suez". He felt that once Karachi was made the capital, it would be renamed "Jinnahabad, providing a fitting memorial to Mr. Jinnah".¹⁵⁰

The next day (12 June), a delegation from Sindh discussed the matter with Jinnah at Delhi. It was suggested that the Sindh Government might be moved temporarily to Hyderabad. Less than a week later, it was finally decided to "locate the headquarters of the Pakistan Government temporarily at Karachi".¹⁵¹ The office and residential accommodation required could be found by "re-adjustment" of the premises "occupied by Military units and formations in Karachi".¹⁵² Liaquat informed Mountbatten accordingly and requested that the Commander-in-Chief (C-in-C) be asked to issue instructions to "appropriate Military authorities regarding the provision of accommodation and transportation facilities" in Karachi.¹⁵³ Jinnah also asked Mountbatten if some Sapper Units of the Indian Army could be deputed to help put up "temporary hutments" there.¹⁵⁴ The C-in-C, however, regretted his inability to "comply with this request at present" as the Sapper and Miner Units were being reapportioned on territorial grounds. The work could start only after troops had been apportioned to Pakistan.¹⁵⁵

Meanwhile, the Sindh Government constituted a Committee to go into the question of residential and office accommodation for the Pakistan Government. The Committee concluded that the "only solution is evacuation of Malir Cantonment...".¹⁵⁶ The Committee thought that the accommodation at Malir might meet the requirement of Pakistan Government. Accordingly, the Viceroy was informed by the Sindh Governor: "My Government are asking that Malir should be evacuated for use as Pakistan capital".¹⁵⁷ It appears that the Sindh Government were already having second thoughts about Karachi being the capital.

Linked with this question, of course, was the issue of the setting up of the new Government of Pakistan and making it functional by 15 August 1947. The first need was to find office and residential accommodation. On the effectiveness of this Government would depend whether the emergent state would be "a pauper Sovereign State or whether it will be a self-supporting independent country".¹⁵⁸

As for accommodation, Sindh Premier Hidayatullah informed Jinnah

on 19 June that "we have started the work of constructing a new building for the Pakistan establishment" and that Agha Shahi, an I.C.S. officer, had been deputed to ascertain the number of officers likely to come over and their requirements.¹⁵⁹ It was indeed a gigantic task to be planned and executed and time was of the essence.

The bulk of the staff was to be drawn from amongst the Muslim employees of the Central Secretariat and other Central Government offices. There were offers also from highly educated and talented young Muslims of free service to the new state in response to Jinnah's appeal.¹⁶⁰

The Hindu staff of the Secretariat tried to dissuade the Muslim staff from opting for service in Pakistan by spreading false rumours that Pakistan would not be in a position to give them "even one-half of their present emoluments" and that their scales of pay would be reduced and "other amenities of service curtailed".¹⁶¹ But this did not deter Muslim employees from opting for Pakistan. Neither did it deter Jinnah from staying the course as far as the question of the future Governor-General of Pakistan was concerned.

The issue of a common Governor-General for both Dominions has already been dealt with in the Introduction to Volume I. What may be noted here is that Mountbatten felt humiliated by Jinnah's refusal to agree to his proposal. He even threatened Jinnah that "if he had his own separate Governor-General, Mr Jinnah might well wreck his prospects".¹⁶² Jinnah, however, was not the man to be cowed by such threats; he continued unperturbed to plan for the future government of the nascent State.

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A major problem that Jinnah had to address related to collection of the funds required for electioneering, providing relief to riot victims, prosecution of the Pakistan Movement, etc. People trusted him implicitly and the response to appeals made by him for funds from time to time was spontaneous, massive and instantaneous. Contributions were received from all over India as well as from Muslims living in the United States of America, Saudi Arabia, Iran, South Africa, etc.

Donations to the Bihar Relief Fund in particular were very generous. An old and infirm lady sent in Rs. 200.¹⁶³ In one of the residential halls of Aligarh Muslim University, the students decided to forgo "all the dishes except *dal* and saved about Rs. 3,000 for Bihar relief from their food expenses".¹⁶⁴ On the occasion of his daughter's marriage, a

donor, a man of meagre means, instead of spending on traditional ceremonies saved a small sum of Rs. 50 which he contributed to the Fund.¹⁶⁵ So massive was the response to Jinnah's appeal for funds that after meeting the expenses on rehabilitation of the victims of the Bihar riots, a sum of Rs. 35 lakh was left over, which Jinnah invested in Victory Loan Bonds in March 1947.¹⁶⁶

On 16 June, Jinnah made a fervent appeal to Muslims for generous donations to help meet administrative and other expenses, such as those on referendums in the NWFP and Sylhet. Subscriptions, he added, were needed for "work in various spheres of activity before our Pakistan Government is established". Without finances, he said, "all this gigantic business cannot be performed satisfactorily".¹⁶⁷ His appeal elicited, as always, a generous response.

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With his background as a Royal Navy Signal Officer, whose speciality was flags, Mountbatten ventured to make a suggestion to Jinnah for a flag for Pakistan. Taking the Muslim League flag, he placed in the upper canton a small Union Jack, its size being one-ninth of the total area of the flag. He pointed out that the size of the Union Jack in the flags of the other Dominions was one-quarter of the area of the flag. He explained that he had suggested a smaller Jack for the Pakistan flag for the reason that Jinnah "might not wish to stress the British connection"¹⁶⁸ quite as much as the other Dominions did.

Jinnah showed little interest in the proposed flag. When sounded out by Mountbatten on 5 July, he merely said that he would let him "know in good time" and that he would "have a flag made before the 15th August".¹⁶⁹

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Jinnah's time and energy had been all but consumed by the stupendous problems of trying to bring a new State into being. He could, therefore, scarcely do more than express his views in broad general terms about the nature of government and the future constitutional set-up. Being a constitutionalist to the core, he was averse to forestalling the issue or to imposing his own views in a matter which properly belonged in the domain of the people of Pakistan and their chosen representatives. "We shall have time for domestic programme and policies", he declared, "but first get the Government. This is a nation without any territory or any Government".¹⁷⁰ Jinnah, however, did

spell out constitutional goals for the new State adding that he had neither the power nor the intention of determining or dictating a constitution. He insisted that it was for the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan to deliberate the constitutional issues and finally adopt the Constitution of Pakistan. He characterized the Assembly as a "sovereign body"¹⁷¹ which was to be the source of all legitimate power and authority in the emergent State of Pakistan. Thus, it was the Assembly rather than any other body—the Muslim League, for instance—which would frame the constitution of the new State.

Jinnah visualized that the Government in Pakistan would be representative and democratic.¹⁷² He called it a "people's government"¹⁷³ and declared that "the constitution and the government" would be "what the people will decide".¹⁷⁴ Jinnah firmly believed that "democracy is in our blood. It is in our marrows".¹⁷⁵ For him modern democracy was, in essence, a rediscovery of the old democratic tradition of Islam. In this way, Jinnah first elaborated the institutional mechanism for developing a constitutional consensus through public representatives and, secondly, felt deeply committed to a democratic form of government in an operational sense. He saw the opposition's role as a bulwark against tyranny, declaring that "An opposition party or parties are good correctives for any party which is in power".¹⁷⁶ Thirdly, he visualized a federal structure for the new State. In his view, only autonomous federating units could provide a sufficient guarantee for the healthy development of the body politic in Pakistan. He specifically mentioned the U.S., Canada and Australia as models of a federation of autonomous units. He wanted the federal government to retain such vital subjects as defence, external relations, currency, etc.¹⁷⁷ However, he insisted that the precise nature and scope of the powers and responsibilities of the federation and the provinces would be for the constitution-making body to determine.¹⁷⁸

Jinnah was extremely sensitive to the rights of religious minorities whether in Pakistan or in India. He believed that the minority problems on both sides of the border would be settled peacefully.¹⁷⁹ He assured the Hindus and other minorities in Pakistan that they would be "treated with justice and fairplay [*sic*—nay, with generosity".¹⁸⁰ Jinnah believed that no civilized government could function in a smooth and orderly manner unless it gave the minorities a complete sense of security as well as of participation in decision-making.¹⁸¹ He added that it was actually a religious duty of Muslims to treat the minorities well, for the *Qur'an* enjoined them to do so.¹⁸² He believed that there would be "no social barriers of any kind against the Hindus or anyone else". He also believed that the people of Pakistan would "act on the

basic principle of equality of manhood and fraternity"¹⁸³ and that the government "will function with the will and sanction of the entire body of people in Pakistan, irrespective of caste, creed or colour".¹⁸⁴ Jinnah's vision of the new State of Pakistan was embedded in the concept of a political system based on social justice. He denounced the attitude of the landlords and capitalists who thrived on a "system which is so vicious" and "wicked". "The exploitation of the masses", he said, "has gone into their blood.... Greed and selfishness have made these people subordinate to the interests of others in order to fatten themselves". He warned them that their tyrannical exploitation of the impoverished masses would not be tolerated in Pakistan. He was deeply distressed by the grinding poverty of the masses and regretted that millions of people could not get even one meal a day and asked "Is this civilisation? Is this the aim of Pakistan?" "If that is the idea of Pakistan", he declared, "I would not have it".¹⁸⁵ In his address to the Legislators' Convention held in Delhi in 1946, he declared that "Pakistan will be a Socialist State". Jinnah envisioned a political system for Pakistan based on egalitarianism, and free from exploitation of labour by capitalists and of peasants by feudal lords. To him such exploitation was anathema. He was deeply pained by abject poverty; unfortunately his vision remains far from fulfilment even after nearly half a century of the existence of Pakistan.

Jinnah vehemently disclaimed that the future State of Pakistan would be a "theocracy"; far from it! He in fact declared that there was no room for theocracy, i.e. rule by religious divines.¹⁸⁶ In his public speeches and statements, Jinnah did not leave a shred of doubt that the new State would not be run by an obscurantist religious leadership. He considered it indispensable that the constitutional structure of the modern State, encompassing fundamental rights and political and civil liberties of citizens, must be strengthened and safeguarded because such rights and liberties are in complete consonance with the spirit of Islam itself.

Evidence suggests that Jinnah was keen that the future constitution be evolved without delay. Three months before Pakistan came into being, he expressed the desire to "complete the Constituent Assembly" and to set up a "committee of experts and specialists" to act as advisers to that Assembly so that the supreme task of constitution-making could be accomplished without undue delay and the Government of Pakistan could start functioning "according to the final Constitution framed by the Pakistan Constituent Assembly".¹⁸⁷ In June 1947, he even asked the Viceroy to find "a first-class constitutional lawyer and

first-class draftsman to help Pakistan with their constitution-making".¹⁸⁸

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Jinnah knew that the areas to be included in Pakistan were economically undeveloped and industrially backward. They were the agricultural hinterland of the highly industrialized areas of Hindustan. Despite Jinnah's total involvement in the fast-moving and, at times, nerve-racking politics of the subcontinent and his own awfully busy schedule of work, he could find time to address the economic problems and potentialities of Pakistan. He had a "five-year plan" formulated, which included the planning and building up of what he called "the departments of national life of Muslim India". In this he laid greater emphasis on the educational, social and economic uplift of the Muslims.¹⁸⁹ He encouraged Muslim entrepreneurs to enter into business and set up industries. This he said would open up new vistas for labour and create avenues of employment for the educated youth.¹⁹⁰ While addressing the Baluchistan Muslim League Conference in July 1943, Jinnah declared: "So long as a nation is weak economically, it cannot hope to win the battle of life".¹⁹¹

Soon, in December of that year, he appointed a Planning Committee of the League consisting of professional economists and business magnates. This Committee was charged with appraising the economic condition of "Pakistan areas" with a view to preparing the Muslim League "to participate in the national developments in the directions of commercial and agricultural expansion, and industrialisation" and thus be ready "for ■ gigantic and coordinated drive in the field of economic reconstruction, and in the post-war reconstruction".¹⁹²

At Jinnah's initiative and because of his personal encouragement and persuasion, some businessmen and industrialists, already associated with the League, did come forward and take part in economic enterprises and commercial ventures. From the middle of 1943 onwards, we find him working indefatigably, devoting himself untiringly to establishing ■ Federation of Muslim Chambers of Commerce which finally did come into being towards the end of 1944. Always watchful, never relaxed, unremittingly engaged in his mission of galvanizing the Muslims, Jinnah did not allow important matters to be swept under the carpet. Finding that the Federation had not made any headway, he admonished M.A.H. Ispahani:

Have you been sleeping over the Federation of Muslim Chambers of Commerce and is it merely to remain a paper scheme? I am very much disappointed indeed that so much delay has been caused in holding

even your first meeting. We are losing a very valuable time and a golden opportunity. Every week that passes is now not only creating a sense of frustration and despair amongst those who have worked and are willing and ready to work, but in the rapid developments that are taking place, Muslim India will unfortunately find itself as usual with the motto "Too Late".¹⁹³

Jinnah had been instrumental in launching newspapers like the *Dawn* to articulate and project the Muslim viewpoint effectively. He and Nahas Pasha of Egypt met in Cairo and visualized a democratic Federation of Muslim States embracing Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, etc., perhaps a harbinger of the Organisation of Islamic Conference formed two decades later.¹⁹⁴

Jinnah initiated various economic enterprises. Realising the vital importance of banking, he encouraged the establishment of the Muslim Commercial Bank,¹⁹⁵ a Muslim Bank in Singapore,¹⁹⁶ and branches of the Habib Bank in Bhopal and Assam.¹⁹⁷ Similarly, the Muhammadi Steamship Company was launched with a capital of Rs. 5 crore.¹⁹⁸ Even in the hectic and turbulent months of 1947—just before partition—he backed the project for an airline, Orient Airways, with a personal equity participation by buying shares worth Rs. 25,000.¹⁹⁹

Jinnah was not an "intuitive visionary", nor was his mind "far above matters of trade and finance" as pronounced by *The Economist*.²⁰⁰ He took note of the insidious propaganda against Pakistan's economic prospects and the economic collapse that had been predicted for it.²⁰¹ He tried to counter it by generating interest in Muslim economists and entrepreneurs in undertaking in-depth studies and participating in the economic development of the new State. According to one of his admirers, Jinnah bore "the entire brunt of planning, mobilising, commanding and fighting against odds"²⁰² and did all that was possible to respond to the great challenges posed by the formidable economic problems facing Pakistan. His appeals did elicit a measure of response. Economists, industrialists and experts in various developmental fields submitted their findings and recommendations to Jinnah. They noted that the economic policies of the Government of India were characterized by concentration of too much power and influence at the Centre. M. L. Qureshi, Joint Secretary of the AIML Planning Committee, studied the economic implications of the recommendations made by the Advisory Planning Board set up by the Government of India in October 1946. As economic planning in the provinces was to be subjected to the control and direction of the Central Planning Commission, Qureshi concluded that the Commission "would be a sort of Super State exercising more or less complete control over the Central

and Provincial Governments".²⁰³ According to him, these recommendations were "an obvious attempt to sabotage Pakistan through economic planning".²⁰⁴

Similar fears were expressed by Nazir Ahmad, Member of the Indian Tariff Board, while studying Government policies for setting up "'national' laboratories, research stations and technological institutions".²⁰⁵ He pointed out the detrimental effects of such policies:

So far as the location of these institutions is concerned,... most of them are to be located in non-Pakistan areas. With the exception of Calcutta in Bengal, neither the Punjab, Sind, nor the N.W.F.P. is anywhere on the map... which in effect means that their benefits, direct as well as indirect, will go mostly to the areas in which they are located, even though their cost and running expenses are borne partly by the other provinces.²⁰⁶

The fears expressed by Qureshi and Nazir Ahmad were shared by others. For instance, Abdul K. Mehta laid great stress on the development of petroleum and other mineral resources:

The strength of a nation largely depends upon the suitable mineral resources it commands and its ability to utilize its natural and mineral wealth.²⁰⁷

Being mindful of some of these problems, which had already impelled him to appoint a Planning Committee, Jinnah specially asked A. R. Khan, a civil servant of the U. P., to prepare detailed reports on these issues. Exceptionally painstaking and devoted, he spawned a number of reports like the "Report on the Migration and Concentration of Muslims in India".²⁰⁸ With a view to examining the state of availability of agricultural, industrial and other economic resources in the Pakistan areas, he submitted his first report containing statistical data in respect of the NWFP: annual production of various commodities including imports and exports, mineral resources, annual revenue of the province, etc. The data showed that the province was a "deficit area practically in every respect" and was dependent on other provinces for supply of all essential commodities.²⁰⁹

These and other forecasts were quite disconcerting. It was an uphill task for Jinnah to make a start from scratch and create a viable State. The Muslim League had neither the time nor the expertise to undertake any extensive programme of economic development of the Pakistan areas. It is surprising that Jinnah who was all too busy striving for the creation of Pakistan was nevertheless able to find time to address economic matters, pay visits to industrial concerns personally²¹⁰ and receive schemes for putting up industries²¹¹ and thereby "industrialising the Pakistan Zones".²¹² He was invited to the launching

for Rs. 60,400 and yet another 500 in Air India for Rs. 50,000.²¹⁸ With studious care and a shrewd handling of his financial affairs, it is no wonder that he received high dividends on his investments.²¹⁹ Jinnah, the brilliant and pre-eminent lawyer, was also the owner of a tea estate in Dehra Dun which he advertised for sale for ten lakhs of rupees.²²⁰

He dealt, no less far-sightedly, in the purchase and resale of property in some of the principal cities of India—a process marked by his personal involvement in such transactions. By 1940 he had no less than four large residential properties: his house at 10 Aurangzeb Road, Delhi, 7 posh Mayfair flats—fetching a monthly rental of Rs. 2,295—,²²¹ his bungalow at Little Gibbs Road and his palatial residence at Mount Pleasant Road, Bombay, occupying an area of 15,467 square yards. This house was started in 1938 and completed at a cost of more than two lakhs of rupees by Gregson, Batley and King, chartered architects of Bombay.²²² He had sold his Mayfair flats in 1943²²³ and was even prepared to sell his bungalow at Mount Pleasant Road for Rs. 20 lakh.²²⁴ He owned a house in Lahore,²²⁵ residential plots in Gulberg, Lahore,²²⁶ agricultural land in Malir²²⁷ near Karachi. Even in the hectic days of 1946, we find him negotiating the purchase of "The Retreat" in Katrain situated in an isolated place in the Kulu valley.²²⁸ In March 1947, he is again found interested in "Sandow Castle", a large property near Bombay on 19 acres of land and with an "unrestricted view of the sea" at an advertised price of rupees five lakh.²²⁹ Immediately after HMG's Statement of 20 February 1947 he entered into a deal to purchase the Flag Staff House, Frere Town Quarter, Karachi²³⁰ and made queries for a number of other properties²³¹ including a houseboat in Kashmir.²³²

Jinnah also entered into a protracted dispute with the Defence authorities in connection with his Lahore bungalow which had been requisitioned by them. He had been pressing the authorities since October 1946 to derequisition the house but with no success.²³³ He was not prepared to put up with their "arbitrary attitude" and "forced possession":

This is an extra-ordinary position taken up by you and I cannot accept it. It means that you can continue as long as you desire and as long as it is convenient to you. This virtually means expropriation of my property, not to use a strong word—confiscation.²³⁴

The lengthy correspondence on the issue is highlighted by Jinnah's persistent defence of his legal rights, his straightforward and frank exposition of what he regarded as an encroachment upon his proprietary rights. When he failed to elicit a favourable response, in sheer desperation he wrote:

I may point out that the Government and the Defence Services have

any number of houses and properties which can suitably be used for the convenience of the Defence Services. Release of this house, I venture to say, cannot make any serious difference if you are prepared to consider my position in all fairness. Well! I have only got one roof—one house; and I really bought this house in the hope that after the War it would be derequisitioned.²³⁵

He continued to press his case and finally succeeded in getting the house released.²³⁶

It has been seen that Jinnah took ■ shrewd personal interest in disposing of and acquiring property and that he showed no less care in handling problems of maintenance and upkeep. No annoyance was too small to command his attention. Writing to Boles & Co., Plumbers, he remarked:

Each time your man came, the job did not take him more than half an hour or an hour and it was your defective work which caused the chokage and as the job was not done properly, I am returning your bill and I hope that you will revise it and send me the reasonable bill so that I may send your cheque.²³⁷

His house at Mount Pleasant Road, Bombay, which he occupied in December 1939, leaked heavily during the monsoon. As a result, a great deal of damage was caused to the walls and other parts of the house on the first floor each year. Between 1939 and 1944, Messrs Gannon, Dunkerley & Co. had been attending to the house to set the defects right but the work was never done satisfactorily. As in the case of the Lahore Cantonment house, so in this one Jinnah pursued the matter of repairs for six years, asking the firm to carry out its obligation.²³⁸ It might have been better for him to engage a different firm to rectify the defects. But it was not done. When his letters and reminders were "not taken any notice of", he did not give up; instead he showed great perseverance—a notable trait of his character—to get things done:

It is very painful for me to write to you in this manner and I do not understand why you do not carry out your obligations cheerfully and without delay. I am really tired of this now and if you do not attend to these matters, as you ought to, I propose to terminate further correspondence on the subject and do the best I can and hold you responsible for the cost of putting the defects right.²³⁹

Indeed it was a painful experience for Jinnah to have to put up with the recurring yearly nuisance of leakage as he wrote, "I am in the same position as I was when I came to occupy this house". And despite earlier threats of terminating correspondence, he persisted and persuaded the contractors to fulfil their obligation:

I hope you don't blame me for feeling as I do so strongly on the subject because if you were to put yourself in my position, I am sure you will not have shown the patience and toleration [*sic*] as I have shown in this

matter. It is now for you to consider and do what you think best.²⁴⁰

The possession of wealth did not lead Jinnah into complacency or carelessness in money matters. He held accounts in a number of banks including a foreign account.²⁴¹ He would not leave large sums in current account—only an amount required to meet day-to-day expenses. The rest was invested either as fixed deposit or in Savings Bank earning interest.²⁴² With a huge legal practice and investments in stocks, Jinnah had assured a sizeable regular income for himself so that he was paying super tax as well as super tax surcharge.²⁴³ Proper accounts were always maintained and even details of ordinary items—bread, butter, fruits—are available in the *Jinnah Papers*. A representative sample of his kitchen expenses during a period of four weeks shows that a sum of Rs. 249-2-6 was spent, i.e. Rs. 45-6-3 per week or Rs. 6-7-9 per day.²⁴⁴ Groceries were not purchased in bulk but, generally, from day to day. A tab was always kept on the daily expenses. He received regular statements of expenses for his daughter Dina while she was studying in U.K. Not at all flippant in money matters, keeping a tight control over expenses, sometimes refusing to buy articles if over-charged, noting, "I find this is too much as I can get a pair [of shorts] in Bombay from the Army and Navy for Rs. 10-8-0",²⁴⁵ we find a different Jinnah only too willing to meet all the expenses of his daughter. When on holiday in London, Dina had her lunches and dinners at some of the best restaurants, stayed in good hotels and attended cinema shows and theatrical performances. During the six days that she was there in December 1935, she went to a cinema show or a pantomime every day and bought expensive tickets—the privilege of being the only child of a wealthy, illustrious and loving father.²⁴⁶

Jinnah asked for estimates even for comparatively inexpensive articles. When Bhagwan Singh & Sons submitted an estimate of Rs. 13-9-0 for repairs of an electric toaster, Jinnah replied: "I beg to inform you that your estimate for the same is more than the actual cost of the toaster itself", and then followed a demand that the toaster itself be returned without being repaired.²⁴⁷

In business, as in politics, he exercised his prerogative of ensuring that bargains made were properly fulfilled; and this whether lakhs were at stake or Rs. 13-9-0.

The same legalistic approach and the same care for detail appear in his dealings with his tenants. A Mrs D. S. Cowan had rented a flat at 'Mayfair'. She requested Jinnah to "kindly send a plumber and an electrician" to undertake repairs. Jinnah replied:

...the landlord is not under any obligation to do what you require him to do. And for your information, I may quote the following clauses which exist in all the leases.

Then followed references to the various pertinent clauses.²⁴⁸ Similarly, when a certain Wilkinson, the tenant of Flat No. 1, wrote to Jinnah complaining of a faulty cold water tap, he received a characteristic Jinnah reply:

I am not bound to attend to anything relating to the interior of the flat as you will see from the clauses 5 and 10 of the lease.²⁴⁹

With Jinnah, the lawyer, businessman, landlord or politician, contracts freely entered into were binding obligations.

His domestic concerns evince the same care over detail, the same exact sense of what is due, but also a solicitude for the individual. Though always on the move, he saw to it that his household affairs were not neglected. If the grapefruit from the trees at the Bombay house were to be plucked in his absence, he would like to know their exact number. And when he was informed that the *mali* was offering Rs. 10 for the grass in the lawn, Jinnah would write: "We always get Rs. 15 for it every year, and you authorise the *mali* to sell it for that amount". He was just as careful, however, to see that the salaries of the servants—there were at least eight of them in Bombay,²⁵⁰ besides the eight attendants at his Aurangzeb Road house in Delhi—were disbursed on time.²⁵¹ On the other hand, he could insist that a servant arrange for a substitute before he would allow him leave even for very important business,²⁵² though where better prospects in terms of emoluments or service were offered to a servant, no hindrance was put in his way if he wished to resign. Jinnah never sought to retain an employee against his wishes.²⁵³ If there was a testimonial to be given, it had to be a truthful one. Thus, of Mubarak Beg, the cook, he wrote that he had to dispense with his services not because he was a bad cook but because "his vice of drink makes him so unreliable that I have no alternative but to dismiss him".²⁵⁴ Likewise, when Jinnah dispensed with the services of Mohammad Alam, he described him in his testimonial as an "honest" and "very good driver" but added: "The chief reason why I am dispensing with his services is that he cannot get on with other servants..."²⁵⁵

Jinnah never allowed himself to be too close to his servants. In fact, he was extremely formal, even using the form "Dear Sir" when addressing them, as in his letter to the *mali*, Ranji Govind.²⁵⁶ But if any of them was taken ill, he was ready to put himself out on his behalf, writing a personal letter to the doctor:

I am very anxious about his health. I am sending him to your hospital, and trust that you will be good enough to attend to him and oblige.²⁵⁷

This sort of concern, his tact and his ability to pour oil on troubled waters or to soothe an injured feeling were among Jinnah's characteristic

qualities which added up to the charisma that made him a great leader. For example, we find a 17-year-old boy writing: "With trembling hand I have picked up my pen to write a letter to you". He went on to say that he wished Jinnah to convince his mother that he should be allowed to go to America to pursue his studies, citing Jinnah, Nehru and Gandhi as people who "had gone at an early age and had become great men". He wished to live in a free country, fearing that he might be "demoralised if he stayed in India". Referring to his finances the boy said that he was well off:

My great grandfather unfortunately got the Estate in exchange to the services rendered in the Mutiny. I am very much ashamed to possess it and want to wash that dirty spot by rendering appropriate service to the community.²⁵⁸

Jinnah's answer shows that he was fully conscious of his responsibility towards this unknown boy, and he gave him excellent advice:

What can I say in a matter like the one that you put before me? You are a youth of 17, and it is for your mother and your elders to advise you and determine whether you should be sent abroad or not. No man with character can be demoralised, no matter where he stays. As you say your mother is an able woman and she has managed the affairs of the estate very efficiently, you must trust her and follow her advice.²⁵⁹

On the other hand, when an overenthusiastic *Pir* decided that Jinnah should go for *Haj*, and even mapped out his itinerary, a different response is called for.²⁶⁰ Jinnah tells him quite simply that it is not possible to leave India at present.²⁶¹ His answer is perhaps a little curt, but its great virtue is that it admits of no argument, and having entered into no discussion, Jinnah had given the *Pir* neither ground for complaint nor occasion for any further correspondence.

One sees him in a different frame of mind when dealing with the complaint of a prominent League leader, Ghulam Bhik Nairang, who thinks himself slighted. The man complained:

Today was a day of shame for me and I do not know how I can show my face to the 300 Muslims of Ambala City, [who,] evading an order under Sec[ti]on 144,²⁶² Cr[im]inal P[ro]cedure C[ode], had gathered 6 miles away.... on the roadside merely in order to see you just for a minute. I wrote, wired, and prayed you personally to stop your car at the spot. I even requested you to allow me to sit in your car by the side of the driver... but... you refused my request for a lift, your car did not stop and the 300 persons who had undertaken the 6 miles journey had to thank their stars and return disappointed and broken-hearted. They were taunted by someone who said: A Congress Minister would stop his car even if one man signed to him to do so but the Quaid-i-Azam does not care for even 300 Muslims.²⁶³

Jinnah could not afford to disappoint or discomfit his followers; and his answer is a model of tact which concludes by turning the man's anger against himself; it was a subtle reprimand which could not offend, but might make him realise the error of his ways. He treats him as a man who deserved to have his complaint taken seriously, and writes at some length:

...I am extremely sorry that you should have felt hurt. I did not know that there was any order under Section 144, and that some people had gathered outside the limit[s] of the application of that order, six miles away from the city.

As regards my not being able to accommodate you in the car, the only reason was that there was no room. On the way, I did not see really any large number of people but now you have drawn my attention that there were some people, but unfortunately my car passed. This was not the only place where people in small number had gathered together on the road side. You must remember that we had to get through within the scheduled time.

I am really surprised that over this small incident you should have been taunted by some people saying: A Congress Minister would stop his car even if one man signed to him to do so, but the Quaid-i-Azam does not care for even 300 Muslims.

I do not think I deserve this, and you know it. It must be some irresponsible person, who could have said this, and I know that this is the cause of our having gone down as a Nation, because if a Musalman is displeased in however small a matter, his temper is uncontrollable and he does not make any allowance for the point of view of the other side.... but condemns him without any explanation, unheard and in the strongest terms. But I feel, thank God, Musalmans are getting more disciplined, considerate and thoughtful, which is a bright sign for the making of our Nation.

Jinnah concluded with a final softening word:

However, please convey to those, who had assembled six miles away from the City, my thanks for their regard and respect for me, and I hope that they will understand how this happened.²⁶⁴

As if official business was not enough, Jinnah had also to enter into lengthy correspondence with his doctors. While in Delhi, Jinnah had been under the treatment of Dr Albert Batty. But the *Hindustan Times* published a news item on 12 April 1945 to the effect that Jinnah had made steady progress and, though strictly advised to have a complete rest and to continue the treatment, he had been allowed to undertake the journey to Bombay by his physician, Dr Rahman. The appearance of Dr Rahman's name in the newspaper incensed Dr Batty who, feeling slighted, wrote a long accusatory letter to the Quaid. The report

that Jinnah had been under Dr Rahman's treatment, he suggested, must have "emanated from some responsible person at No. 12 Aurangzeb Road", and in protest Dr Batty returned Jinnah's cheque with the biblical quotation that "man does not live by bread alone". Had Jinnah consulted Rahman, "whosoever that worthy may be, it would have saved me the anxiety and worry which a doctor generally feels when treating a case of serious illness", Dr Batty added, concluding: "This may be making a mountain out of a molehill but then molehills do hurt some people who do not go in for mountaineering".²⁶⁵ Ill as he was, Jinnah leaned over backwards to mollify the doctor's injured sensibilities, deploying all his wits as politician and lawyer:

You have condemned me *ex parte* without hearing me or waiting for my explanation, because according to your enquiries... the report that appeared in the Press did emanate from my house and you have adopted a course of passing the [sic] sentence on me by returning the cheque which was sent to you for your professional attendance on me during my recent indisposition.

You know that so far as my immediate illness was concerned, you declared, by about the end of March, that I was completely all right and of your own accord informed me that there was no more need for you to attend to me, and as usual, you sent your bill in the first week of April, which was paid by cheque on the 8th of April.

Jinnah admitted that since Dr Rahman had treated him on several occasions before, he had used the occasion of his being in Delhi to consult him. But as for the newspaper report, Jinnah wrote:

You have no experience how these reports are mutilated and are gathered. My office was, no doubt, pressed by the News Agencies, the Press and various other quarters wanting some information and my Secretary naturally gave them such information in the ordinary course as was available to him.... May I just point out that you describe my house as No. 12 Aurangzeb Road, which is in fact No. 10, and you have been so often to my house, which is an instance how, without questioning the *bona fides* of any one, mistakes are made.

Having made that neat little lawyer's point, Jinnah went on to assure Dr Batty that he knew of nobody in his office who, though "not quite relishing" that he had been under Dr Batty's treatment, would have deliberately wished to mortify him:

As far as I am concerned, you know you have been my doctor for a long time in Delhi and during my recent illness your name came uppermost in my mind and you were asked to attend to me. Let me tell you that I am very grateful to you for all that you did for me, not merely as a professional man which of course is your duty, and the

keen and special interest that you took in looking after me.

Jinnah sent back the cheque, pleading with the doctor to accept it and requesting him to forget the incident.²⁶⁶

The correspondence is typical of the man, both in the way in which he set about winning over Dr Batty, and in his insistence upon settling the account by due payment for the services rendered. This is but one instance of his unfaltering adherence to principle and meticulous attention to financial and other matters.

As we have already noted, the immense wealth that Jinnah had accumulated derived from his prodigious legal practice, shrewd investments in shares and real estate and parsimonious spending. Never a prodigal or a wastrel, he was certainly not niggardly or stingy either. From his large fortune he donated money quite liberally for charitable causes.²⁶⁷

When he became the Governor-General of Pakistan, Jinnah was as careful, circumspect, prudent and discreet in the expenditure of public money as he had been in the expenditure of his own. When an aircraft was to be purchased for the official use of the Governor-General and it was ascertained that it would cost more than fifteen lakhs of rupees, Jinnah, unlike the rulers that followed him, decided that the Governor-General of Pakistan could not "afford to go in for an aircraft" costing that much.²⁶⁸ Implicit in all this is an object-lesson for holders of public office. It is that public money must be regarded as a sacred trust and that it must be spent not for private profit or personal gratification but for public good.

Z. H. ZAIDI

Notes

- ¹Statement by British Government on Indian Policy, 3 June 1947, No. 1.
- ²Dina to Jinnah, 2/5 June 1947, Vol. I, Part I, No. 525, 984-5.
- ³Statement by British Government on Indian Policy, 20 February 1947, *ibid.*, No. 1, 1-3.
- ⁴Statement, 3 June 1947, No. 1.
- ⁵Broadcast by Mountbatten, 3 June 1947, No. 2.
- ⁶Kripalani to Mountbatten, 2 June 1947, Appendix III.1.
- ⁷Broadcast by Mountbatten, 3 June 1947, No. 2.
- ⁸Broadcast by Nehru, 3 June 1947, No. 3.
- ⁹Broadcast by Baldev Singh, 3 June 1947, No. 5.
- ¹⁰Baldev Singh to Mountbatten, 2 June 1947, Appendix III.2.
- ¹¹Kripalani to Mountbatten, 2 June 1947, Appendix III.1.
- ¹²Broadcast by Jinnah, 3 June 1947, No. 4.
- ¹³Viceroy's Meeting with the Indian Leaders, 2 June 1947, Annex I to No. 1.
- ¹⁴*Ibid.*
- ¹⁵*Ibid.*
- ¹⁶Annex to Appendix III.4.
- ¹⁷*Ibid.*
- ¹⁸Listowel to Mountbatten, 20 June 1947, *TP*, XI, No. 281, 538-41.
- ¹⁹AIML Resolution, 9 June 1947, Enclosure to Annex to No. 41.
- ²⁰See Proceedings of AIML Council Meeting, 9 June 1947, Enclosure to Appendix III. 36.
- ²¹*Ibid.*
- ²²*Ibid.*
- ²³*Sind Observer*, 13 June 1947.
- ²⁴Enclosure to Appendix III.6.
- ²⁵*Ibid.*
- ²⁶*Ibid.*
- ²⁷*Times of India*, 11 June 1947.
- ²⁸Resolution of the All-India Congress Committee, 15 June 1947, *TP*, XI, No. 205, 398.
- ²⁹Viceroy's Meeting with the Indian Leaders, 3 June 1947, *ibid.*, No. 39, 74.
- ³⁰*Ibid.*
- ³¹Patel to Mountbatten, 10 June 1947, Appendix III.6.
- ³²Evan Jenkins to Mountbatten, 15 June 1947, *TP*, XI, No. 209, 403.
- ³³*Ibid.*, 402.
- ³⁴*Ibid.*, 403.
- ³⁵*Ibid.*, 404.
- ³⁶Mudie to Mountbatten, 7 June 1947, *ibid.*, No. 104, 194.
- ³⁷Statement, 3 June 1947, No. 1.
- ³⁸Broadcast by Jinnah, 3 June 1947, No. 4.
- ³⁹Patel to Mountbatten, 3 June 1947, Annex I to No. 4. Also see Dr Khan Sahib to Mountbatten, 4 June 1947, Annex II to No. 4.
- ⁴⁰Kripalani to Mountbatten, 2 June 1947, Appendix III. 1.
- ⁴¹Interview between Mountbatten and Dr Khan Sahib, 5 June 1947, Appendix V. 5.
- ⁴²Statement by Ghaffar Khan, 25 June 1947, Annex III to No. 299.
- ⁴³Interview between Mountbatten and Dr Khan Sahib, 5 June 1947, Appendix V.5. Also see Mountbatten to Listowel, 5 June 1947, Appendix X.1, paras. 23 and 33; and Interview between Mountbatten and Nehru, 24 June 1947, Annex to No. 228.
- ⁴⁴Mountbatten to Gandhi, 12 June 1947, No. 84.
- ⁴⁵Jinnah to Gandhi, 13 June 1947, Enclosure 2 to No. 94.
- ⁴⁶Gandhi to Jinnah, 14 June 1947, No. 99.
- ⁴⁷Mountbatten to Nehru, 17 June 1947, Appendix V. 11.
- ⁴⁸Mieville to Mountbatten, 18 June 1947, Appendix V. 15.
- ⁴⁹Bannu Resolution, 21 June 1947, Annex II to No. 299.

125	Bihar ML Central Relief Committee Balance Sheet	16	Submit balance sheet in respect of Bihar Muslim League Central Relief Fund for the period from 1 to 15 June 1947.	291
126	H. L. Ismay to Jinnah Letter & Enclosures	16	Sends copies of two notes entitled "The Structure of the British Commonwealth" and "Dominion Governors-General", describing the relationship between Britain and the Dominions.	292
127	H. L. Ismay to Jinnah Letter	16	Suggests some names for appointment of a constitutional lawyer/draftsman for him.	296
128	Statement by Jinnah	16	Refers to the important work to be done in connection with division of India, referendum in NWFP, Baluchistan and Assam, <i>partition of the Punjab and Bengal</i> , division of assets and liabilities, setting up of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, establishment of the Pakistan Government and the framing of the Constitution of Pakistan; appeals for funds for carrying out the gigantic work satisfactorily.	297
129	Mir Haider to Jinnah Letter	16	Felicitates him on winning a national homeland for Indian Muslims; recounts his varied experience as an officer of the Indian Army and requests appointment in the Pakistan Army or in a diplomatic mission.	299
130	Riaz Piracha to Jinnah Letter	16	Volunteers his services gratis for work in the Pakistan Constituent Assembly Secretariat.	301
131	A. M. Zubairi to Jinnah Letter & Enclosures	16	Extends his felicitations on the achievement of Pakistan and requests a suitable job under the Government of Pakistan.	302
132	M. A. Chaudhary to Jinnah Letter	17	Suggests that details of contributions made to the Bihar Relief Fund be published to encourage Muslims to subscribe to the Pakistan Fund for which he (Jinnah) had issued an appeal.	303
133	Fakhruddin to Jinnah Letter	17	Donates Rs. 1,000 towards the Pakistan Fund in response to his public appeal.	304
134	G. H. Hidayatullah to Jinnah Letter	17	Reports availability from Disposals Department, Delhi, of 60 jeeps and 80 lorries costing approximately Rs. 2,000 and Rs. 1,700 each, respectively, for the Frontier referendum; advises their purchase; intimates that a house was being arranged for him in Karachi.	305
135	Hossain Imam to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	17	Refers to No. 103 and informs of the action taken with respect to Bihar refugees camped in West Bengal; tenders resignation from the Central Bihar Relief Committee owing to his failure to carry out the assignment satisfactorily; enumerates recommendations of the Committee for Government action.	305

136	A. Qaiyum Khan to Jinnah Letter	17	Suggests that during his forthcoming visit to Peshawar, he stay in Abdul Latif Khan's bungalow; reports that the ML campaign was in full swing; suggests that he spend about three days at Abbottabad before going on to Peshawar.	307
137	A. R. Khan to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	17	Encloses ■ note on the population and the division of certain parts of Assam, Bengal and Bihar for their inclusion in Eastern Pakistan.	307
138	Aslam Khan to Jinnah Letter	17	Offers to serve the cause of Pakistan; wishes to have his services transferred to the Pakistan Constituent Assembly Secretariat.	310
139	Iftikhar Mamdot to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	17	Encloses a cheque for Rs. 200, along with a letter from Dr Yacob, as contribution towards the Pakistan Fund.	311
140	Rajaballi Nanji to Jinnah Letter	17	Congratulates him on achievement of Pakistan; encloses a cheque for Rs. 500 as contribution to Pakistan Fund; offers his services gratis for Pakistan.	312
141	M. M. Qureshi to Jinnah Letter	17	A released Army officer, contributes Rs. 50 towards the Pakistan Fund and offers his services gratis in a suitable capacity, given his knowledge of constitutional history, politics and law.	312
142	Siddiq Hasan to Jinnah Letter	17	Encloses a cheque for Rs. 150 for the Pakistan Fund; places his own as well ■ his family's services at his (Jinnah's) disposal and assures him of their readiness even to lay down their lives for Pakistan.	313
143	N. C. Vazirani to Jinnah Letter	17	Requests that the Sind Government be asked to refrain from resuming the Municipal land reserved for Hindus in Karachi and allotting it to Bihari Muslim refugees as that was likely to exacerbate communal tension; requests also that Sind Premier be directed to accept amendments in the Sind University Act.	313
144	Ramaswami Aiyar to Jinnah Telegram	18	Appreciates his press statement of 17 June 1947; though strongly opposed to partition of India himself, admires Jinnah's courage and resoluteness, with which he had attained his goal of Pakistan; hopes that Travancore would have representatives in both Dominions and commercial and other relations with Pakistan.	315
145	I. I. Chundrigar to Jinnah Letter	18	Recommends requisitioning of the services of Nomanbhoy Miabhyoy, a District and Sessions Judge in the Bombay Province, for the Pakistan Constituent Assembly Secretariat.	317
146	French-Indian Muslims Association to Jinnah Letter	18	Draw attention to the lack of proper representation of the Muslims of French-Indian Settlements in Government services and local elected bodies; seek his	318

help for securing separate electorate for them; suggest that he instruct the Madras and Bengal MLs and the Malabar District ML to help their cause by bringing pressure to bear on the French authorities concerned.

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| 147 | Jinnah to Imperial Bank of India, New Delhi Letter | 18 | Encloses one demand draft and three cheques for a total amount of Rs. 34,803-8-0 for credit to his Current Account No. 2. | 320 |
| 148 | Jinnah to Mohamedali Habib Letter | 18 | Suggests that he consider opening Habib Bank's branches in Bhopal and Assam where there was sufficient scope for business; informs that the operation of the recently instituted Pakistan Fund had been entrusted to Habib Bank, Delhi, and hopes that the Bank would manage it better than it did previously. | 320 |
| 149 | Mohammad Ullah to Habib Bank, Delhi Letter | 18 | Sends a crossed cheque for Rs. 100 as contribution towards the Pakistan Fund. | 321 |
| 150 | Nizam of Hyderabad to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure | 18 | Seeks Jinnah's advice on the future of Hyderabad as the Congress was keen on the State joining the Hindustan Constituent Assembly and also the Union; says that, while Jinnah had urged independence for the State, the Viceroy preferred its joining the Hindustan Constituent Assembly, suggesting negotiations with the Interim Government on matters of common interest; requests Jinnah to meet him without further delay. | 322 |
| 151 | G. A. Parwez to Jinnah Letter | 18 | Suggests formation of a Secretariat Organization Committee to determine the set-up of Pakistan Secretariat; recommends that policy on pay and amenities of Government servants be announced immediately to debunk Hindu propaganda that Pakistan would be unable to pay the existing emoluments to them. | 323 |
| 152 | A. S. Alavi to Jinnah Letter | 19 | Sends a cheque for Rs. 30 as donation to the Pakistan Fund. | 325 |
| 153 | M. Masud Ali to Jinnah Letter | 19 | Sends a donation for the Pakistan Fund and requests acknowledgement. | 326 |
| 154 | M. U. Arif to Jinnah Letter | 19 | Requests authorization to collect donations to the Pakistan Fund in the absence of any branch of Habib Bank Ltd. or of any other Muslim Bank in Meerut. | 326 |
| 155 | Nawab of Bhopal to Jinnah Letter & Enclosures | 19 | Relays request of Dewan of Travancore for maintaining supply of rice to the State from the Punjab, Sind and Baluchistan; recommends immediate issue of instructions. | 327 |

156	H. B. G. Gowda to Jinnah Letter	19	Sends a copy of a special Resolution adopted by the Mysore Legislative Council felicitating the Viceroy on securing the cooperation and willingness of the two major political parties in India, viz. AIML and INC, to come to a workable compromise.	328
157	Habib Bank, Delhi, to Jinnah Letter	19	Send an account opening form, specimen signature cards, pay-in slip and cheque book for opening Pakistan Fund Account.	329
158	G. H. Hidayatullah to Jinnah Letter	19	Informs that his house would be ready by 1 July; says construction of a building for the Pakistan Establishment had started; adds that Agha Shahi had been deputed to collect information about Muslim officers coming to Karachi and all their requirements, including telephones.	329
159	B. D. Hutchinson to Jinnah Letter	19	Congratulates him on achievement of Pakistan; recounts his close contacts with the Muslim community and his "glorious" career in the Telegraphs Department; seeks his advice about opting for service in Pakistan.	336
160	A. E. Jeewa to Jinnah Letter	19	Encloses, on behalf of G. H. A. Bayat, a bank draft for Rs. 264-5-11 for distribution among the Muslim victims of Bihar riots; conveys felicitations of the Muslims of Durban on his success in the struggle for Pakistan.	337
161	Jinnah to Ramaswami Aiyar Telegram	19	Reciprocates the offer of amity with Travancore and sends best wishes for its welfare and prosperity.	337
162	Jinnah to Habib Bank, Delhi Letter	19	Encloses two cheques for a total amount of Rs. 10,090 for credit to the Bihar Relief Fund and issuing receipt to Altaf Ali.	338
163	A. G. Khan to Jinnah Letter	19	Controverts his statement in <i>Dawn</i> that he (Ghaffar) would be having further talks with him after consulting his colleagues; states that he would intimate their decision without any further meeting; complains against the coverage by <i>Dawn</i> , specially the mention of refusal of funds by the Congress to him and his "henchmen"; protests that the <i>Dawn</i> report was not conducive to "a friendly approach or a settlement".	338
164	Mountbatten to Jinnah Letter	19	Intimates that the Secretary of State had confirmed the view that the time factor ruled out UNO providing members of the Boundary Commissions; says the Secretary of State had, however, suggested that the President of the International Court of Justice might be invited to select members of the Commissions; recalls the decision taken in the meeting held on 13 June	340

			that the Chairman of each Commission be selected by the members nominated and that, if they failed to agree, the choice of Chairmen be left to the Indian leaders; adds that if there was no eventual agreement, the Secretary of State's suggestion might be acted upon; intimates the names proposed by Nehru for each Commission and requests his suggestions.	
165	Noorud Deen to Jinnah Letter	19	Recommends use of "Hollerith Punched Card System" for accounting and statistical purposes by the Pakistan Government, as was being done by the Indian Government etc.	342
166	PS to Jinnah to Secretary, Muslim Community, Pietersburg Letter	19	Informs that the draft for Rs. 2,167-13-0 sent by him for the Muslim League Fund was not traceable; requests that bank record at their end be examined and the result intimated.	343
167	Jamil Wasti to Jinnah Letter	19	Recalls his previous meetings with him; congratulates him on his success in achieving Pakistan; says his name had been recommended by Caroe for External Affairs Department, Government of India; offers his services for the same Department in Pakistan.	344
168	Ali Mohammed to Jinnah Letter	20	Informs of having deposited, in the bank, an amount of Rs. 500 contributed by the residents of Qila Sheikhpura for Pakistan Fund.	345
169	S. Wajid Ali to K. H. Khurshid Telephonic message	20	All available jeeps and 3-ton trucks be purchased by Government of Sind at the price quoted.	347
170	Allah Ditta to PS to Jinnah Letter	20	Encloses a bank draft for Rs. 1,000 donated by the Directors and Staff of Gujrat Punjab Bus Ltd. in response to his appeal for donations to the Pakistan Fund.	347
171	Aziz Ahmad to Jinnah Letter	20	Offers to serve in Pakistan's Diplomatic Corps for which, he claims, he might be useful as he was a good linguist, had wide contacts abroad and was a staunch Leaguer; forwards his bio-data; hopes Jinnah, having won the battle for Pakistan, would harness all available Muslim talent.	348
172	Draft Constitution for Pakistan by H. Rahman	20	Describes the general structure of the State and the Union; defines the basic rights and duties of citizens; outlines the structure of the Executive, the Legislature and the Judiciary; specifies distribution of powers and other provisions; lays down procedure for amendment of the Constitution.	349
173	H. L. Ismay to Jinnah Letter	20	Says the Viceroy was convinced that, given the short time available, the wishes	360

		of Baluchistan could be ascertained only by making a reference, as on the last occasion, to the members of the <i>Shahi Jirga</i> (excluding nominees of the Kalat State) and the non-official members of the Quetta Municipality; desires to know if Jinnah was agreeable.	
174	Jinnah to Kotwal Telegram	20	361
		20	
175	Nawab Jomezai to Jinnah Telegram	20	361
		20	
176	Jinnah to Nawab Jomezai Telegram	20	362
177	Hakimuddin Khan to Jinnah Letter	20	362
178	Mohammad Athar to Jinnah Letter	20	363
179	M. M. Rafique to Jinnah Letter	20	363
		20	
180	Mrs Rallia Ram to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	20	365
		20	
181	M. D. Sheikh to Jinnah Letter	20	366
		20	
182	T. H. A. S. Tufton to Jinnah Letter & Enclosures	20	367

ness of incorporating that Division with Eastern Pakistan.

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| 183 | R.E.B. Willcox to Jinnah
Letter & Enclosure | 20 | Encloses a statement of disbursements made on behalf of the Muslim India Information Centre, London, amounting to £989-7-11, and requests remittance of the amount. | 387 |
| 184 | Mrs Z. Akhtar to Jinnah
Letter | 20 | Remits Rs. 100 for the Pakistan Fund and prays for his long life and health. | 388 |
| 185 | D. B. Advani to Jinnah
Telegram | 21 | Seeks his intervention in the controversy regarding Sind University Act; complains that the Act was passed in disregard of the minorities' view-point and that Muslims were preferred to better qualified Hindus, provoking a demand for their own University. | 389 |
| 186 | Syed Aslam to Jinnah
Letter & Enclosure | 21 | Presents a scheme for setting up a Muslim National Information Bureau with branches in most Muslim countries; seeks interview to explain the scheme. | 389 |
| 187 | F. A. Dignum to Mountbatten
Letter & Enclosure | 21 | Makes a representation on behalf of the Anglo-Indian League, Bengal, for option to live in India or Pakistan; claims special status for the Anglo-Indian community, just like the Sikhs, in deciding India's political destiny; demands that Calcutta, built by many communities besides Hindus, be declared an international city; hopes the representation would be brought to HMG's notice. | 392 |
| 188 | Governor-General to Secretary of State for India
Telegram | 21 | Telegraphs contents of Indian Embassy, Nanking's telegram regarding Afghan Minister's suggestion to form an independent State, comprising NWFP and Baluchistan, instead of forcing them to join either Pakistan or Hindustan; demands an outlet to the sea for Afghanistan; refers to Indian Ambassador's reply that they considered division of India "a temporary expedient" and would welcome Afghanistan as a strong and friendly neighbour. | 395 |
| 189 | G. I. P. Railway
Circular & Enclosure | 21 | Instruct all employees, in pursuance of Railway Board's directive, to exercise option to serve in Pakistan or India, provisionally or finally. | 396 |
| 190 | Habib Bank, Delhi, to Jinnah
Letter | 21 | Acknowledge No. 162; confirm that a receipt for the cheque would be issued; seek instructions about issue of receipt for another cheque for Rs. 10,000 for want of particulars of the donor. | 398 |
| 191 | Habib Bank, Delhi, to Maharaja Hosier Mills
Letter | 21 | Inform them of having credited their draft for Rs. 1,950 to Bihar Relief Fund in December 1946; confirm receipt of their cheque for Rs. 50. | 399 |

192	Yusuf A. Haroon to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	21	Seeks advice about serving as a member of the Industrial Liaison Committee appointed by the Government of India, in view of the announcement of 3 June Plan.	400
193	Jinnah to M. U. Arif Letter	21	Refers to No. 154; advises that no one could be authorized, directly or indirectly, to handle the Pakistan Fund and that contributions should be sent to Habib Bank, Delhi.	401
194	Jinnah to Habib Bank, Delhi Letter	21	Refers to No. 157 and sends specimen signature cards and account opening form in respect of the Pakistan Fund, duly filled in; acknowledges receipt of pay-in slip and cheque book.	402
195	Iven Mackay to Jinnah Letter	21	Invites him to visit Canberra and attend the forthcoming conference relating to the Japanese Peace Settlement.	403
196	A. Y. Magdum to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	21	Encloses a cheque for Rs. 1,012-4-0 as contribution to the Pakistan Fund.	403
197	H. C. Morris to Jinnah Letter	21	Assures that rentals would be remitted regularly to his banker in future on monthly or quarterly basis, as desired.	405
198	Mrs Rallia Ram to Jinnah Letter	21	Suggests that the demand of Hindu-Sikh junta that the Chenab should form the dividing line if the Punjab was partitioned, be opposed by the ML; says Sikhs were being manipulated by Hindus into demanding partition of the Punjab without realising that it would reduce them to an ineffectual minority in East Punjab; advises that Sikhs be assured by ML that they would be in a better position in a full-fledged Pakistan than in a truncated one.	406
199	Sujan Singh to Jinnah Letter	21	Congratulates him on establishment of Pakistan and seeks his blessings for All India Prem Sabha, a non-political and non-communal organisation.	407
200	Sujan Singh to Jinnah Letter	21	Requests patronage of and donation for the All India Prem Sabha which celebrated communal festivals jointly, monitored the functioning of public utilities and helped poor widows irrespective of caste or creed.	407
201	I. S. Andrews to Jinnah Letter	22	Recalls his press interviews with him; expresses happiness over the creation of a Muslim State and reaffirms his belief that Hindus and Muslims were two distinct nations; offers his services for organising publicity and developing cultural, economic and political contacts in Europe and America.	408
202	I. A. Hussain to Jinnah Letter	22	Seeks interview for a delegation of the All-India Muslim Students Federation for advice on redrafting of the constitution of the Federation in the light of the latest political developments.	409

203	H. L. Ismay to Jinnah Letter	22	Says the Government of NWFP had agreed that for purposes of referendum both parties would be treated equally as regards supply of petrol; informs that the Provincial Government was willing to release persons convicted in connection with the ML agitation except those under trial for or convicted of serious criminal offences.	409
204	A. M. Jafri to Jinnah Letter	22	A retired Extra Assistant Commissioner with thirty years' experience in revenue, criminal, administrative and general duties, offers his services for Pakistan.	414
205	Jinnah to G. H. Hidayatullah Letter	22	Refers to No. 134; asks him to buy as many jeeps as he could at the rate of Rs. 2,000 each as well as all available 3-ton trucks at the rate of Rs. 5,100 each, on behalf of the Sind Government.	414
206	Jinnah to H. L. Ismay Letter	22	Refers to No. 173; says he had nothing to add to his earlier suggestions and that Abell had not contacted him with reference to those suggestions ■ decided; reiterates that ■ reference for ascertaining wishes of the people of British Baluchistan was required to be made to a more representative body in terms of the 3 June Statement.	415
207	Jinnah to Patrick Lacey Letter	22	Refers to No. 17; recalls his article included in the pamphlet <i>India's Problem of her Future Constitution</i> ; agrees that it was a mistake to partition the Punjab and Bengal but, the Plan as ■ whole having been accepted, he felt confident of making "a good job of it".	416
208	A. F. M. Mokarim to Jinnah Letter	22	Sends a cheque for Rs. 50 for the Pakistan Fund; offers his services for the impending referendums after the Indian Administrative Service Examination was over.	416
209	S. A. Unus to Jinnah Letter	22	Requests confirmation that a cigar box sent by him as a present had been received.	417
210	D. B. Advani to Jinnah Letter	23	Refers to No. 185; complains that Sind University Act was being forced upon the educational institutions of the minorities despite their opposition; says the minorities had been left with no option but to have a University of their own; requests that, pending the establishment of such University, the Sind Government permit continued affiliation of Hindu institutions to the Bombay University; reminds him of their earlier meeting with him and seeks just treatment for the minorities, especially in educational and cultural matters.	418

211	M. U. Arif to Jinnah Letter	23	Refers to No. 193; says he was not disheartened by his refusal to let their Bank operate the Pakistan Fund, for he hoped the institution would be kept in view when structuring the economy of Pakistan.	420
212	M. U. Arif to Jinnah Letter	23	Offers his services for Pakistan.	421
213	Confidential Assistant to Finance Member to Jinnah Letter & Enclosures	23	Forwards a note regarding the constitutionality of a common Governor-General for Pakistan and India and another note containing recommendations of the Steering Committee regarding changes in the terms of reference and the composition of various Expert Committees and their Sub-Committees.	421
214	E. A. Dadabhoy to Jinnah Letter	23	Eulogises him for the establishment of Pakistan; sends a draft for Rs. 4,296-0-8 for the Pakistan Fund.	426
215	Farooqui to Jinnah Letter	23	Encloses a bank draft for Rs. 1,176-7-0 for the ML Relief Fund; reports that they had started a fund-raising campaign through their journal, the <i>Indian Views</i> , and were confident of a generous response from the South African Muslims.	427
216	L. C. W. Hyne to Jinnah Letter	23	Offers his services for Pakistan after his release from the Royal Indian Navy in October 1947.	428
217	H. L. Ismay to Jinnah Letter	23	Refers to No. 206; informs that his letter regarding arrangements to ascertain the wishes of the people of Baluchistan would be placed before the Viceroy as soon as the latter returned from Kashmir; says the Agent to the Governor-General had telegraphed to request a decision by 23 June.	429
218	M. A. Khan to Jinnah Letter	23	Encloses a cheque for Rs. 25 for the Pakistan Fund; suggests renaming of the Fund as <i>Pakistan Bayt al-Maal</i> to attract more donations; advises that Muslims be exhorted to deposit <i>zakat</i> in <i>Bayt al-Maal</i> .	429
219	K.K. Mahmood to Jinnah Letter	23	Encloses a cheque for Rs. 500, being <i>zakat</i> money, for the ML <i>Bayt al-Maal</i> , to be spent at his discretion; adds that members of his family had been taking active part in the agitation against "Dr Khan-Chand" Ministry and hopes that ML would win the referendum with overwhelming majority.	430
220	Mohammed Makki to Jinnah Telegram	23	Requests a message for the Muslims of South Africa to be included in the annual issue of their magazine <i>Ramadan</i> .	431
221	Squire to Govt of India (External Affairs Dept) Telegram	23	Says he had been assured that Afghanistan's interest in NWFP was purely ideological and that they only wanted that Pathans, not being Indians, should be free	431

			to decide their own future; adds that they wished to send a delegation to India, official or private, for informal talks with political leaders and the Viceroy and for explaining their position, besides ascertaining the "real feeling" in NWFP and Delhi.	
222	R. E. B. Willcox to Jinnah Letter	23	Refers to No. 56; assures him of continued supervision of the finances of the Muslim India Information Centre, London, as desired by him.	432
223	R. A. Bozer to Bajwa Letter & Enclosure	24	Urges convincing presentation of the case to the Boundary Commissions, basing it on cogent arguments and relevant facts culled from authentic sources and duly marshalled; gives useful hints and suggestions.	433
224	Jinnah to Mountbatten Letter & Enclosures	24	Discountenances the suggestion that the President of the International Court of Justice select the Chairman of each Boundary Commission; hopes he would be able to persuade the Congress to accept the suggestions already made by him (Jinnah) with regard to the Chairman of each Commission and with respect to the Arbitral Tribunal; suggests names of two Muslim judges for each Commission.	436
225	M. M. A. Khan to Jinnah Letter	24	Pays tribute to him for achieving Pakistan; recommends that Pakistan be a truly Islamic State; suggests recruitment of Muslims only for the Army.	438
226	Z. Kidwai to Jinnah Letter	24	Gives a list of ordnance factories in India, none of which fell within Pakistan; suggests that the three ordnance factories situated at Calcutta might be taken over as Pakistan's share which could be easily shifted to East Bengal; suggests another alternative of sharing the book value of these factories between India and Pakistan.	439
226A	S. P. K. Mahsud to Dawn, Delhi Telegram	24	Reports arrival of Abdul Ghani, son of Abdul Ghaffar Khan, in Waziristan to bribe Faqir of Ipi into joining hands with Khan Brothers; hopes Faqir would not join them; says <i>Azad Qabail</i> supported Pakistan and rejected Hindustan or Pathanistan.	442
227	Eric Mievill to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	24	Seeks confirmation of the conclusions, as recorded, of the discussions which he had had with Mountbatten on the night of 23 June.	442
228	Mountbatten to Jinnah Letter	24	Informs that Nehru had disavowed the press statement attributed to him to which Jinnah had demurred; presumes to suggest a flag for Pakistan, with a small Union Jack placed in the upper canton of the League flag.	444

229	Khawaja Nazimuddin to Jinnah Letter	24	Recommends K. Ali Afzal, Secretary, Bengal Legislative Assembly, for appointment as Secretary, Constituent Assembly of Pakistan; requests statement by Jinnah asking voters of Sylhet to vote for joining Eastern Pakistan.	446
230	G. A. Parwez to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	24	Refers to No. 151; sends a list of some of the Muslim staff in the Secretariat recommended for Pakistan.	446
231	H. M. Patel to Member for Finance Circular & Enclosures	24	Sends a copy of the proceedings of the meeting of the Special Committee of the Cabinet held on 16 June 1947 regarding reconstitution of Armed Forces, recommendations of the Steering Committee in regard to terms of reference and personnel of expert committees, and allied matters as approved by the Viceroy.	458
232	H. M. Patel to Liaquat Ali Khan Agenda & Enclosures	24	Sends a copy of agenda for the meeting of the Special Committee of the Cabinet to be held on 26 June 1947 to consider procedure for appointment of Governors; replacement of Special Committee by Partition Council; setting up of Pakistan Government at Karachi; retention of British Armed Forces officers and option by Secretary of State's officers to serve in Pakistan or India.	468
233	H. M. Patel to Member for Finance Circular & Enclosure	24	Circulates for the approval of the Special Committee a note by the Steering Committee recommending additions and changes in the personnel of certain committees.	480
234	Mohammad Rafi to Jinnah Letter	24	Recommends absorption of Muslim optees of the Legislative Assembly Department in the Constituent Assembly Secretariat of Pakistan, in the positions suggested.	483
235	Syedna Taher Saifuddin to Jinnah Letter	24	Remits another Rs. 15,000 for the Muslim League and suggests two names for service in Pakistan.	485
236	Waheed Akhtar Mian to Jinnah Letter	24	Suggests that to fend off the risk of the Pakistan Fund being frozen by Indian Government, a Muslim Bank with head office in Pakistan, preferably Australasia Bank, be designated to collect the fund instead of Habib Bank which had its head office in Bombay.	487
237	Anonym to Jinnah Telegram	25	Congratulates him on achievement of Pakistan.	488
238	Nawab of Bhopal to Jinnah Letter	25	Suggests Tom Benthal's name for Governorship of Bengal or someone from a Dominion; hopes he would support his suggestion that disputes on standstill arrangements be referable to <i>ad hoc</i> tribunals headed by a UN nominee or a person	488

			from an independent country; proposes to call on him along with a British officer of the Political Service.	
239	B. J. Bouche to Jinnah Letter	25	Offers to serve in Pakistan at a hill station in administrative capacity with due regard to his 34-year medical service.	489
240	A. H. Darbar to Jinnah Letter	25	Sends contribution of Rs. 401-4-0 from the staff of the firm of Haji Sattar Haji Peermohamed, Calcutta, and requests acknowledgement.	490
241	Cyril S. Fox to Ahmad Ispahani Letter	25	Assures him of availability of minerals in Pakistan and of the great potential for mineral development in the country; identifies some measures to be taken by the authorities; is prepared to serve as Adviser to the Government and indicates his fee for preparing a report on mineral resources.	491
242	Habib Bank, Delhi, to Jinnah Letter	25	Solicit instructions for disposal of the donations received for various Funds.	492
243	Habib Bank, Delhi, to Jinnah Letter	25	Refer to No. 162; inform that they had received back Altaf Ali's cheque for Rs. 90 from Imperial Bank of India as it was post-dated.	493
244	Bank of India to Jinnah Letter	25	Inform him of the credit of an amount of Rs. 1,742 to his current account.	493
245	Jinnah to H.B.G. Gowda Letter	25	Refers to No. 156; thanks him and the Mysore Legislative Council for their Special Resolution and for their good wishes for Pakistan.	494
246	Jinnah to Habib Bank, Delhi Letter	25	Sends a cheque for Rs. 1,200 for credit to the Bihar Relief Fund with a request to send receipt direct to the donor.	494
247	Jinnah to Habib Bank, Delhi Letter	25	Encloses a Demand Draft for Rs. 1,000 for credit to the Pakistan Fund account and requests issue of receipt to the donor.	495
248	Jinnah to Yusuf A. Haroon Letter	25	Refers to No. 192; advises him to contact Liaquat for further information regarding his nomination as a member of the Industrial Liaison Committee for a period of three years.	496
249	Jinnah to I. A. Hussain Letter	25	Refers to No. 202; advises him to contact his Secretary for arranging a meeting with his delegation.	496
250	Jinnah to Iven Mackay Letter	25	Refers to No. 195; regrets inability to visit Canberra on the occasion of the Conference relating to the Japanese Peace Settlement in view of momentous developments taking place in India.	497
251	Statement by Jinnah	25	Appeals to members of the electorate in Baluchistan to vote in favour of joining the Pakistan Constituent Assembly.	498
252	Jinnah to Sujan Singh Letter	25	Refers to No. 199; thanks him for his good wishes.	499

253	Jinnah to N. C. Vazirani Letter	25	Refers to No. 143; regrets inability to attend to matters other than the crucial issues relating to 3 June Plan.	499
254	Iftikhar Mamdot to Jinnah Letter	25	Reports that in the meeting of the Punjab ML Assembly Party held on 23 June, Noon, who did not command a majority, warned of strong resistance to any move on the part of the AIML leadership to thrust someone from the East Punjab on the West Punjab ML Assembly Party; says what Noon was doing was tantamount to intrigue as it was bound to disrupt party solidarity at a critical time; offers even to withdraw from the field, if so ordered by Jinnah, in the interest of party unity.	500
255	Mountbatten to Jinnah Letter	25	Regrets to inform him that Nehru, Patel and Rajendra Prasad had "strongly opposed" the idea of holding the first meeting of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly in Delhi; imagines that, in the circumstances, he would drop the idea and hold the meeting in Karachi instead.	504
256	H. M. Patel to Member for Finance Circular & Enclosure	25	Circulates a note by the Member for Finance, in substitution of an earlier note, outlining the action required to cope with the problems of accommodation, printing press, telephones, transport, etc., at Karachi for the Pakistan Government.	505
257	Mrs Rallia Ram to Jinnah Letter & Enclosures	25	Warns against the militant attitude of Congress leaders who would not reconcile themselves to the creation of Pakistan; fears that relations between the two Dominions would be marred by the Hindu obsession for a United India; apprehends domination of Congress by the Mahasabhaites; cautions that the Muslim League should be wary of India's hostile attitude towards Pakistan.	507
258	Salay Mohamed & Co. to Jinnah List	25	Sends a list of donors to the Pakistan Fund.	511
259	M. A. Al-Haj Salmin to Jinnah Letter	25	Offers his services for an assignment, particularly in the Middle East, claiming to be highly qualified and a linguist with wide experience in journalism and publicity; says he had authored fifty books and contributed numerous articles to papers and journals.	513
260	M. S. Abbasey to G. H. Hidayatullah Application	26	Offers his services to Government of Pakistan, as the future of Muslims in Hindu Indian States was at best "precarious".	514
261	Abdul Haq to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	26	Recommends utilizing services of Dr Muzaffaruddin Qureshi in the planning of industrial departments and the organisation of scientific research and	515

			higher technical education under the Government of Pakistan.	
262	S. A. Rahim to Jinnah Letter	26	Sends a contribution of Rs. 1,200 for the Pakistan Fund; requests that, as desired by Muslims of South India, their rights be safeguarded; prays for his long life for consolidating Pakistan.	516
263	K. A. A. Ansari to Jinnah Letter	26	Recommends appointment of Q. M. Munier on the Committee for the division of antiquities, paintings and rare manuscripts; suggests that he be associated with assessing their value; aspires to undertake town planning and development work in Pakistan for which he was fully qualified.	517
264	Nawab of Bahawalpur to Jinnah Telegram	26	Informs that in response to his enquiries, was sending certain proposals by letter.	518
265	Habib Bank, Delhi, to H. K. Quraishi Letter	26	Inform that his cheque for Rs. 10-1-0 had been dishonoured; request a fresh cheque or draft or remittance.	518
266	M. S. Hasan to Jinnah Letter	26	A retired and re-employed officer, offers his services for Pakistan, giving the details of his experience.	519
267	S. M. Hasan to Jinnah Letter	26	Eulogises him on the achievement of Pakistan; apprehends maltreatment of Muslims at the hands of the Hindus as declared by Premier Shukla; seeks guidance as to the possibility of migration of Muslims to Pakistan, and the option to be exercised by Muslim government servants.	520
268	Statement by Jinnah	26	Appeals to Muslims of Sylhet to cast their votes for Sylhet's amalgamation with East Bengal.	521
269	Jinnah to H. L. Ismay Letter & Enclosure	26	Communicates some points affecting the forthcoming referendum in Sylhet.	522
270	A. K. Kkderkkty to Jinnah Telegram	26	Congratulates him on behalf of the Moplahs on the achievement of Pakistan and intimates remittance of Rs. 25,000 towards the Pakistan Fund, contributed by the Moplahs.	524
271	B. A. Mirza to Jinnah Letter	26	Requests an interview for a delegation of Oudh Ex-Royal Family Association to present their case for restoration of Awadh to the descendants of the last king.	524
272	Mountbatten to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	26	Sends a note on the functioning of North-West Frontier and Baluchistan Tribal systems and hopes it would be of some assistance to him.	525
273	H. M. Patel to Jinnah Circular & Enclosures	26	Sends a copy of the agenda for a meeting of the Partition Council, scheduled for 27 June, to decide on the procedure for	528

appointment of Governors, reconstitution of Governments at the Centre and in Bengal, and transfer of ■ printing press to Pakistan.

274	A. M. Prancha to Jinnah Letter	26	Encloses ■ cheque for Rs. 500 for the Pakistan Fund and congratulates him on achieving Pakistan.	531
275	Mrs Rallia Ram to Jinnah Letter	26	Sends him a press cutting containing an 8-point demand of the Sikhs, which she suggests should be repudiated, and in response to their demand for Lahore, Lyallpur, Montgomery and Sheikhupura, Muslims could claim Delhi, Agra, Lucknow, Ajmer, etc.; India intends to establish relations with Britain and USSR and is propagating through Mrs Pandit that socialism was in, and the caste system was out, of India; desires a clever person to be sent to USSR as ambassador to match Mrs Pandit.	531
276	Salamullah Sholah to Jinnah Telegram	26	Offers to serve in Pakistan.	533
277	Abdul Haq to Jinnah Letter	27	Recommends Nizamuddeen Hyder, retired Director of Agriculture, Hyderabad, for an appointment in the Government of Pakistan.	533
278	M. S. Ali to Jinnah Letter	27	Appeals for his nomination for election to the Constituent Assembly from East Pakistan as the Central Parliamentary Board had not done so despite his services to the Muslim League.	534
279	Badr-ud-Din to Jinnah Letter	27	Eulogises his efforts for achieving Pakistan; suggests measures to rid the Muslims of their lethargy; recommends Lahore ■ capital of Pakistan.	536
280	M. A. Beg to Jinnah Letter	27	Offers to serve Pakistan.	539
281	Habib Bank, Delhi, to Jinnah Letter	27	Refers to No. 246; acknowledge receipt of his cheque for Rs. 1,200, for which a receipt would be issued to the donor.	540
282	Sind Madressah Board to Jinnah Receipt	27	Acknowledge receipt of a donation of Rs. 5,000 for the Girls School building.	540
283	Masood Husain to Jinnah Letter	27	Requests ■ suitable job in Pakistan as he had become <i>persona non grata</i> in Hindu India due to his pro-Pakistan activities.	541
284	Eric Mieville to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	27	Sends a copy of a proposed poster in connection with the referendum in NWFP for his comments.	543
285	Abdul Dada to PS to Jinnah Letter	27	Refers to No. 166; sends a duplicate draft of their contribution.	546
286	H. M. Patel to Jinnah Circular & Enclosure	27	Circulates ■ copy of ■ note by the Viceroy regarding the division of Armed Forces	546

125	Bihar ML Central Relief Committee Balance Sheet	16	Submit balance sheet in respect of Bihar Muslim League Central Relief Fund for the period from 1 to 15 June 1947.	291
126	H. L. Ismay to Jinnah Letter & Enclosures	16	Sends copies of two notes entitled "The Structure of the British Commonwealth" and "Dominion Governors-General", describing the relationship between Britain and the Dominions.	292
127	H. L. Ismay to Jinnah Letter	16	Suggests some names for appointment of a constitutional lawyer/draftsman for him.	296
128	Statement by Jinnah	16	Refers to the important work to be done in connection with division of India, referendum in NWFP, Baluchistan and Assam, partition of the Punjab and Bengal, division of assets and liabilities, setting up of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, establishment of the Pakistan Government and the framing of the Constitution of Pakistan; appeals for funds for carrying out the gigantic work satisfactorily.	297
129	Mir Haider to Jinnah Letter	16	Felicitates him on winning a national homeland for Indian Muslims; recounts his varied experience as an officer of the Indian Army and requests appointment in the Pakistan Army or in a diplomatic mission.	299
130	Riaz Piracha to Jinnah Letter	16	Volunteers his services gratis for work in the Pakistan Constituent Assembly Secretariat.	301
131	A. M. Zubairi to Jinnah Letter & Enclosures	16	Extends his felicitations on the achievement of Pakistan and requests a suitable job under the Government of Pakistan.	302
132	M. A. Chaudhary to Jinnah Letter	17	Suggests that details of contributions made to the Bihar Relief Fund be published to encourage Muslims to subscribe to the Pakistan Fund for which he (Jinnah) had issued an appeal.	303
133	Fakhruddin to Jinnah Letter	17	Donates Rs. 1,000 towards the Pakistan Fund in response to his public appeal.	304
134	G. H. Hidayatullah to Jinnah Letter	17	Reports availability from Disposals Department, Delhi, of 60 jeeps and 80 lorries costing approximately Rs. 2,000 and Rs. 1,700 each, respectively, for the Frontier referendum; advises their purchase; intimates that a house was being arranged for him in Karachi.	305
135	Hossain Imam to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	17	Refers to No. 103 and informs of the action taken with respect to Bihar refugees camped in West Bengal; tenders resignation from the Central Bihar Relief Committee owing to his failure to carry out the assignment satisfactorily; enumerates recommendations of the Committee for Government action.	305

136	A. Qaiyum Khan to Jinnah Letter	17	Suggests that during his forthcoming visit to Peshawar, he stay in Abdul Latif Khan's bungalow; reports that the ML campaign was in full swing; suggests that he spend about three days at Abbottabad before going on to Peshawar.	307
137	A. R. Khan to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	17	Encloses a note on the population and the division of certain parts of Assam, Bengal and Bihar for their inclusion in Eastern Pakistan.	307
138	Aslam Khan to Jinnah Letter	17	Offers to serve the cause of Pakistan; wishes to have his services transferred to the Pakistan Constituent Assembly Secretariat.	310
139	Iftikhar Mamdot to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	17	Encloses a cheque for Rs. 200, along with a letter from Dr Yacob, as contribution towards the Pakistan Fund.	311
140	Rajaballi Nanji to Jinnah Letter	17	Congratulates him on achievement of Pakistan; encloses a cheque for Rs. 500 as contribution to Pakistan Fund; offers his services gratis for Pakistan.	312
141	M. M. Qureshi to Jinnah Letter	17	A released Army officer, contributes Rs. 50 towards the Pakistan Fund and offers his services gratis in a suitable capacity, given his knowledge of constitutional history, politics and law.	312
142	Siddiq Hasan to Jinnah Letter	17	Encloses a cheque for Rs. 150 for the Pakistan Fund; places his own as well as his family's services at his (Jinnah's) disposal and assures him of their readiness even to lay down their lives for Pakistan.	313
143	N. C. Vazirani to Jinnah Letter	17	Requests that the Sind Government be asked to refrain from resuming the Municipal land reserved for Hindus in Karachi and allotting it to Bihari Muslim refugees as that was likely to exacerbate communal tension; requests also that Sind Premier be directed to accept amendments in the Sind University Act.	313
144	Ramaswami Aiyar to Jinnah Telegram	18	Appreciates his press statement of 17 June 1947; though strongly opposed to partition of India himself, admires Jinnah's courage and resoluteness, with which he had attained his goal of Pakistan; hopes that Travancore would have representatives in both Dominions and commercial and other relations with Pakistan.	315
145	I. I. Chundrigar to Jinnah Letter	18	Recommends requisitioning of the services of Nomanbhoy Miabhoy, a District and Sessions Judge in the Bombay Province, for the Pakistan Constituent Assembly Secretariat.	317
146	French-Indian Muslims Association to Jinnah Letter	18	Draw attention to the lack of proper representation of the Muslims of French-Indian Settlements in Government services and local elected bodies; seek his	318

		help for securing separate electorate for them; suggest that he instruct the Madras and Bengal MLs and the Malabar District ML to help their cause by bringing pressure to bear on the French authorities concerned.	
147	Jinnah to Imperial Bank of India, New Delhi Letter	18	Encloses one demand draft and three cheques for a total amount of Rs. 34,803-8-0 for credit to his Current Account No. 2. 320
148	Jinnah to Mohamedali Habib Letter	18	Suggests that he consider opening Habib Bank's branches in Bhopal and Assam where there was sufficient scope for business; informs that the operation of the recently instituted Pakistan Fund had been entrusted to Habib Bank, Delhi, and hopes that the Bank would manage it better than it did previously. 320
149	Mohammad Ullah to Habib Bank, Delhi Letter	18	Sends a crossed cheque for Rs. 100 as contribution towards the Pakistan Fund. 321
150	Nizam of Hyderabad to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	18	Seeks Jinnah's advice on the future of Hyderabad as the Congress was keen on the State joining the Hindustan Constituent Assembly and also the Union; says that, while Jinnah had urged independence for the State, the Viceroy preferred its joining the Hindustan Constituent Assembly, suggesting negotiations with the Interim Government on matters of common interest; requests Jinnah to meet him without further delay. 322
151	G. A. Parwez to Jinnah Letter	18	Suggests formation of a Secretariat Organization Committee to determine the set-up of Pakistan Secretariat; recommends that policy on pay and amenities of Government servants be announced immediately to debunk Hindu propaganda that Pakistan would be unable to pay the existing emoluments to them. 323
152	A. S. Alavi to Jinnah Letter	19	Sends a cheque for Rs. 30 as donation to the Pakistan Fund. 325
153	M. Masud Ali to Jinnah Letter	19	Sends a donation for the Pakistan Fund and requests acknowledgement. 326
154	M. U. Arif to Jinnah Letter	19	Requests authorization to collect donations to the Pakistan Fund in the absence of any branch of Habib Bank Ltd. or of any other Muslim Bank in Meerut. 326
155	Nawab of Bhopal to Jinnah Letter & Enclosures	19	Relays request of Dewan of Travancore for maintaining supply of rice to the State from the Punjab, Sind and Baluchistan; recommends immediate issue of instructions. 327

156	H. B. G. Gowda to Jinnah Letter	19	Sends a copy of a special Resolution adopted by the Mysore Legislative Council felicitating the Viceroy on securing the cooperation and willingness of the two major political parties in India, viz. AIML and INC, to come to a workable compromise.	328
157	Habib Bank, Delhi, to Jinnah Letter	19	Send an account opening form, specimen signature cards, pay-in slip and cheque book for opening Pakistan Fund Account.	329
158	G. H. Hidayatullah to Jinnah Letter	19	Informs that his house would be ready by 1 July; says construction of a building for the Pakistan Establishment had started; adds that Agha Shahi had been deputed to collect information about Muslim officers coming to Karachi and all their requirements, including telephones.	329
159	B. D. Hutchinson to Jinnah Letter	19	Congratulates him on achievement of Pakistan; recounts his close contacts with the Muslim community and his "glorious" career in the Telegraphs Department; seeks his advice about opting for service in Pakistan.	336
160	A. E. Jeewa to Jinnah Letter	19	Encloses, on behalf of G. H. A. Bayat, a bank draft for Rs. 264-5-11 for distribution among the Muslim victims of Bihar riots; conveys felicitations of the Muslims of Durban on his success in the struggle for Pakistan.	337
161	Jinnah to Ramaswami Aiyar Telegram	19	Reciprocates the offer of amity with Travancore and sends best wishes for its welfare and prosperity.	337
162	Jinnah to Habib Bank, Delhi Letter	19	Encloses two cheques for a total amount of Rs. 10,090 for credit to the Bihar Relief Fund and issuing receipt to Altaf Ali.	338
163	A. G. Khan to Jinnah Letter	19	Controverts his statement in <i>Dawn</i> that he (Ghaffar) would be having further talks with him after consulting his colleagues; states that he would intimate their decision without any further meeting; complains against the coverage by <i>Dawn</i> , specially the mention of refusal of funds by the Congress to him and his "henchmen"; protests that the <i>Dawn</i> report was not conducive to "a friendly approach or a settlement".	338
164	Mountbatten to Jinnah Letter	19	Intimates that the Secretary of State had confirmed the view that the time factor ruled out UNO providing members of the Boundary Commissions; says the Secretary of State had, however, suggested that the President of the International Court of Justice might be invited to select members of the Commissions; recalls the decision taken in the meeting held on 13 June	340

that the Chairman of each Commission be selected by the members nominated and that, if they failed to agree, the choice of Chairmen be left to the Indian leaders; adds that if there was no eventual agreement, the Secretary of State's suggestion might be acted upon; intimates the names proposed by Nehru for each Commission and requests his suggestions.

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| 165 | Noorud Deen to Jinnah Letter | 19 | Recommends use of "Hollerith Punched Card System" for accounting and statistical purposes by the Pakistan Government, as was being done by the Indian Government etc. | 342 |
| 166 | PS to Jinnah to Secretary, Muslim Community, Pietersburg Letter | 19 | Informs that the draft for Rs. 2,167-13-0 sent by him for the Muslim League Fund was not traceable; requests that bank record at their end be examined and the result intimated. | 343 |
| 167 | Jamil Wasti to Jinnah Letter | 19 | Recalls his previous meetings with him; congratulates him on his success in achieving Pakistan; says his name had been recommended by Carné for External Affairs Department, Government of India; offers his services for the same Department in Pakistan. | 344 |
| 168 | Ali Mohammed to Jinnah Letter | 20 | Informs of having deposited, in the bank, an amount of Rs. 500 contributed by the residents of Qila Sheikhpura for Pakistan Fund. | 345 |
| 169 | S. Wajid Ali to K. H. Khurshid Telephonic message | 20 | All available jeeps and 3-ton trucks be purchased by Government of Sind at the price quoted. | 347 |
| 170 | Allah Ditta to PS to Jinnah Letter | 20 | Encloses a bank draft for Rs. 1,000 donated by the Directors and Staff of Gujrat Punjab Bus Ltd. in response to his appeal for donations to the Pakistan Fund. | 347 |
| 171 | Aziz Ahmad to Jinnah Letter | 20 | Offers to serve in Pakistan's Diplomatic Corps for which, he claims, he might be useful as he was a good linguist, had wide contacts abroad and was a staunch Leaguer; forwards his bio-data; hopes Jinnah, having won the battle for Pakistan, would harness all available Muslim talent. | 348 |
| 172 | Draft Constitution for Pakistan by H. Rahman | 20 | Describes the general structure of the State and the Union; defines the basic rights and duties of citizens; outlines the structure of the Executive, the Legislature and the Judiciary; specifies distribution of powers and other provisions; lays down procedure for amendment of the Constitution. | 349 |
| 173 | H. L. Ismay to Jinnah Letter | 20 | Says the Viceroy was convinced that, given the short time available, the wishes | 360 |

		of Baluchistan could be ascertained only by making a reference, as on the last occasion, to the members of the <i>Shahi Jirga</i> (excluding nominees of the Kalat State) and the non-official members of the Quetta Municipality; desires to know if Jinnah was agreeable.	
174	Jinnah to Kotwal Telegram	20	361
		20	
175	Nawab Jomezai to Jinnah Telegram	20	361
		20	
176	Jinnah to Nawab Jomezai Telegram	20	362
177	Hakimuddin Khan to Jinnah Letter	20	362
178	Mohammad Athar to Jinnah Letter	20	363
179	M. M. Rafique to Jinnah Letter	20	363
		20	
180	Mrs Rallia Ram to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	20	365
		20	
181	M. D. Sheikh to Jinnah Letter	20	366
		20	
182	T. H. A. S. Tufton to Jinnah Letter & Enclosures	20	367

			ness of incorporating that Division with Eastern Pakistan.	
183	R.E.B. Willcox to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	20	Encloses a statement of disbursements made on behalf of the Muslim India Information Centre, London, amounting to £989-7-11, and requests remittance of the amount.	387
184	Mrs Z. Akhtar to Jinnah Letter	20	Remits Rs. 100 for the Pakistan Fund and prays for his long life and health.	388
185	D. B. Advani to Jinnah Telegram	21	Seeks his intervention in the controversy regarding Sind University Act; complains that the Act was passed in disregard of the minorities' view-point and that Muslims were preferred to better qualified Hindus, provoking a demand for their own University.	389
186	Syed Aslam to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	21	Presents a scheme for setting up a Muslim National Information Bureau with branches in most Muslim countries; seeks interview to explain the scheme.	389
187	F. A. Dignum to Mountbatten Letter & Enclosure	21	Makes a representation on behalf of the Anglo-Indian League, Bengal, for option to live in India or Pakistan; claims special status for the Anglo-Indian community, just like the Sikhs, in deciding India's political destiny; demands that Calcutta, built by many communities besides Hindus, be declared an international city; hopes the representation would be brought to HMG's notice.	392
188	Governor-General to Secretary of State for India Telegram	21	Telegraphs contents of Indian Embassy, Nanking's telegram regarding Afghan Minister's suggestion to form an independent State, comprising NWFP and Baluchistan, instead of forcing them to join either Pakistan or Hindustan; demands an outlet to the sea for Afghanistan; refers to Indian Ambassador's reply that they considered division of India "a temporary expedient" and would welcome Afghanistan as a strong and friendly neighbour.	395
189	G. I. P. Railway Circular & Enclosure	21	Instruct all employees, in pursuance of Railway Board's directive, to exercise option to serve in Pakistan or India, provisionally or finally.	396
190	Habib Bank, Delhi, to Jinnah Letter	21	Acknowledge No. 162; confirm that a receipt for the cheque would be issued; seek instructions about issue of receipt for another cheque for Rs. 10,000 for want of particulars of the donor.	398
191	Habib Bank, Delhi, to Maharaja Hosiery Mills Letter	21	Inform them of having credited their draft for Rs. 1,950 to Bihar Relief Fund in December 1946; confirm receipt of their cheque for Rs. 50.	399

192	Yusuf A. Haroon to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	21	Seeks advice about serving as a member of the Industrial Liaison Committee appointed by the Government of India, in view of the announcement of 3 June Plan.	400
193	Jinnah to M. U. Arif Letter	21	Refers to No. 154; advises that no one could be authorized, directly or indirectly, to handle the Pakistan Fund and that contributions should be sent to Habib Bank, Delhi.	401
194	Jinnah to Habib Bank, Delhi Letter	21	Refers to No. 157 and sends specimen signature cards and account opening form in respect of the Pakistan Fund, duly filled in; acknowledges receipt of pay-in slip and cheque book.	402
195	Iven Mackay to Jinnah Letter	21	Invites him to visit Canberra and attend the forthcoming conference relating to the Japanese Peace Settlement.	403
196	A. Y. Magdum to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	21	Encloses a cheque for Rs. 1,012-4-0 as contribution to the Pakistan Fund.	403
197	H. C. Morris to Jinnah Letter	21	Assures that rentals would be remitted regularly to his banker in future on monthly or quarterly basis, as desired.	405
198	Mrs Rallia Ram to Jinnah Letter	21	Suggests that the demand of Hindu-Sikh junta that the Chenab should form the dividing line if the Punjab was partitioned, be opposed by the ML; says Sikhs were being manipulated by Hindus into demanding partition of the Punjab without realising that it would reduce them to an ineffectual minority in East Punjab; advises that Sikhs be assured by ML that they would be in a better position in a full-fledged Pakistan than in a truncated one.	406
199	Sujan Singh to Jinnah Letter	21	Congratulates him on establishment of Pakistan and seeks his blessings for All India Prem Sabha, a non-political and non-communal organisation.	407
200	Sujan Singh to Jinnah Letter	21	Requests patronage of and donation for the All India Prem Sabha which celebrated communal festivals jointly, monitored the functioning of public utilities and helped poor widows irrespective of caste or creed.	407
201	I. S. Andrews to Jinnah Letter	22	Recalls his press interviews with him; expresses happiness over the creation of a Muslim State and reaffirms his belief that Hindus and Muslims were two distinct nations; offers his services for organising publicity and developing cultural, economic and political contacts in Europe and America.	408
202	I. A. Hussain to Jinnah Letter	22	Seeks interview for a delegation of the All-India Muslim Students Federation for advice on redrafting of the constitution of the Federation in the light of the latest political developments.	409

203	H. L. Ismay to Jinnah Letter	22	Says the Government of NWFP had agreed that for purposes of referendum both parties would be treated equally as regards supply of petrol; informs that the Provincial Government was willing to release persons convicted in connection with the ML agitation except those under trial for or convicted of serious criminal offences.	409
204	A. M. Jafri to Jinnah Letter	22	A retired Extra Assistant Commissioner with thirty years' experience in revenue, criminal, administrative and general duties, offers his services for Pakistan.	414
205	Jinnah to G. H. Hidayatullah Letter	22	Refers to No. 134; asks him to buy as many jeeps as he could at the rate of Rs. 2,000 each as well as all available 3-ton trucks at the rate of Rs. 5,100 each, on behalf of the Sind Government.	414
206	Jinnah to H. L. Ismay Letter	22	Refers to No. 173; says he had nothing to add to his earlier suggestions and that Abell had not contacted him with reference to those suggestions as decided; reiterates that a reference for ascertaining wishes of the people of British Baluchistan was required to be made to a more representative body in terms of the 3 June Statement.	415
207	Jinnah to Patrick Lacey Letter	22	Refers to No. 17; recalls his article included in the pamphlet <i>India's Problem of her Future Constitution</i> ; agrees that it was a mistake to partition the Punjab and Bengal but, the Plan as a whole having been accepted, he felt confident of making "a good job of it".	416
208	A. F. M. Mokalim to Jinnah Letter	22	Sends a cheque for Rs. 50 for the Pakistan Fund; offers his services for the impending referendums after the Indian Administrative Service Examination was over.	416
209	S. A. Unus to Jinnah Letter	22	Requests confirmation that a cigar box sent by him as a present had been received.	417
210	D. B. Advani to Jinnah Letter	23	Refers to No. 185; complains that Sind University Act was being forced upon the educational institutions of the minorities despite their opposition; says the minorities had been left with no option but to have a University of their own; requests that, pending the establishment of such University, the Sind Government permit continued affiliation of Hindu institutions to the Bombay University; reminds him of their earlier meeting with him and seeks just treatment for the minorities, especially in educational and cultural matters.	418

211	M. U. Arif to Jinnah Letter	23	Refers to No. 193; says he was not disheartened by his refusal to let their Bank operate the Pakistan Fund, for he hoped the institution would be kept in view when structuring the economy of Pakistan.	420
212	M. U. Arif to Jinnah Letter	23	Offers his services for Pakistan.	421
213	Confidential Assistant to Finance Member to Jinnah Letter & Enclosures	23	Forwards a note regarding the constitutionality of a common Governor-General for Pakistan and India and another note containing recommendations of the Steering Committee regarding changes in the terms of reference and the composition of various Expert Committees and their Sub-Committees.	421
214	E. A. Dadabhoy to Jinnah Letter	23	Eulogises him for the establishment of Pakistan; sends a draft for Rs. 4,296-0-8 for the Pakistan Fund.	426
215	Farooqui to Jinnah Letter	23	Encloses a bank draft for Rs. 1,176-7-0 for the ML Relief Fund; reports that they had started a fund-raising campaign through their journal, the <i>Indian Views</i> , and were confident of a generous response from the South African Muslims.	427
216	L. C. W. Hyne to Jinnah Letter	23	Offers his services for Pakistan after his release from the Royal Indian Navy in October 1947.	428
217	H. L. Ismay to Jinnah Letter	23	Refers to No. 206; informs that his letter regarding arrangements to ascertain the wishes of the people of Baluchistan would be placed before the Viceroy as soon as the latter returned from Kashmir; says the Agent to the Governor-General had telegraphed to request a decision by 23 June.	429
218	M. A. Khan to Jinnah Letter	23	Encloses a cheque for Rs. 25 for the Pakistan Fund; suggests renaming of the Fund as <i>Pakistan Bayt al-Maal</i> to attract more donations; advises that Muslims be exhorted to deposit <i>zakat</i> in <i>Bayt al-Maal</i> .	429
219	K.K. Mahmood to Jinnah Letter	23	Encloses a cheque for Rs. 500, being <i>zakat</i> money, for the ML <i>Bayt al-Maal</i> , to be spent at his discretion; adds that members of his family had been taking active part in the agitation against "Dr Khan-Chand" Ministry and hopes that ML would win the referendum with overwhelming majority.	430
220	Mohammed Makki to Jinnah Telegram	23	Requests a message for the Muslims of South Africa to be included in the annual issue of their magazine <i>Ramadan</i> .	431
221	Squire to Govt of India (External Affairs Dept) Telegram	23	Says he had been assured that Afghanistan's interest in NWFP was purely ideological and that they only wanted that Pathans, not being Indians, should be free	431

to decide their own future; adds that they wished to send a delegation to India, official or private, for informal talks with political leaders and the Viceroy and for explaining their position, besides ascertaining the "real feeling" in NWFP and Delhi.

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| 222 | R. E. B. Willcox to Jinnah
Letter | 23 | Refers to No. 56; assures him of continued supervision of the finances of the Muslim India Information Centre, London, as desired by him. | 432 |
| 223 | R. A. Bozer to Bajwa
Letter & Enclosure | 24 | Urges convincing presentation of the case to the Boundary Commissions, basing it on cogent arguments and relevant facts culled from authentic sources and duly marshalled; gives useful hints and suggestions. | 433 |
| 224 | Jinnah to Mountbatten
Letter & Enclosures | 24 | Discountenances the suggestion that the President of the International Court of Justice select the Chairman of each Boundary Commission; hopes he would be able to persuade the Congress to accept the suggestions already made by him (Jinnah) with regard to the Chairman of each Commission and with respect to the Arbitral Tribunal; suggests names of two Muslim judges for each Commission. | 436 |
| 225 | M. M. A. Khan to Jinnah
Letter | 24 | Pays tribute to him for achieving Pakistan; recommends that Pakistan be a truly Islamic State; suggests recruitment of Muslims only for the Army. | 438 |
| 226 | Z. Kidwai to Jinnah
Letter | 24 | Gives a list of ordnance factories in India, none of which fell within Pakistan; suggests that the three ordnance factories situated at Calcutta might be taken over as Pakistan's share which could be easily shifted to East Bengal; suggests another alternative of sharing the book value of these factories between India and Pakistan. | 439 |
| 226A | S. P. K. Mahsud to <i>Dawn</i> , Delhi
Telegram | 24 | Reports arrival of Abdul Ghani, son of Abdul Ghaffar Khan, in Waziristan to bribe Faqir of Ipi into joining hands with Khan Brothers; hopes Faqir would not join them; says <i>Azad Qabail</i> supported Pakistan and rejected Hindustan or Pathanistan. | 442 |
| 227 | Eric Mievill to Jinnah
Letter & Enclosure | 24 | Seeks confirmation of the conclusions, as recorded, of the discussions which he had had with Mountbatten on the night of 23 June. | 442 |
| 228 | Mountbatten to Jinnah
Letter | 24 | Informs that Nehru had disavowed the press statement attributed to him to which Jinnah had demurred; presumes to suggest a flag for Pakistan, with a small Union Jack placed in the upper canton of the League flag. | 444 |

229	Khawaja Nazimuddin to Jinnah Letter	24	Recommends K. Ali Afzal, Secretary, Bengal Legislative Assembly, for appointment as Secretary, Constituent Assembly of Pakistan; requests statement by Jinnah asking voters of Sylhet to vote for joining Eastern Pakistan.	446
230	G. A. Parwez to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	24	Refers to No. 151; sends a list of some of the Muslim staff in the Secretariat recommended for Pakistan.	446
231	H. M. Patel to Member for Finance Circular & Enclosures	24	Sends a copy of the proceedings of the meeting of the Special Committee of the Cabinet held on 16 June 1947 regarding reconstitution of Armed Forces, recommendations of the Steering Committee in regard to terms of reference and personnel of expert committees, and allied matters as approved by the Viceroy.	458
232	H. M. Patel to Liaquat Ali Khan Agenda & Enclosures	24	Sends a copy of agenda for the meeting of the Special Committee of the Cabinet to be held on 26 June 1947 to consider procedure for appointment of Governors; replacement of Special Committee by Partition Council; setting up of Pakistan Government at Karachi; retention of British Armed Forces officers and option by Secretary of State's officers to serve in Pakistan or India.	468
233	H. M. Patel to Member for Finance Circular & Enclosure	24	Circulates for the approval of the Special Committee a note by the Steering Committee recommending additions and changes in the personnel of certain committees.	480
234	Mohammad Rafi to Jinnah Letter	24	Recommends absorption of Muslim optees of the Legislative Assembly Department in the Constituent Assembly Secretariat of Pakistan, in the positions suggested.	483
235	Syedna Taher Saifuddin to Jinnah Letter	24	Remits another Rs. 15,000 for the Muslim League and suggests two names for service in Pakistan.	485
236	Waheed Akhtar Mian to Jinnah Letter	24	Suggests that to fend off the risk of the Pakistan Fund being frozen by Indian Government, a Muslim Bank with head office in Pakistan, preferably Australasia Bank, be designated to collect the fund instead of Habib Bank which had its head office in Bombay.	487
237	Anonym to Jinnah Telegram	25	Congratulates him on achievement of Pakistan.	488
238	Nawab of Bhopal to Jinnah Letter	25	Suggests Tom Benthall's name for Governorship of Bengal or someone from a Dominion; hopes he would support his suggestion that disputes on standstill arrangements be referable to <i>ad hoc</i> tribunals headed by a UN nominee or a person	488

		from an independent country; proposes to call on him along with a British officer of the Political Service.	
239	B. J. Bouche to Jinnah Letter	25	Offers to serve in Pakistan at a hill station in an administrative capacity with due regard to his 34-year medical service. 489
240	A. H. Darbar to Jinnah Letter	25	Sends contribution of Rs. 401-4-0 from the staff of the firm of Haji Sattar Haji Peermohamed, Calcutta, and requests acknowledgement. 490
241	Cyril S. Fox to Ahmad Ispahani Letter	25	Assures him of availability of minerals in Pakistan and of the great potential for mineral development in the country; identifies some measures to be taken by the authorities; is prepared to serve as Adviser to the Government and indicates his fee for preparing a report on mineral resources. 491
242	Habib Bank, Delhi, to Jinnah Letter	25	Solicit instructions for disposal of the donations received for various Funds. 492
243	Habib Bank, Delhi, to Jinnah Letter	25	Refer to No. 162; inform that they had received back Altaf Ali's cheque for Rs. 90 from Imperial Bank of India as it was post-dated. 493
244	Bank of India to Jinnah Letter	25	Inform him of the credit of an amount of Rs. 1,742 to his current account. 493
245	Jinnah to H.B.C. Gowda Letter	25	Refers to No. 156; thanks him and the Mysore Legislative Council for their Special Resolution and for their good wishes for Pakistan. 494
246	Jinnah to Habib Bank, Delhi Letter	25	Sends a cheque for Rs. 1,200 for credit to the Bihar Relief Fund with a request to send receipt direct to the donor. 494
247	Jinnah to Habib Bank, Delhi Letter	25	Encloses a Demand Draft for Rs. 1,000 for credit to the Pakistan Fund account and requests issue of receipt to the donor. 495
248	Jinnah to Yusuf A. Haroon Letter	25	Refers to No. 192; advises him to contact Liaquat for further information regarding his nomination as a member of the Industrial Liaison Committee for a period of three years. 496
249	Jinnah to I. A. Hussain Letter	25	Refers to No. 202; advises him to contact his Secretary for arranging a meeting with his delegation. 496
250	Jinnah to Iven Mackay Letter	25	Refers to No. 195; regrets inability to visit Canberra on the occasion of the Conference relating to the Japanese Peace Settlement in view of momentous developments taking place in India. 497
251	Statement by Jinnah	25	Appeals to members of the electorate in Baluchistan to vote in favour of joining the Pakistan Constituent Assembly. 498
252	Jinnah to Sujjan Singh Letter	25	Refers to No. 199; thanks him for his good wishes. 499

253	Jinnah to N. C. Vazirani Letter	25	Refers to No. 143; regrets inability to attend to matters other than the crucial issues relating to 3 June Plan.	499
254	Iftikhar Mamdot to Jinnah Letter	25	Reports that in the meeting of the Punjab ML Assembly Party held on 23 June, Noon, who did not command a majority, warned of strong resistance to any move on the part of the AIML leadership to thrust someone from the East Punjab on the West Punjab ML Assembly Party; says what Noon was doing was tantamount to intrigue as it was bound to disrupt party solidarity at a critical time; offers even to withdraw from the field, if so ordered by Jinnah, in the interest of party unity.	500
255	Mountbatten to Jinnah Letter	25	Regrets to inform him that Nehru, Patel and Rajendra Prasad had "strongly opposed" the idea of holding the first meeting of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly in Delhi; imagines that, in the circumstances, he would drop the idea and hold the meeting in Karachi instead.	504
256	H. M. Patel to Member for Finance Circular & Enclosure	25	Circulates a note by the Member for Finance, in substitution of an earlier note, outlining the action required to cope with the problems of accommodation, printing press, telephones, transport, etc., at Karachi for the Pakistan Government.	505
257	Mrs Rallia Ram to Jinnah Letter & Enclosures	25	Warns against the militant attitude of Congress leaders who would not reconcile themselves to the creation of Pakistan; fears that relations between the two Dominions would be marred by the Hindu obsession for a United India; apprehends domination of Congress by the Mahasabhaïtes; cautions that the Muslim League should be wary of India's hostile attitude towards Pakistan.	507
258	Salay Mohamed & Co. to Jinnah List	25	Sends a list of donors to the Pakistan Fund.	511
259	M. A. Al-Haj Salmin to Jinnah Letter	25	Offers his services for an assignment, particularly in the Middle East, claiming to be highly qualified and a linguist with wide experience in journalism and publicity; says he had authored fifty books and contributed numerous articles to papers and journals.	513
260	M. S. Abbasey to G. H. Hidayatullah Application	26	Offers his services to Government of Pakistan, as the future of Muslims in Hindu Indian States was at best "precarious".	514
261	Abdul Haq to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	26	Recommends utilizing services of Dr Muzaffaruddin Qureshi in the planning of industrial departments and the organisation of scientific research and	515

		higher technical education under the Government of Pakistan.	
262	S. A. Rahim to Jinnah Letter	26 Sends a contribution of Rs. 1,200 for the Pakistan Fund; requests that, as desired by Muslims of South India, their rights be safeguarded; prays for his long life for consolidating Pakistan.	516
263	K. A. A. Ansari to Jinnah Letter	26 Recommends appointment of Q. M. Munier on the Committee for the division of antiquities, paintings and rare manuscripts; suggests that he be associated with assessing their value; aspires to undertake town planning and development work in Pakistan for which he was fully qualified.	517
264	Nawab of Bahawalpur to Jinnah Telegram	26 Informs that in response to his enquiries, was sending certain proposals by letter.	518
265	Habib Bank, Delhi, to H. K. Quraishi Letter	26 Inform that his cheque for Rs. 10-1-0 had been dishonoured; request a fresh cheque or draft or remittance.	518
266	M. S. Hasan to Jinnah Letter	26 A retired and re-employed officer, offers his services for Pakistan, giving the details of his experience.	519
267	S. M. Hasan to Jinnah Letter	26 Eulogises him on the achievement of Pakistan; apprehends maltreatment of Muslims at the hands of the Hindus as declared by Premier Shukla; seeks guidance as to the possibility of migration of Muslims to Pakistan, and the option to be exercised by Muslim government servants.	520
268	Statement by Jinnah	26 Appeals to Muslims of Sylhet to cast their votes for Sylhet's amalgamation with East Bengal.	521
269	Jinnah to H. L. Ismay Letter & Enclosure	26 Communicates some points affecting the forthcoming referendum in Sylhet.	522
270	A. K. Kkderkkty to Jinnah Telegram	26 Congratulates him on behalf of the Moplahs on the achievement of Pakistan and intimates remittance of Rs. 25,000 towards the Pakistan Fund, contributed by the Moplahs.	524
271	B. A. Mirza to Jinnah Letter	26 Requests an interview for a delegation of Oudh Ex-Royal Family Association to present their case for restoration of Awadh to the descendants of the last king.	524
272	Mountbatten to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	26 Sends a note on the functioning of North-West Frontier and Baluchistan Tribal systems and hopes it would be of some assistance to him.	525
273	H. M. Patel to Jinnah Circular & Enclosures	26 Sends a copy of the agenda for a meeting of the Partition Council, scheduled for 27 June, to decide on the procedure for	528

		appointment of Governors, reconstitution of Governments at the Centre and in Bengal, and transfer of a printing press to Pakistan.	
274	A. M. Prancha to Jinnah Letter	26 Encloses ■ cheque for Rs. 500 for the Pakistan Fund and congratulates him on achieving Pakistan.	531
275	Mrs Rallia Ram to Jinnah Letter	26 Sends him a press cutting containing an 8-point demand of the Sikhs, which she suggests should be repudiated, and in response to their demand for Lahore, Lyallpur, Montgomery and Sheikhupura, Muslims could claim Delhi, Agra, Lucknow, Ajmer, etc.; India intends to establish relations with Britain and USSR and is propagating through Mrs Pandit that socialism was in, and the caste system was out, of India; desires a clever person to be sent to USSR as ambassador to match Mrs Pandit.	531
276	Salamullah Sholah to Jinnah Telegram	26 Offers to serve in Pakistan.	533
277	Abdul Haq to Jinnah Letter	27 Recommends Nizamuddeen Hyder, retired Director of Agriculture, Hyderabad, for an appointment in the Government of Pakistan.	533
278	M. S. Ali to Jinnah Letter	27 Appeals for his nomination for election to the Constituent Assembly from East Pakistan as the Central Parliamentary Board had not done ■ despite his services to the Muslim League.	534
279	Badr-ud-Din to Jinnah Letter	27 Eulogises his efforts for achieving Pakistan; suggests measures to rid the Muslims of their lethargy; recommends Lahore as capital of Pakistan.	536
280	M. A. Beg to Jinnah Letter	27 Offers to serve Pakistan.	539
281	Habib Bank, Delhi, to Jinnah Letter	27 Refers to No. 246; acknowledge receipt of his cheque for Rs. 1,200, for which a receipt would be issued to the donor.	540
282	Sind Madressah Board to Jinnah Receipt	27 Acknowledge receipt of a donation of Rs. 5,000 for the Girls School building.	540
283	Masood Husain to Jinnah Letter	27 Requests a suitable job in Pakistan as he had become <i>persona non grata</i> in Hindu India due to his pro-Pakistan activities.	541
284	Eric Mievill to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	27 Sends a copy of a proposed poster in connection with the referendum in NWFP for his comments.	543
285	Abdul Dada to PS to Jinnah Letter	27 Refers to No. 166; sends a duplicate draft of their contribution.	546
286	H. M. Patel to Jinnah Circular & Enclosure	27 Circulates a copy of ■ note by the Viceroy regarding the division of Armed Forces	546

		for discussion by the Partition Council at a later date.	
287	F. A. Siddiqi to PS to Jinnah Application	27	Seeks a suitable appointment in Pakistan. 553
288	Squire to Govt of India (External Affairs Dept) Telegram	27	Intimates Afghan Government's reaction to the upcoming referendum in the NWFP and suggests options for a reply. 554
289	Whitney Straight to Liaquat Letter	27	Supplies literature on the two aircraft "Viking" and "De Havilland Dove" and intimates the names of their agents in India. 555
290	Draft Press Statement by the Viceroy	27	Following the decision on partition of the Punjab and Bengal and Sind's decision to join Pakistan Constituent Assembly, the Indian leaders were asked to nominate their future Governments for the Centre and the partitioned Provinces; the Indian Members of the Cabinet were to be responsible for their own future areas while the League Members were to have overriding powers in respect of their areas and could refer any matter to the full Cabinet or the the Viceroy; in the Punjab, in view of Section 93, the Governor would appoint two bodies of Advisers, one each from the two parts of the province. 556
291	Press Statement by Yusuf A. Haroon & Agha Ghulam Nabi Pathan	27	Reiterates provision of relief and assistance to Muslim migrants from Bihar by Sind Muslims, Sind Muslim League and Provincial Government; regrets setting up of Central Relief Committee, Karachi Branch, by Moulvi Abdul Quddus; divests Abdul Quddus of all powers and responsibilities in connection with the rehabilitation of the migrants. 557
292	M. A. Alizai to Jinnah Letter	28	Congratulates him on his achievement of Pakistan; sends a cheque for Rs. 3,000 contributed by Indian Muslims in Kabul for the Pakistan Fund. 559
293	Ebrahimmahomed to Habib Bank, Delhi Letter	28	Sends a bank draft for Rs. 1,261-2-6 for the Pakistan Fund and requests acknowledgement. 559
294	Faqir Mohammed to DG Radio Pakistan, and Chief Editors of Sind Dailies Application	28	Recounting his experience as a journalist, applies for a post of Sub-Editor. 560
295	Muslim Students in USA to Jinnah Letter	28	Send a cheque for Rs. 165 for the Pakistan Fund. 561
296	Ahmed E. H. Jaffer to Jinnah Letter	28	Sends a cheque for Rs. 50 from Mrs Dalby for the Pakistan Fund. 562

297	Jinnah to G. N. Mir Letter	28	Thanks him for the gift of Pakistan map carved on wood.	562
298	Jinnah to Mountbatten Letter	28	Refers to No. 272; thanks him for the note on the tribes of NWFP and Baluchistan.	563
299	Revised Draft of Press Statement by Jinnah	28	Deplores the resolution of the Frontier Congress for establishing a free Pathan State which was contrary to 3 June Plan already accepted by the Congress; advises the Muslims of the Frontier not to be misled by the Khan Brothers' boycott of the referendum, and to vote solidly for joining the Pakistan Constituent Assembly.	563
299A	Jinnah to S. A. Unus Letter	28	Refers to No. 209; says he had not received the cigar box he (Unus) had sent him; requests enquiries at the post office and intimation of result.	575
300	A. R. Khan to Jinnah Application	28	Applies for a post of Stenographer or Assistant, indicating his qualifications and experience.	576
301	M. Azizur Rahman to Jinnah Letter	28	Offers services of Eastern Agency & Direction Ltd., a Muslim engineering firm, to help the Pakistan Government by providing plants and equipment for development; requests interview to discuss shifting of the firm to Pakistan or starting a new concern there.	576
302	Noon to Jinnah Letter	28	Informs of having addressed public meetings at Nowshera; says Khanna had brought non-Muslims to participate in the referendum contrary to Khan Brothers' earlier announcement; recounts efforts to prevent issue of ordinance about carrying of arms up to 500 yards from the polling booths; proposes to leave for D. I. Khan after meeting the Governor.	577
303	Noon to Jinnah Letter	28	Intimates that Peshawar and Waziristan Commands had almost all non-Muslim troops with a Sikh Regiment at Nowshera; suggests that (a) on their departure efforts be made to retain their equipment as well to re-employ the discharged Muslims from these units unless Muslim troops were available elsewhere, (b) subsidies continue to be paid to tribes to ensure peace and (c) an army officer be associated with the selection of the capital.	579
304	Osman Dighwi to Jinnah Letter	28	Offers his services for Pakistan Government.	579
305	Serajuddin to Jinnah Letter	28	Sends a draft for Rs. 100 for the Pakistan Fund.	580
306	George Abell to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	29	Forwards a copy of Viceroy's telegram to the Governor of Bengal about formation of a Cabinet by the leader of West Bengal	581

			part of the Legislative Assembly, who would be consulted in all matters pertaining to that part of the province.	
307	M. Ayub to K. H. Khurshid Letter	29	Sends a copy of the holy <i>Qur'an</i> , presented to Jinnah by Ghalib Husain, a member of the Egyptian Parliament on a visit to India with the Egyptian Jute Mission.	582
308	Basharatullah to Jinnah Letter	29	Suggests that the Muslim officers named by him who he believed indulged in provincialism, sycophancy, etc., be warned to mend their ways and kept under observation.	583
309	Nawab of Bhopal to Jinnah Letter	29	Recommends that Maqbool Mahmood, who had full knowledge about the States, be associated with Nishtar to advise on matters relating to the States.	586
310	Governor-General to Secretary of State for India Telegram	29	Feels that the Afghan press campaign was officially inspired and that Pathans living between the Durand Line and the Indus River intended to claim that they were Afghan subjects; avers that the press campaign constituted an unwarranted attempt by Afghan Government at interference in India's internal affairs; suggests that HMG consider persuading US Government to warn the Afghan Minister in Washington against adopting an adventurist policy which could boomerang.	587
311	Jinnah to Mountbatten Letter & Enclosure	29	Conveys objections to his proposal regarding standstill arrangement for the Central Government and allotment of portfolios for that purpose; hopes he would communicate them to the British Government.	589
312	Mountbatten to Jinnah Letter	29	Expostulates with him about reopening of the issue of terms of reference of the Boundary Commissions, which he had already approved of, as reopening would entail inordinate delay.	595
313	Mountbatten to Jinnah Letter	29	Seeks to ascertain if the Governors, particularly Governor of Sind, would be relieved on 15 August to enable them to make plans for their future.	598
314	Mountbatten to Jinnah Letter	29	Invites him and Liaquat Ali Khan, along with Congress leaders, to attend a meeting on 1 July 1947 and study, in separate rooms, the draft of Indian Independence Bill which was due to be moved in Parliament next month.	599
315	Jinnah to Mountbatten Letter	29	Informs that he would attend the meeting called for 1 July 1947.	600

316	Noon to Jinnah Letter	29	Reports about the activities of the Faqir of Ipi aimed at fomenting trouble for the ML in NWFP, and advises strong action to counter them; recommends appointment of a Pathan Governor and removal of British personnel from political/administrative posts; expects sixty per cent votes for the ML in the referendum; reports that Congress ladies had been moving around with copies of the <i>Qur'an</i> urging people not to vote and that, through a poster, Hindus had been advised not to take sides; says that Muslim officials were pro-ML.	600
317	Mrs Rallia Ram to Jinnah Letter	29	Informs that Hindu press continued to spread hatred against Muslims but expected goodwill in return; suggests repudiation of Gandhi's allegation that Jinnah was prejudiced against Hindus in general; feels that the allegation of Hindus that grants to Hindu colleges and schools in Sind had been withdrawn be countered; suggests that he bring to Gandhi's notice the acts of vindictiveness, brutality, etc., being perpetrated by Hindus and Sikhs on Muslims in Lahore and Amritsar.	601
318	A. Sequeira to Jinnah Letter	29	Sends him a photograph of his bungalow in Karachi where he was likely to stay.	604
319	Abul Quasem to Jinnah Letter & Enclosures	30	Lauds his efforts at achieving Pakistan and communicates his own ideas as to how the new State should be organised and developed.	604
320	Aizazuddin Ahmad to Jinnah Letter	30	Congratulates him on achievement of Pakistan; requests an interview for private reasons; seeks a job in Pakistan citing his previous experience as Extra-Assistant Commissioner in the Punjab and Baluchistan.	619
321	Habib Bank, Delhi, to Jinnah Letter	30	Intimate balance of Rs. 3,76,253-13-4 in the Bihar Relief Fund Account as on 30 June 1947, and seek confirmation.	620
322	Jinnah to Ahmad Ispahani Telegram	30	Tells him to receive one lakh rupees for Sylhet referendum expenses from Habib Bank, Calcutta, and that more would be arranged later.	620
323	Jinnah to Habib Bank, Delhi Letter & Enclosure	30	Sends eight cheques for a total amount of Rs. 2,080 for credit to the Pakistan Fund and instructs issue of receipts direct to donors.	621
324	Sohrab K. Khan to Jinnah Letter	30	Offers his services for Pakistan, in an honorary capacity, as a technical and commercial expert for developing Pakistan's commerce and industry, particularly the textile industry.	622
325	Liaquat to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	30	Sends a note by Mohamad Ali regarding division of assets between India	624

		and Pakistan, and suggests a meeting that evening to consider it.	
326	Mountbatten to Jinnah Letter	30 Enquires about the ML decision on the procedure for appointment of Governors of the Pakistan provinces before the Indian Independence Bill was introduced in Parliament.	628
327	Mountbatten to Jinnah Letter	30 Informs him that his memorandum about the arrangements for reconstitution of the Central Government had been telegraphed to London and that he was awaiting the opinion of the experts there.	629
328	Mountbatten to Jinnah Letter	30 Says he was glad that Jinnah was satisfied with the composition of his team for considering the Indian Independence Bill; urges the need to ensure secrecy of contents of the Bill; thinks association of Gandhi advisable; says that the Bill provided for a separate Governor-General of each Dominion with the stipulation that one person could hold both appointments for an agreed period; requests formal nomination for first Governor-General of Pakistan.	629
329	Naseer Uddin to Jinnah Letter	30 Recounts his services as Councillor of AIML and the sufferings he had to undergo because of Hindu animosity; requests appointment in the foreign, judicial or legislative departments.	630
330	National Bank of India, Lahore, to Jinnah Letter	30 Seek confirmation of the balance of Rs. 37,388-11-0 in his account.	632
331	National Bank of India, Bombay, to Jinnah Letter	30 Seek confirmation of the balance of Rs. 1,89,635-4-1 in his account.	632
332	National Bank of India, Bombay, to Jinnah Letter	30 Seek confirmation of the balance of Rs. 1,93,871-14-8 in his account.	633
333	Noon to Jinnah Letter	30 Reports that two out of four constituencies in NWFP were Congress strongholds and that the Faqir of Ipi was telling people not to vote; expects at least fifty per cent of votes for ML and improvement in the situation with the arrival of religious leaders; says Dr Khan Sahib had hinted that he did not wish to contest but that Chaffar Khan was holding meetings; suggests that he call certain ML leaders to acquaint himself with the situation; thinks that the Khan Brothers were still strong but that ML National Guards were a great force too.	633

334	Nzeer Ahmed to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	30	Invites him to attend the London Muslim League's celebration of the creation of Pakistan or, alternatively, to send a message to be read on the occasion.	635
335	Mrs Rallia Ram to Jinnah Letter	30	Sends a press clipping about Sylhet referendum; says the Hindu press had hinted at a surprise for ML in the referendum; suggests that the Viceroy be approached in the matter.	636
336	Note I by A. Aziz	n.d.	Analyses, giving detailed statistics, the implications of the partition of the Punjab with reference to the position of Sikhs; concludes that the Sikh community would stand to lose if they supported partition and cast their lot with Congress and Hindus of the Punjab; says Baba Kharak Singh, Akali leader, also had opposed the partition of the Punjab as being a "betrayal of the fundamentals of Sikh religion."	638
337	Note II by A. Aziz	n.d.	Suggests a referendum on the question of partition of the Punjab; says if, as was very likely, Sikhs and Scheduled Castes also decided against partition, Hindus would end up with a much smaller slice of the province for Hindustan.	651
338	Note by Anonym	n.d.	Outlines methods of enumeration and listing of assets and liabilities, and procedure for their division.	654
339	Note by Anonym	n.d.	Explains that the partition of the Punjab was likely to adversely affect the supplies of Sutlej waters to Bahawalpur; stresses the right of the State to be represented as an interested party if the division of the Province was decided upon and a Boundary Commission appointed.	656
340	Note by Anonym	n.d.	Lists the main hydro-electric projects in the Punjab; discusses projects concerning Jumna, Sutlej, Beas, Chenab and Jhelum Basins; indicates the sites of various dams.	659
341	Note by Anonym	n.d.	Proposes names of experts (a) to advise on constitution-making, finance, defence and education, and (b) for Secretary to the Constituent Assembly.	662
342	Note by Anonym	n.d.	Discusses the problems that the Muslims would have to contend with in the areas of irrigation and hydro-electricity if the Punjab was partitioned.	663
343	Note by Anonym	n.d.	Opines that Rajasthan was a stabilising and balancing factor in Indian affairs; considers that the Mountbatten Plan gave the States the option only to accede to one Dominion or the other; suggests that the States deserved to be given the same choice as available to the Provinces, to join together and form separate Dominions in areas which might suit them.	666

344	Note by Anonym	n.d.	Gives a biographical sketch of Miangul Gulshahzada Abdul Wadood, Wali of Swat.	670
345	H. H. Chowdhry to Jinnah Note	n.d.	Suggests that the international boundary between Hindustan and Muslim Bengal should be straight, with rivers, mountains, etc., as the dividing line; expresses the view that economic self-sufficiency should be the determinant for allocation of territories and that Muslim Bengal should not be deprived of areas vital to its survival; recommends that Hindu migratory labour be not counted as residents and that Calcutta be partitioned or made a free port.	671
346	Account of Pakistan Fund	n.d.	Account of the Pakistan Fund furnished by the Habib Bank, Delhi.	673
347	M. H. Hussain to Jinnah Letter	n.d.	Encloses a cheque from his father, Nawab Zoolcadre Jung for the referendum campaign.	681
348	Rashid A. Munshi to Jinnah Letter & Enclosures	n.d.	Recommends introduction of crop insurance which was an innovative measure; suggests that initially it be experimented with on a small scale.	682
349	Secretary to Crown Representative to Residents of Indian States Draft Letter & Enclosures	n.d.	Suggests stationing of Successor Governments' representatives in the States or, alternatively, posting of the States' Agents at the Headquarters of Successor Governments to ensure adequate liaison; enquires which of the alternatives was preferred by the States.	684
350	Draft Letter from Secretary to Crown Representative	n.d.	Encloses a preliminary draft of a Standstill Agreement between Successor Governments and individual Indian States to provide for administrative arrangements during the period intervening between the lapse of paramountcy and the conclusion of fresh or modified agreements with Successor Governments.	713

No.	Description	Date February 1947	Summary	Page
I. 1	Jinnah to Collector, Karachi Letter & Enclosure	21	Applies for purchase of ten acres of land for agricultural and non-agricultural purposes; encloses authority in favour of Pir Mahfooz.	714
I. 2	Jinnah to National Bank of India, Bombay Letter	22	Encloses a draft for Rs. 2,167-13-0 for credit to his Account No. 2.	715
I. 3	Jinnah to Pioneer Arms Co., Delhi Letter	24	Informs that Liaquat had been given full authority to deal with the matter of purchase of arms; offers to buy them at cost price as agreed.	715
I. 4	Ahmadullah to Jinnah Letter	25	Requests payment of the balance of Rs. 283-12-0 relating to the cost of three silver trays; asks for return of 24 silver coffee spoons and a sugar tong.	716
I. 5	Imperial Bank of India, Bombay, to Jinnah Letter	25	Seek approval for transfer of Rs. 24,817-5-1 from his personal account to Account No. 2 which was already overdrawn.	717
I. 6	Noorali Bana to Jinnah Receipt and Enclosure	25	Acknowledges receipt of a cheque for Rs. 15,000 and confirms issue of a cheque for the same amount as earnest money to the attorney of Mrs Perin Kapadia.	717
I. 7	Imperial Bank of India, Bombay, to Jinnah Letter	26	Request that he visit the Bank in connection with his accounts.	718
I. 8	Kotwal & Co. to Jinnah Letter & Enclosures	27	Send for his signature an agreement for purchase of property in Frere Town Quarter, Karachi.	719
I. 9	Grocery Account	28	Details of expenses incurred on purchase of groceries.	722
I. 10	S. Shamsul Hasan to Jinnah Letter	28	Acknowledges receipt of cheque for the salaries of Jinnah's domestic servants; informs of the critical condition in hospital of his bearer; confirms completion of repairs to his bungalow and improvement in the garden; mentions receipt of summons in the lawsuit filed by Commissioner of Patna against himself, as printer/publisher, and the Editor of <i>Dawn</i> .	723
		March		
I. 11	M. Y. Baluch to Jinnah Letter	3	Regarding No. I.1, requests that his land be spared or he be paid Rs. 10,000 as compensation.	724
I. 12	Jinnah to G. Mohy-ud-Din Letter	4	Desires that the position relating to the contract for the property in Lahore be intimated to him without delay as the addressee's son had not responded up to that time.	726

I. 13	Jinnah to M. N. Kotwal Letter	4	Refers to No. I.8; asks him to complete the sale deed and retain his name as the purchaser.	727
I. 14	S. Shamsul Hasan to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	7	Refers to No. I.10; informs him that they could not go to Patna for the Court case and that Khan could not submit report to him because of illness; states that salaries had been disbursed to the servants; refers to the situation in the Punjab where Hindus and Sikhs were "playing havoc"; says 11 March was being observed as anti-Pakistan day in Delhi as well; wishes to know beforehand of the exact date of his arrival in Delhi.	727
I. 15	Pioneer Arms Co., Delhi, to Jinnah Letter	10	Refer to No. I.3; state that they had not heard from Liaquat about the weapons lying with him (Jinnah), for sale of which special permit had had to be obtained by them; clarify that the weapons had been supplied on promise of special concession and not at cost price; request their early return if not required.	729
I. 16	Jinnah to Secretary, Peshawar Club Letter	12	Wishes to know details of properties of the Peshawar Club advertised for sale.	730
I. 17	B. Lakshminarayan to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	12	Asks him to refund the dividend on thirty-five shares of Simplex Mills Co. Ltd., which he claimed to be his property at the time the dividend was declared.	730
I. 18	A. D. Shroff to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	12	Encloses a note about Business Profits Tax, Capital Gains Tax and the scaling-up of Super Tax slabs.	732
I. 19	J. R. Khan to Jinnah Letter	13	Intimates that necessary repairs to the bungalow had been carried out and that other repairs would be undertaken on his approval.	736
I. 20	Mazhar-ul-Haq to PS to Jinnah Letter	13	Requests repair of leakage in flush cistern of servant quarters.	737
I. 21	Habib Bank, Calcutta, to Jinnah Letter	15	Inform him of despatch of a demand draft a day earlier and of all files and a cash book through a messenger; request acknowledgement.	737
I. 22	Jinnah to Imperial Bank of India, Bombay Letter	16	Forwards two cheques for credit to his Account No. 2.	738
I. 23	Imperial Bank of India, Bombay, to Jinnah Letter	17	Advise him to adjust the Account No. 2 which was overdrawn.	738
I. 24	M. A. Isphani to Jinnah Letter	17	Suggests purchase of landed property in Calcutta which had depreciated in the wake of the slump sparked off by Liaquat's budget.	739

I. 25	Gilbert-Lodge & Co. to Jinnah Letter	17	Send details of "Sandow Castle" advertised for sale.	740
I. 26	Reserve Bank of India, Bombay, to Jinnah Receipt	17	Acknowledge receipt of Rs. 1,034-3-0 as income tax for 1946-47.	740
I. 27	Jinnah to Sirsilk Ltd., Hyderabad Deccan Letter	18	Informs them of the non-receipt of refunded money and asks for its remittance.	741
I. 28	Jinnah to G. Mohy-ud-Din Letter	18	Regarding No. I.12, asks him to look into the correspondence relating to the contract and to forward copies of the letters to enable him to express his opinion.	742
I. 29	Jinnah to Hyderabad Construction Co., Hyderabad Deccan Letter	18	Seeks confirmation or otherwise of receipt of the cost of shares offered to him.	742
I. 30	Jinnah to Noorali Bana Letter	18	Regarding Nos. I.8 & I.13, desires to be informed of the progress of the purchase of property for which he had already sent his agreement; wants information also on other available properties including that of "Padri" at Clifton.	743
I. 31	Pir Mahfooz to K. H. Khurshid Letter	18	Refers to Nos. I.1 & I.11; intimates that the purchase of the plot had been approved and expects that the owner would withdraw his objection which was based on a misunderstanding.	744
I. 32	S. L. Thar to Jinnah Letter	18	Intimates purchase of 500 shares of Osmanshahi Mills Ltd. and Azam Jahi Mills Ltd.	745
I. 33	Mir Laik Ali to Jinnah Letter	19	Regarding No. I.29, asks him to remit second instalment of Rs. 4,287-8-0 along with interest towards the cost of 200 shares in Hyderabad Construction Co., which was due for payment by 31 December 1946.	745
I. 34	M. Y. Baluch to Jinnah Letter	19	Refers to No. I.11; appeals that persons pressing him to surrender his 8-acre land be prevented from doing so or else he be compensated.	746
I. 35	Garrison Engineer, Lahore Cantonment, to Jinnah Letter	20	Intimates an amendment in his previous letter.	748
I. 36	Garrison Engineer, Lahore Cantonment, to Jinnah Letter	20	Acknowledges his two letters which had been passed on to Commander, Lahore Sub-Area, who would send him a reply.	749
I. 37	G. Gordhandas to Jinnah Bill & Receipt	20	Sends a bill for purchase of 300 shares, including cost of stamps and transfer fees minus dividend, of Osmanshahi Mills amounting to Rs. 94,837-8-0; acknowledges receipt of the amount on the bill itself.	752

I. 38	G. Gordhandas to Jinnah Bill & Receipt	20	Sends a bill for purchase of 200 shares, including cost of stamps and transfer fee minus dividend, of Azam Jahi Mills amounting to Rs. 58,253-5-6; receipts the amount on the bill itself.	752
I. 39	Imperial Bank of India, Bombay, to Jinnah Letter	20	Inform of credit of two cheques to his account.	753
I. 40	G. Gordhandas to Jinnah Bill & Receipt	21	Intimates cost of 1,000 shares, stamps and transfer fee of Bengal Steel and renders receipt for Rs. 30,245.	754
I. 41	S. Shamsul Hasan to Jinnah Letter	21	Informs him that two Municipality bills had been paid; intimates that the ceiling plaster of the visitors' room which had been repaired earlier had come off and fallen down and that the contractor would repair it soon.	754
I. 42	A. A. Khan to Jinnah Letter	22	Refers to Nos. I.29 & I.33; asks him to send a cheque for Rs. 4,287-8-0, along with 6% interest, for the purchase of his shares.	755
I. 43	Secretary, Willingdon Sports Club, Bombay, to PS to Jinnah Letter	22	Reminds for payment of annual subscription of Rs. 120.	755
I. 44	G. Gordhandas to Steel Corporation of Bengal, Calcutta Letter	24	Regarding No. I.40, sends ten transfer deeds along with ten transfer certificates of 1,000 shares of Steel Corporation of Bengal, for transfer in Jinnah's name.	756
I. 45	Jinnah to Imperial Bank of India, Bombay Letter	24	Sends a cheque and a demand draft for Rs. 55,649-4-6 for credit to his Account No. 2.	757
I. 46	N. Dhirajlal to Jinnah Letter	25	Seeks interview for His Highness of Nathdwara to discuss purchase of his (Jinnah's) house in Bombay, which was reported to be for sale.	757
I. 47	Jinnah to Hyderabad Construction Co. Letter	25	Refers to No. I.33; regrets delay in payment of second instalment for 200 shares; sends the instalment and the interest thereon.	758
I. 48	Jinnah to M. Y. Baluch Letter	25	Refers to Nos. I.11 & I.34; informs him that he had applied for a piece of land as an ordinary citizen and that if the applicant had any claim, he should take it up with the Government; explains that decision about its allotment had to be made by the Government on its own terms and conditions.	758
I. 49	G. Mohy-ud-Din to Jinnah Letter	25	Regarding No. I.28, informs that after he had ascertained from Lajja Ram the date of the property bargain, only then would he be able to offer his comments; informs him about relative peace in the province.	759
I. 50	Noorali Bana to Jinnah Letter	26	Regarding No. I.30, intimates lease conditions of stone quarries at Ghizri and about	760

		availability for sale of certain properties in Civil Lines and Frere Town, Karachi; informs that Kotwal was processing the case of property purchased by him (Jinnah).	
I. 51	Imperial Bank of India, Bombay, to Jinnah Letter	26 Acknowledge receipt of Rs. 55,649-4-6 to be credited to his account.	761
I. 52	Jinnah to Air India, Bombay Letter	26 Despatches the letter of allotment of 500 shares of Air India Ltd., along with their receipt for Rs. 50,000 paid by him, and asks for expeditious despatch of the share certificates to him.	762
I. 53	National Bank of India, Bombay, to Jinnah Letter	26 Acknowledge receipt of his income tax voucher for Rs. 8,607-9-0, for credit to his account.	762
I. 54	New India Assurance Co., Bombay, to Jinnah Letter	26 Acknowledge receipt of Rs. 139-8-0 on account of fire insurance policy.	763
I. 55	Secretary, Willingdon Sports Club, Bombay, to Jinnah Receipt	26 Regarding No. I.43, acknowledges receipt of Rs. 120 as his monthly membership fee.	763
I. 56	Gilbert-Lodge & Co. to Jinnah Letter	27 Regarding No. I.25, inform him that they could arrange inspection of "Sandow Castle", Pir Pao, Chembur, which was available for sale.	764
I. 57	Imperial Bank of India, Bombay, to Jinnah Letter	27 Acknowledge receipt of Rs. 3,715 for credit to his account.	764
I. 58	Insurance Policy	27 Insurance policy in respect of Jinnah's house on Mount Pleasant Road, Bombay.	765
I. 59	New India Assurance Co., Bombay, to Jinnah Receipt	28 Regarding No. I.58, acknowledge receipt of the premium on the fire insurance policy.	766
I. 60	Reserve Bank of India, Bombay, to Jinnah Receipt	29 Acknowledge receipt of Rs. 1,010-6-0, as super tax for 1946-47.	766
I. 61	Mohammad Saeed to Manager, Habib Bank, Delhi Letter	30 Informs that the draft for Rs. 679-8-0 issued at Bahrein on the Imperial Bank of India, Delhi, should on receipt be credited to the Quaid-i-Azam Relief Fund.	766
I. 62	Jinnah to Imperial Bank of India, Bombay Letter	31 Encloses a cheque for Rs. 2,100 for credit to his Account No. 2.	767
I. 63	Jinnah to National Bank of India, Bombay Letter	31 Encloses a demand draft for Rs. 7,284-5-0 for credit to his Account No. 2.	767

I. 64	Statement of Expenses	31	Details of expenditure on Jinnah's travel from Karachi to Bombay.	768
		<i>April</i>		
I. 65	Imperial Bank of India, Bombay, to Jinnah Memorandum	1	Inform crediting his Account No. 2 with Rs. 3-2-0.	769
I. 66	K. Madhavdas to Jinnah Letter	1	Asks him to send Rs. 20 on account of dividend of five shares to which he was entitled.	769
I. 67	Commander, H. Q., Lahore Sub-Area, to Jinnah Letter	2	Informs him that the Government had a lien on the use of bungalows of private owners in cantonments, and regrets that his house could not be derequisitioned.	770
I. 68	Executive Officer, Lahore Cantonment, to Jinnah Receipt	2	Renders a receipt for Rs. 324 on account of house tax for the period from 1 April 1946 to 31 March 1947.	771
I. 69	G. Gordhandas to Osmanshahi Mills, Hyderabad Deccan Letter	2	Regarding No. I.37, sends 60 transfer deeds in respect of 300 shares of their company for transfer to Jinnah.	771
I. 70	M. Shafi to Jinnah Letter	2	Reminds him for payment of water charges by 30 April 1947.	772
I. 71	S. L. Thar to Azam Jahi Mills, Hyderabad Deccan Letter	2	Regarding No. I.38, forwards 40 transfer deeds in respect of 200 shares of their company for transfer to Jinnah.	773
I. 72	M. Y. Baluch to Jinnah Letter	3	Refers to No. I. 48; reiterates his request that his land be spared or else Rs. 10,000 be paid to him as compensation.	773
I. 73	Jinnah to Imperial Bank of India, Bombay Letter	3	Encloses a cheque of Rs. 5,000 for credit to his Account No. 2.	774
I. 74	Jinnah to Garrison Engineer, Lahore Cantonment Letter	3	Refers to Nos. I.35 & I.36; seeks information about the law, and relevant provisions thereof, under which the derequisitioning of his (Jinnah's) house was proposed to be dealt with; expects a straightforward reply from the Defence Services.	775
I. 75	Commander, H. Q., Lahore Sub-Area, to Jinnah Letter	11	Refers to No. I.74; explains the legal position regarding requisitioning of houses by the Defence Services.	776
I. 76	M. N. Kotwal to Jinnah Letter	11	Refers to No. I.13; explains the title of various inheritors of the property in Frere Town Quarter, Karachi; indicates action taken for finalising the sale deal.	777
I. 77	Mountbatten and Edwina to Jinnah and Fatima	n.d.	Invite them to an at-home on 12 April 1947.	779

I. 78	Imperial Bank of India, Bombay, to Jinnah Letter	17	Inform him that his fixed deposit of Rs. 20 lakh would be renewed and interest thereon credited to his Account No. 2; add that the fixed deposit receipt of Rs. 2. 50 lakh was being sent to their New Delhi branch for renewal and for crediting interest thereon to Account No. 2.	780
I. 79	M. A. Chaiwala to Jinnah Letter	18	Enquires on behalf of Sir Cowasji Jehangir if the bungalow in Matheran would be required by him; intimates that the staff of the bungalow had been paid as per his instructions.	780
I. 80	Jinnah to S. Wajid Ali Letter	18	Refers to Nos. I. 67 & I.75; authorises him to see Brigade Commander, Lahore Sub-Area, and explain his (Jinnah's) viewpoint about derequisitioning of his house which he needed badly; hopes he would convince the authorities as he (Jinnah) did not want to resort to litigation.	781
I. 81	S. Shamsul Hasan to Jinnah Letter	23	Sends ■ statement of expenses regarding payment of taxes and salaries.	782
I. 82	S. L. Thar to Jinnah Telegram	24	Regrets not having enclosed with his letter ■ cheque for Rs. 122-8-0, which was being posted the same day.	782
I. 83	S. L. Thar to Jinnah Letter	24	Refers to No. I.82; encloses a cheque for Rs. 122-8-0 which he had forgotten to attach with his earlier letter.	783
I. 84	Jinnah to Commander, H. Q., Lahore Sub-Area Letter	25	Refers to No. I. 75; hopes that his house in Lahore Cantt. would be derequisitioned for his personal use and recourse to legal proceedings would thereby be avoided.	783
I. 85	Mian and Begum Bashir Ahmad to Jinnah	n.d.	Invite him to the wedding of their daughter on 26 April 1947 and to <i>walima</i> the next day.	784
I. 86	Habib Bank, Delhi, to Jinnah Letter	28	Acknowledge receipt of three cheques, one draft and a pay slip for Rs. 421 sent with his letter of 25 April.	785
I. 87	Habib Bank, Bombay, to Jinnah Memorandum	n.d.	Enclose payment order for Rs. 7,284-5-0.	785
I. 88	Commander, H. Q., Lahore Sub-Area, to Jinnah Letter	May 1	Refers to No. I. 84; regrets that owing to the shortage of accommodation in the Lahore Cantt. and the pressure of demand for married accommodation, his house could not be derequisitioned.	786
I. 89	Jinnah to Imperial Bank of India, Bombay Letter	1	Encloses a cheque for Rs. 1,891-10-0 for credit to his personal Account No. 2.	787
I. 90	Jinnah to A. M. Thariani Letter	2	Informs him that he could sell his house at Mount Pleasant Road, Bombay, for Rs. 20 lakh net; adds that he was not in a position to consider the printing press matter for the time being.	787

I. 91	S. Wajid Ali to Jinnah Letter	5	Refers to No. I.80; regrets his inability to get Jinnah's house derequisitioned by the Commander, Lahore Sub-Area, and suggests postponement of legal action till he had discussed the matter with the Quartermaster-General.	788
I. 92	Imperial Bank of India, Bombay, to Jinnah Letter	5	Refer to No. I.89; acknowledge receipt of cheque for Rs. 1,891-10-0 for credit to his Account No. 2; inform him of debiting Rs. 2-8-0 on account of exchange.	788
I. 93	Oriental Building and Furnishing Co., New Delhi, to Jinnah Letter	12	Intimate cost of the design for glazing three openings in the verandah.	789
I. 94	Jinnah to M. N. Kotwal Letter	13	Refers to No. I.76; reminds him to intimate latest position of property transaction for which Rs. 15,000 had already been paid to the seller as earnest money.	789
I. 95	Jinnah to Yahya M. Merchant Letter	15	Informs him that the sale of his property would be handled by Gannon & Dunkerely which would not be sold for less than Rupees twenty lakh net.	790
I. 96	A. K. Babu Khan to Jinnah Letter	17	Sends him Rs. 2,000 as dividend of 200 shares of the Hyderabad Construction Company.	791
I. 97	Jinnah to Imperial Bank of India, Bombay Letter	18	Encloses three cheques totalling Rs. 158-8-0 for credit to his Account No. 2.	791
I. 98	Jinnah to National Bank of India, Bombay Letter	20	Encloses a cheque for Rs. 1,00,000 for credit to his Account No. 2.	792
I. 99	J. C. Mehta to Jinnah Letter	20	Asks him to pay Rs. 135 on 15 shares of Simplex Mills Ltd. to K. M. Nemani who owned these shares before their transfer to him (Jinnah), in case dividend thereon had been received by him.	792
I. 100	Imperial Bank of India, Bombay, to Jinnah Letter	23	Refer to No. I. 97; acknowledge receipt of three cheques totalling Rs. 158-8-0 for credit to Account No. 2.	793
I. 101	K. H. Khurshid to Mohan Singh Letter	24	Refers to No. I.93; returns the design for glazing in the verandah of Jinnah's bungalow.	793
I. 102	Mohan Singh to Jinnah Letter	24	Refers to No. I.101; confirms that they would undertake the glazing.	794
I. 103	Abdalla Hussein to Jinnah Letter	25	Requests payment of £ 20 being the cost of an album containing photographs of King Farouk.	795
I. 104	A. L. Dada to Jinnah Letter	26	Sends prospectus of Muhammedi Steamship Co. Ltd., and invites him to purchase its shares.	795

I. 105	M. N. Kotwal to Jinnah Letter	27	Refers to No. I.94; informs him that the application of the vendor for the sale of property had been filed in the Court and that he would do his best to expedite the completion of the sale transaction.	796
I. 106	Pioneer Arms Co., Delhi, to Jinnah Receipt	28	Regarding No. I.15, acknowledge receipt of Rs. 1,300 in full and final settlement of their bill.	797
I. 107	M. A. Chaiwala to K. H. Khurshid Letter	30	Requests a reply to his letter sent to Miss Jinnah; seeks information about the rumoured sale of Jinnah's bungalow to Dalmia; states that he had paid the Municipal and other bills up to September 1947.	797
I. 108	B. Blencowe to Jinnah Letter	31	Intimates details and cost of the Houseboat <i>Mayflower</i> ; desires to be informed of his intention to purchase it, and indicates the month by which it could be handed over.	798
I. 109	Jinnah to J. C. Mehta Letter	31	Refers to No. I.99; sends a cheque for Rs. 135 and requests its endorsement to K. M. Nemani a dividend for his 15 shares of the Simplex Mills.	799
		June		
I. 110	Jinnah to Imperial Bank of India, Bombay Letter	2	Points out discrepancies in the statement of Account No. 2 and seeks clarification.	799
I. 111	Jinnah to Imperial Bank of India, Bombay Letter	2	Sends a dividend warrant for Rs. 2,000 (Hyderabad State Currency) for credit to Account No. 1, and desires to be informed of its value in British Indian currency.	800

No.	Description	Date February 1947	Summary
1	Karim Shah Warsi to Jinnah Telegram	22	Notes his commiseration with the poor; requests that he help out Munnoo Pujaro whose house had been seized by Ramparshad Mabajai.
2	Receipt	26	British Wireless Marine Service acknowledge receipt of charges for transmitting of a message from Jinnah to Bombay.
3	Divisional Engineer, Telegraphs, New Delhi, to Jinnah Demand Note	27	Sends Demand Note for payment of Rs. 99 as rent for telephone connection.
<i>March</i>			
4	New India Assurance Co., Bombay, to Jinnah Cover Note	1	Send temporary cover note for insurance of his bungalow in Bombay against fire and lightning.
5	Jinnah to Area Rationing Authority, Bombay Application	8	Applies for supplementary coupons of motor spirit.
6	Ahmadullah to PS to Jinnah Letter	17	Requests an opportunity to call on and pay his respects to Jinnah; says he had retired recently as Chief Secretary to the Nizam of Hyderabad.
7	M. M. Al-Herz to I. I. Chundrigar Letter	19	Requests permit for export of <i>desi loongis</i> to Sharjah and Aden.
8	New Delhi Municipal Committee to Jinnah Receipt	21	Acknowledge receipt of Rs. 24.
9	M. Y. Shiekh to Jinnah Letter	28	Seeks an interview.
<i>April</i>			
10	New Delhi Municipal Committee to Jinnah Memoranda	2	Acknowledge, severally, receipt of sums of Rs. 12-5-0, Rs. 20-7-0, Rs. 55-5-0, Rs. 69-3-0 and Rs. 57-1-0, sent by him.
11	New Delhi Municipal Committee to Jinnah Receipt	8	Acknowledge receipt of Rs. 9-11-0.
12	New Delhi Municipal Committee to Jinnah Bill	12	Send a bill of Rs. 10-2-0 for water and electricity for the period from 20.2.1947 to 20.3.1947.
13	General Manager, Telephones, Bombay, to Jinnah Bill	14	Sends a bill for Rs. 57-12-0 on account of telephone trunk calls.
14	Statement of Accounts	17	Account of salaries paid by S. Shamsul Hasan to servants for the months of February and March 1947.
15	New Delhi Municipal Committee to Jinnah Memorandum	18	Inform that a sum of Rs. 118-2-0 had been received from him and credited in the books of their office.

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|----|--|------|---|
| 16 | Land and Development Officer,
New Delhi, to Jinnah
Receipt | 18 | Acknowledges receipt of total sum of Rs. 470 on account of ground rent of 10 Aurangzeb Road for the period from 15.7.1946 to 14.7.1947. |
| 17 | S. Mohd. Umar & Sons to Jinnah
Bill | 23 | Send a bill of Rs. 375 for stitching three woollen suits. |
| 18 | General Manager, Telephones, Bombay, to Jinnah
Bill | 24 | Sends telephone bill for Rs. 270 for the period from 24.4.1947 to 23.4.1948. |
| 19 | S. Mohd. Umar & Sons to Jinnah
Letter | 30 | Acknowledge receipt of Rs. 375. |
| 20 | PS to Jinnah to Postmaster, Bombay
Letter | n.d. | Asks him to redirect mail of Jinnah and Miss Jinnah to their New Delhi address from 4 April 1947 till further notice. |
| 21 | Statement of Expenses | n.d. | Account of various taxes paid by S. Shamsul Hasan on behalf of Jinnah during the period from 5.7.1946 to 17.4.1947. |

May

- | | | | |
|----|--|----|---|
| 22 | Receipt | 3 | Receipt for Rs. 288 on account of telephone bill. |
| 23 | Army & Navy Stores, Bombay, to Jinnah
Receipt | 5 | Acknowledge receipt of Rs. 45-5-6. |
| 24 | New Delhi Municipal Committee to Jinnah
Bill | 7 | Send a bill for electricity and filtered water for Rs. 49-5-0 for the period from 20.3.1947 to 21.4.1947. |
| 25 | New Delhi Municipal Committee to Jinnah
Receipt | 21 | Acknowledge receipt of Rs. 47. |
| 26 | M. A. Chaiwala to Jinnah
Letter | 23 | Encloses railway receipt about despatch of mangoes of his (Jinnah's) garden; informs him of demand for increase in pay of his <i>mali</i> and watchman. |

1

Statement by British Government on Indian Policy¹

F. 2/15-28

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
3 June 1947

INTRODUCTION

1. On February 20th, 1947,² His Majesty's Government announced their intention of transferring power in British India to Indian hands by June 1948. His Majesty's Government had hoped that it would be possible for the major parties to co-operate in the working-out of the Cabinet Mission's Plan of May 16th, 1946,³ and evolve for India a Constitution acceptable to all concerned. This hope has not been fulfilled.

2. The majority of the representatives of the Provinces of Madras, Bombay, the United Provinces, Bihar, Central Provinces and Berar, Assam, Orissa and the North-West Frontier Province, and the representatives of Delhi, Ajmer-Merwara and Coorg have already made progress in the task of evolving a new Constitution. On the other hand, the Muslim League Party, including in it a majority of the representatives of Bengal, the Punjab and Sind as also the representative of British Baluchistan, has decided not to participate in the Constituent Assembly.

3. It has always been the desire of His Majesty's Government that power should be transferred in accordance with the wishes of the Indian people themselves. This task would have been greatly facilitated if there had been agreement among the Indian political parties. In the absence of such agreement, the task of devising a method by which the wishes of the Indian people can be ascertained has devolved upon His Majesty's Government. After full consultation with political leaders in India, His Majesty's Government have decided to adopt for this purpose the plan set out below. His Majesty's Government wish to make it clear that they have no intention of attempting to frame any ultimate Constitution for India; this is a matter for the Indians themselves. Nor is there anything in this plan to preclude negotiations between communities for a⁴ united India.

THE ISSUES TO BE DECIDED

4. It is not the intention of His Majesty's Government to interrupt the work of the existing Constituent Assembly. Now that provision is

made for certain Provinces specified below, His Majesty's Government trust that, as a consequence of this announcement, the Muslim League representatives of those Provinces, a majority of whose representatives are already participating in it, will now take their due share in its labours. At the same time, it is clear that any Constitution framed by this Assembly cannot apply to those parts of the country which are unwilling to accept it. His Majesty's Government are satisfied that the procedure outlined below embodies the best practical method of ascertaining the wishes of the people of such areas on the issue whether their Constitution is to be framed:

- (a) in the existing Constituent Assembly; or
- (b) in a new and separate Constituent Assembly consisting of the representatives of those areas which decide not to participate in the existing Constituent Assembly.

When this has been done, it will be possible to determine the authority or authorities to whom power should be transferred.

BENGAL AND THE PUNJAB

5. The Provincial Legislative Assemblies of Bengal and the Punjab (excluding the European members) will, therefore, each be asked to meet in two parts, one representing the Muslim majority districts and the other the rest of the Province. For the purpose of determining the population of districts, the 1941 census figures will be taken as authoritative. The Muslim majority districts in these two Provinces are set out in the Appendix to this Announcement.

6. The members of the two parts of each Legislative Assembly sitting separately will be empowered to vote whether or not the Province should be partitioned. If a simple majority of either part decides in favour of partition, division will take place and arrangements will be made accordingly.

7. Before the question as to the partition is decided, it is desirable that the representatives of each part should know in advance which Constituent Assembly the Province as a whole would join in the event of the two parts subsequently deciding to remain united. Therefore, if any member of either Legislative Assembly so demands, there shall be held a meeting of all members of the Legislative Assembly (other than Europeans) at which a decision will be taken on the issue as to which Constituent Assembly the Province as a whole would join if it were decided by the two parts to remain united.

8. In the event of partition being decided upon, each part of the Legislative Assembly will, on behalf of the areas they represent, decide which of the alternatives in paragraph 4 above to adopt.

9. For the immediate purpose of deciding on the issue of partition, the members of the Legislative Assemblies of Bengal and the Punjab will sit in two parts according to Muslim majority districts (as laid down in the Appendix) and non-Muslim majority districts. This is only a preliminary step of a purely temporary nature as it is evident that for the purposes of a final partition of these Provinces a detailed investigation of boundary questions will be needed; and, as soon as a decision involving partition has been taken for either Province, a Boundary Commission will be set up by the Governor-General, the membership and terms of reference of which will be settled in consultation with those concerned. It will be instructed to demarcate the boundaries of the two parts of the Punjab on the basis of ascertaining the contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims. It will also be instructed to take into account other factors. Similar instructions will be given to the Bengal Boundary Commission. Until the report of a Boundary Commission has been put into effect, the provisional boundaries indicated in the Appendix will be used.

SIND

10. The Legislative Assembly of Sind (excluding the European members) will at a special meeting also take its own decision on the alternatives in paragraph 4 above.

NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE

11. The position of the North-West Frontier Province is exceptional. Two of the three representatives⁵ of this Province are already participating in the existing Constituent Assembly. But it is clear, in view of its geographical situation, and other considerations, that if the whole or any part of the Punjab decides not to join the existing Constituent Assembly, it will be necessary to give the North-West Frontier Province an opportunity to reconsider its position. Accordingly, in such an event, a referendum will be made to the electors of the present Legislative Assembly in the North-West Frontier Province to choose which of the alternatives mentioned in paragraph 4 above they wish to adopt. The referendum will be held under the aegis of the Governor-General and in consultation with the Provincial Government.

BRITISH BALUCHISTAN

12. British Baluchistan has elected a member,⁶ but he has not taken his seat in the existing Constituent Assembly. In view of its geographical situation, this Province will also be given an opportunity to reconsider its position and to choose which of the alternatives in paragraph 4 above to adopt. His Excellency the Governor-General is examining how this can most appropriately be done.

ASSAM

13. Though Assam is predominantly a non-Muslim Province, the district of Sylhet which is contiguous to Bengal is predominantly Muslim. There has been a demand that, in the event of the partition of Bengal, Sylhet should be amalgamated with the Muslim part of Bengal. Accordingly, if it is decided that Bengal should be partitioned, a referendum will be held in Sylhet district under the aegis of the Governor-General and in consultation with the Assam Provincial Government to decide whether the district of Sylhet should continue to form part of the Assam Province or should be amalgamated with the new Province of Eastern Bengal, if that Province agrees. If the referendum results in favour of amalgamation with Eastern Bengal, a Boundary Commission with terms of reference similar to those for the Punjab and Bengal will be set up to demarcate the Muslim majority areas of Sylhet district and contiguous Muslim majority areas of adjoining districts, which will then be transferred to Eastern Bengal.⁷ The rest of the Assam Province will in any case continue to participate in the proceedings of the existing Constituent Assembly.

REPRESENTATION IN CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLIES

14. If it is decided that Bengal and the Punjab should be partitioned, it will be necessary to hold fresh elections to choose their representatives on the scale of one for every million of population according to the principle contained in the Cabinet Mission's Plan of May 16th, 1946. Similar elections will also have to be held for Sylhet in the event of it being decided that this district should form part of East Bengal. The number of representatives to which each area would be entitled is as follows:

Province		General	Muslims	Sikhs	Total
Sylhet District	...	1	2	Nil	3
West Bengal	...	15	4	Nil	19
East Bengal	...	12	29	Nil	41
West Punjab	...	3	12	2	17
East Punjab	...	6	4	2	12

15. In accordance with the mandates given to them, the representatives of the various areas will either join the existing Constituent Assembly or form the new Constituent Assembly.

ADMINISTRATIVE MATTERS

16. Negotiations will have to be initiated as soon as possible on the administrative consequences of any partition that may have been decided upon:

- a. Between the representatives of the respective successor authorities about all subjects now dealt with by the Central Government, including Defence, Finance and Communications.

- b. Between different successor authorities and His Majesty's Government for treaties in regard to matters arising out of the transfer of power.
- c. In the case of Provinces that may be partitioned, as to the administration of all provincial subjects such as the division of assets and liabilities, the police and other services, the High Courts, provincial institutions, etc.

THE TRIBES OF THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER

17. Agreements with tribes of the North-West Frontier of India will have to be negotiated by the appropriate successor authority.

THE STATES

18. His Majesty's Government wish to make it clear that the decisions announced above relate only to British India and that their policy towards Indian States contained in the Cabinet Mission Memorandum of 12th May 1946⁸ remains unchanged.

NECESSITY FOR SPEED

19. In order that the successor authorities may have time to prepare themselves to take over power, it is important that all the above processes should be completed as quickly as possible. To avoid delay, the different Provinces or parts of Provinces will proceed independently as far as practicable within the conditions of this Plan. The existing Constituent Assembly and the new Constituent Assembly (if formed) will proceed to frame Constitutions for their respective territories: they will of course be free to frame their own rules.

IMMEDIATE TRANSFER OF POWER

20. The major political parties have repeatedly emphasized their desire that there should be the earliest possible transfer of power in India. With this desire His Majesty's Government are in full sympathy, and they are willing to anticipate the date of June, 1948, for the handing over of power by the setting up of an independent Indian Government or Governments at an even earlier date. Accordingly, as the most expeditious, and indeed the only practicable way of meeting this desire, *His Majesty's Government propose to introduce legislation during the current session for the transfer of power this year on a Dominion Status basis to one or two successor authorities as come into being⁹ as a result of this announcement. This will be without prejudice to the right of the Indian Constituent Assemblies to decide in due course whether or not the part of India in respect of which they have authority will remain within the British Commonwealth.*¹⁰

FURTHER ANNOUNCEMENTS BY GOVERNOR-GENERAL

21. His Excellency the Governor-General will from time to time

make such further announcements as may be necessary in regard to procedure or any other matters for carrying out the above arrangements.

APPENDIX

The Muslim majority districts of [the] Punjab and Bengal according to 1941 census.

1. The Punjab.

Lahore Division—Gujranwala, Gurdaspur, Lahore, Sheikhupura, Sialkot.

Rawalpindi Division—Attock, Gujrat, Jhelum, Mianwali, Rawalpindi, Shahpur.¹¹

Multan Division—Dera Ghazi Khan, Jhang, Lyallpur,¹² Montgomery,¹³ Multan, Muzaffargarh.

2. Bengal.

Chittagong Division—Chittagong, Noakhali, Tippera.

Dacca Division—Bakerganj, Dacca, Faridpur, Mymensingh.

Presidency Division—Jessore, Murshidabad, Nadia.

Rajshahi Division—Bogra, Dinajpur, Malda, Pabna, Rajshahi, Rangpur.

¹This Statement was made by Premier Attlee in the House of Commons and by the Earl of Listowel in the House of Lords at 3.30 p.m. (Double British Summer Time) and was published in India at the same time, 7 p.m. (Indian Standard Time). An underlined copy is available at F.2/23-6, QAP (not printed). Also see *TP*, XI, No.45, 89-94. For Draft Announcement, see No. 418, Vol. I, Part I, 743-7.

²No. I, Vol. I, Part I, 1-3.

³No. III. I, Vol. I, Part II, 32-42.

⁴Changed to "an" in *TP*, XI, No.45, 89.

⁵The two were Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Sardar Asadullah Jan Khan. The third representative was Sardar Bahadur Khan who, being a Muslim Leaguer, did not join the Constituent Assembly.

⁶Sardar Bahadur Nawab Muhammad Khan Jogezeai.

⁷Underlined in the original, probably by Jinnah.

⁸Appendix X, Vol. I, Part II, 479-81.

⁹HMG suggested amendments in para. 20 by deleting the words "to one or two successor authorities as come into being as a result of this announcement" and substituting the words "to one or two successor authorities according to decisions taken as a result of this announcement". See No.6.

¹⁰Sideline in the original, probably by Jinnah.

¹¹Now called Sargodha.

¹²Now called Faisalabad.

¹³Now called Sahiwal.

Annex I to No. 1

Extract from the Minutes of the Viceroy's Meeting with the Indian Leaders held at the Viceroy's House, New Delhi on 2 June 1947¹

PRESENT

Louis Mountbatten

M. A. Jinnah
Liaquat Ali Khan
Abdur Rab Nishtar

Jawaharlal Nehru
Vallabhbhai Patel
J. B. Kripalani

Baldev Singh
H.L. Ismay
Eric Mieville
Erskine Crum

HIS EXCELLENCY'S OPENING REMARKS

His Excellency the Viceroy explained that he asked the minimum number of party leaders to come to the meeting so that it could be held in a friendly atmosphere round a small table. He said that, during the last five years, he had taken part in a number of momentous meetings at which the fate of the war had been decided; but he could remember no meeting at which decisions had been taken which would have such a profound influence on world history as those which were to be taken at the present meeting. The way in which power was transferred would affect not only India, but the whole world.

THE CABINET MISSION'S PLAN

He had tried at first to obtain agreement on the Cabinet Mission's Plan.² His Majesty's Government set great store by that Plan. At different times all parties had agreed to it. He had, however, now had to report to His Majesty's Government the view of Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim League that they could not withdraw their rejection³ of the Cabinet Mission Plan and that they felt that it could not be made to work. He asked Mr. Jinnah whether, in this, he had reported him correctly.

Mr. Jinnah signified assent.

His Excellency the Viceroy went on to say that he still thought that the Cabinet Mission Plan represented the best solution. It meant a great deal to the States, the majority of which set much store by it.

THE PRINCIPLE OF PARTITION

His Excellency the Viceroy said that gradually, over the course of the last two and a half months, he had begun to see the degree of acceptance by the different parties of the various alternative plans. Mr. Jinnah had stated a claim for complete Pakistan. From discussions

which he had had with Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel, on the other hand, it was clear to him that the partition of India was fundamentally contrary to Congress principles. But Congress had now accepted the principle that no area which contained a majority of Muslims should be coerced into joining the existing Constituent Assembly. In doing so they had made it clear that they could only see their way to accepting the principle of Partition so long as it was applied also to the non-Muslim majority areas which had been included in the original Pakistan plan. Mr. Jinnah, on the other hand, had pointed out that he could never agree to the partition of Provinces, which he considered fundamentally wrong. Thus he himself was faced with the position that Congress would not agree to the principle of the partition of India (although they accepted the principle that Muslim majority areas should not be coerced); while Mr. Jinnah, who demanded the partition of India, would not agree to the principle of the partition of Provinces. He had made clear to His Majesty's Government the impossibility of fully accepting the principles of one side and not of the other.

HIS MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT'S STATEMENT

His Excellency the Viceroy pointed out that he had formulated the plan as a result of many talks with five of the seven Indian Leaders present at the meeting. It had been changed⁴ to meet their wishes during the last few days before he had left for London and he had been agreeably surprised then to find that the majority of suggestions made by one side had not been rejected by the other. He explained that there were small drafting alterations in the Statement since it had last been seen by the Indian leaders. These were designed purely for clarification and it had been agreed by His Majesty's Government that they should not be included unless he and both the major Indian parties agreed. He had His Majesty's Government's authority to strike out any proposed amendment that was not agreed.

Copies of the Statement⁵ were then handed round to the meeting. His Excellency the Viceroy reiterated that five of those present at the meeting had been associated with him in the drafting of the statement. He was gratified to feel that their support would continue. At this juncture, Mr. Jinnah, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, Pandit Nehru, Sardar Patel and Sardar Baldev Singh all signified assent.

His Excellency the Viceroy asked the leaders to take copies of this Statement to their Working Committees and discuss it with them that day. He asked them to let him know by midnight that night what their Working Committees thought of it. He did not intend to ask either side specifically to agree to the terms of the Statement, but requested

assurances from both that they would do their best to have it worked out peacefully. He explained that he felt that it would be asking the Indian Leaders to go against their consciences if he requested full agreement. He was, however, asking them to accept it in a peaceful spirit and to make it work without bloodshed, which would be the inevitable consequence if they did not accept it.

Pandit Nehru asked for a further definition of the difference between agreement and acceptance. His Excellency the Viceroy explained that agreement would imply belief that the right principles were being employed. He had had to violate the principles of both sides, so could not ask for complete agreement. What he asked was for acceptance, in order to denote belief that the plan was a fair and sincere solution for the good of the country. Pandit Nehru stated that there could never be complete approval of the plan from Congress, but, on the balance, they accepted it. Mr. Nishtar pointed out that acceptance of the plan really implied agreement to make it work. His Excellency the Viceroy agreed with this.

Mr. Jinnah said that it was perfectly true to say that neither side agreed with certain points in the plan. Its formal acceptance by the Muslim League, which would have to come later, and the constitutional procedure of the League had to be considered. The decision could not be left to the leaders and the Working Committee⁶ (of which there were 21 members) alone. There were many important people outside the Working Committee. The leaders and the Working Committee would have to bring the people round. Much explanation would be necessary. Rather than a few representatives of the Muslim League immediately committing themselves, he would rather say that the plan had been fully examined and that they would do their best to see that the proposals were given effect to peacefully and without bloodshed.

His Excellency the Viceroy said that he was willing to take the risk of accepting the words of the leaders and the backing of their Working Committees. He was completely confident in the loyalty and straightforwardness of the leaders. He would be happy so long as he knew that they were loyally trying to get the Plan accepted. But he had to ask for the preliminary agreement of the Working Committees to support the Plan.

Mr. Jinnah said that he could speak only for himself. He entered into the spirit of the proposals but he would like the Viceroy to consider that, in order to give a definite answer, it was necessary to make the people understand. The Muslim League was a democratic

organisation. He and his Working Committee would have to go before their masters, the people, for a final decision.

His Excellency the Viceroy said that there were times when leaders had to make vital decisions without consulting their followers and trust to carrying them with them at a later stage. In democratic countries, Parliaments could always disagree with the decisions taken by Prime Ministers and by Cabinets. A decision taken at the top and afterwards confirmed by the people would be in accord with democratic processes.

Mr. Jinnah said that, if a ready-made decision was put before the All-India Muslim League Council, which he could convene⁷ in a week, they would declare that they had already been committed without having been given an opportunity to express their views. They would be upset. They would ask why they had been called. He thought that he would succeed in obtaining their support, but felt that it was a better way not to pre-determine the issue. He would do his best. In the meanwhile he would make every effort to see that the people remained calm and that no disturbances to the peace took place anywhere. He emphasized that he would go to his masters, the people, with no intent of wrecking the Plan but with the sincere desire to persuade them to accept it. He could only give his personal assurance that he would do his best. He would try in his own way to bring round the people. The Viceroy wanted him to do it, and he would do his best—in the way which was best for him, in the manner which would ultimately result in what the Viceroy wanted.

His Excellency the Viceroy said that he presumed that Congress were confronted with the same problem as that stated by Mr. Jinnah.

Pandit Nehru pointed out that he and Sardar Patel had been committing themselves, step by step, to the present plan and had given their personal assurances. It had been difficult for them to go ahead as individuals and in their representative capacities without consulting their colleagues, including the Congress President. The Congress Working Committee had also considered the broad outlines of the Plan. He would let the Viceroy know what that Committee felt of it later that day. The next stage would be a meeting of the larger body, the All-India Congress Committee. This body might feel hurt that they had not been consulted earlier. But owing to the peculiar nature of the case, the leaders themselves had had to make decisions. They had had to take the responsibility on their own shoulders. The difficulty lay in the circumstances. He and his colleagues were caught in the tempo of events. The urgency of the situation made it difficult for them to be vague.

Mr. Kripalani signified agreement with what Pandit Nehru had said.

Pandit Nehru said that a letter would be sent in to the Viceroy that evening giving an account of the Congress Working Committee's reaction to the Statement.

Mr. Jinnah said that he felt unable to report the opinions of the Muslim League Working Committee in writing. He would, however, come and see the Viceroy and make a verbal report.

The Viceroy said that he would be satisfied with this. He summed up by thanking the leaders for their loyalty and honesty. He much appreciated the support which they were all giving him. He understood the difficulties which Mr. Jinnah had mentioned concerning procedure.

BROADCASTS

His Excellency the Viceroy said that he intended to make a broadcast⁸ over All-India Radio at 7 p.m. the following evening. This would be recorded in London and relayed by a "hook-up" system all over the world. He said that he would be most grateful if Pandit Nehru and Mr. Jinnah would follow him by broadcasting immediately after the Announcement. They might give their personal assurances of support for the Plan and say that they would use their best endeavours to ensure a full peaceful acceptance of it by their respective parties.

Mr. Jinnah agreed to make such a broadcast,⁹ although he said that it would be difficult for him. Pandit Nehru also agreed to do so and said that he would be definite in his broadcast.¹⁰ Pandit Nehru also made the suggestion that Sardar Baldev Singh should broadcast.¹¹ Sardar Baldev Singh at first demurred. He felt that he would have nothing to say. He could not make up his mind about support for the Plan until he knew that Congress and the Muslim League were going to support it. But he eventually agreed to make an appeal for bloodshed to cease.

His Excellency the Viceroy said that he was prepared to let the leaders know what he was going to say in his broadcast the following day.

Sardar Patel pointed out, with a smile on his face, that the general rule was for the scripts of broadcast speeches to be submitted to the Honourable Member for Information and Broadcasting before they were used! Mr. Jinnah said that he would say in his broadcast what came from his heart.

It was finally agreed that Pandit Nehru, Mr. Jinnah and Sardar

Baldev Singh should bring their scripts to the meeting the following day and read them out there.

¹TP, XI, No. 23, 39-47.

²No. III.1, Vol. I, Part II, 32-42.

³No. 437, Vol. I, Part I, 776.

⁴For the Plan as taken by Mountbatten to London, see Enclosure to No. 451, Vol. I, Part I, 809-13.

⁵No. 1.

⁶See Vol. I, Part I, li-ii.

⁷See Appendix III. 3.

⁸No. 2.

⁹No. 4.

¹⁰No. 3.

¹¹No. 5.

*Annex II to No. 1
Louis Mountbatten to Earl Listowel¹*

Telegram, IOR, R/3/1/150

[Extract]

MOST IMMEDIATE
SECRET

NEW DELHI,
2 June 1947, 5 p.m.

Received: 2 June, 1.50 p.m.

No. 1258—S. The meeting² with the Indian leaders started at 10 a.m. today and lasted for two hours. It was all that I could possibly hope for. The full minutes will follow by bag.

2. Both Nehru and Jinnah gave me their personal assurances, which were endorsed by the other members of their respective parties who were present, that while they could not agree to the plan, they were prepared to do their utmost to make it work in a practical and peaceful spirit, and, above all, without bloodshed. They also undertook to do their utmost to persuade their Working Committees to adopt the same line.

3. They have taken copies of the plan³ away with them to discuss with their Working Committees. The Congress Leaders prophesied that their Working Committee would be in favour of acceptance, and undertook to let me have their views in writing tonight. Mr. Jinnah was rather more difficult on this point. He said that the Muslim League Working Committee would not be able to commit themselves to any

formal resolution without prior reference to the All India Muslim League Council. He undertook to convene this Council in a week's time.⁴ I said that we could not possibly afford a day, much less a week, and eventually he promised to give me a verbal account of the reactions of his Working Committee tonight.

¹TP, XI, No. 27, 52.

²See Annex I.

³No. 1.

⁴See Appendix III. 3.

2

Text of Broadcast by Louis Mountbatten¹

F. 2/19-20

ALL INDIA RADIO, NEW DELHI,
3 June 1947

A Statement² will be read to you tonight giving the final decision of His Majesty's Government as to the method by which power will be transferred from British to Indian hands. But before this happens, I want to give a personal message to the people of India, as well as a short account of the discussions which I have held with the Leaders of the political parties and which have led up to the advice I tendered to His Majesty's Government during my recent visit to London.

Since my arrival in India at the end of March I have spent almost every day in consultation with as many of the leaders and representatives of as many communities and interests as possible. I wish to say how grateful I am for all the information and helpful advice they have given me.

Nothing I have seen or heard in the past few weeks has shaken my firm opinion that with a reasonable measure of goodwill between the communities a unified India would be by far the best solution of the problem.

For more than a hundred years 400 millions of you have lived together and this country has been administered as a single entity. This has resulted in unified communications, defence, postal services and currency; an absence of tariffs and customs barriers; and the basis for an integrated political economy. My great hope was that communal differences would not destroy all this.

My first course, in all my discussions, was therefore to urge the political leaders to accept unreservedly the Cabinet Mission plan of 16th May 1946.³ In my opinion,⁴ that plan⁵ provides the best arrangement that can

be devised to meet the interests of all the communities of India. To my great regret it has been impossible to obtain agreement either on the Cabinet Mission plan, or on any other plan that would preserve the unity of India. But there can be no question⁶ of coercing any large areas in which one community has a majority, to live against their will under a Government in which another community has a majority. And the only alternative to coercion is partition.

But when the Muslim League demanded the partition of India, Congress used the same arguments for demanding in that event the partition of certain Provinces. To my mind this argument is unassailable. In fact neither side proved willing to leave a substantial area in which their community have a majority under the Government of the other. I am, of course, just as much opposed to the partition of Provinces as I am to the partition of India herself and for the same basic reasons.

For just as I feel there is an Indian consciousness which should transcend communal differences so I feel there is a Punjabi and Bengali consciousness which has evoked a loyalty to their Province.

And so I felt it was essential that the people of India themselves should decide this question of partition.

The procedure for enabling them to decide for themselves whether they want the British to hand over power to one or two Governments is set out in the statement which will be read to you. But there are one or two points on which I should like to add a note of explanation.

It was necessary in order to ascertain the will of the people of the Punjab, Bengal and part of Assam to lay down boundaries between the predominantly⁷ Muslim areas and the remaining areas, but I want to make it clear that the ultimate boundaries will be settled by a Boundary Commission and will almost certainly not be identical with those which have been provisionally adopted.

We have given careful consideration to the position of the Sikhs. This valiant community forms about an eighth of the population of the Punjab, but they are so distributed that any partition of this Province will inevitably divide them. All of us who have the good of the Sikh community at heart are very sorry to think that the partition of the Punjab, which they themselves desire, cannot avoid splitting them to a greater or lesser extent. The exact degree of the split will be left to the Boundary Commission on which they will of course be represented.

The whole plan may not be perfect; but like all plans, its success will depend on the spirit of goodwill with which it is carried out. I have always felt that once it was decided in what way to transfer power the transfer should take place at the earliest possible moment, but the

dilemma was that if we waited until a constitutional set-up for all India was agreed, we should have to wait a long time, particularly if partition were decided on. Whereas if we handed over power before the Constituent Assemblies had finished their work we should leave the country without a Constitution. The solution to this dilemma, which I put forward, is that His Majesty's Government should transfer power now to one or two Governments of British India each having Dominion Status as soon as the necessary arrangements can be made. This I hope will be within the next few months. I am glad to announce that His Majesty's Government have accepted this proposal and are already having legislation prepared for introduction in Parliament this session. As a result of these decisions the special function of the India Office will no longer have to be carried out, and some other machinery will be set up to conduct future relations between His Majesty's Government and India.

I wish to emphasise that this legislation will not impose any restriction on the power of India as a whole, or of the two States if there is partition, to decide in the future their relationship to each other and to other member States of the British Commonwealth.

Thus the way is now open to an arrangement by which power can be transferred many months earlier than the most optimistic of us thought possible, and at the same time leave it to the people of British India to decide for themselves on their future, which is the declared policy of His Majesty's Government.

I have made no mention of the Indian States, since the new decisions of His Majesty's Government are concerned with the transfer of power in British India.⁹

If the transfer of power is to be effected in a peaceful and orderly manner, every single one of us must bend all his efforts to the task. This is no time for bickering, much less for the continuation in any shape or form of the disorders and lawlessness of the past few months. Do not forget what a narrow margin of food we are all working on. We cannot afford any toleration of violence. All of us are agreed on that.

Whichever way the decision of the Indian people may go, I feel sure any British officials or officers who may be asked to remain for a while will do everything in their power to help implement that decision. His Majesty as well as his Government have asked me to convey to all of you in India their sincere good wishes for your future and the assurance of their continued goodwill.

I have faith in the future of India and am proud to be with you all at this momentous time. May your decisions be wisely guided and may

they be carried out in the peaceful and friendly spirit of the Gandhi-Jinnah appeal.⁹

¹It was broadcast at 7.00 p.m. (Indian Standard Time) corresponding to 3.30 p.m. in the United Kingdom. Also see *TP*, XI, No. 44, 86-8.

²No. 1.

³No. III. 1, Vol. I, Part II, 32-42.

⁴After the words "In my opinion", Mountbatten had added the words "which I share with that great fighter for India's freedom, Mahatma Gandhi" in the draft of the broadcast but these were not included in the final text. F.2/34, QAP.

⁵After the words "that plan", the words "to which the representatives of the majority of the Provinces have in fact adhered" were deleted by Mountbatten in the draft and the deletion stood in the final text. Ibid.

⁶After the words "But there can be no question", Mountbatten had added the words "as once again, I know Mahatma Gandhi agrees" but these were not included in the final text. F.2/35, *ibid*.

⁷The words "predominantly Muslim areas" were replaced by the words "Muslim majority areas" in *TP*, XI, No.44, 87.

⁸In the draft the words "do not affect their position" after the words "new decision of His Majesty's Government" were changed in the final text to "are concerned with the transfer of power in British India". Ibid.

⁹Annex II to No.376, Vol. I, Part I, 677.

3

Text of Broadcast by Jawaharlal Nehru¹

F.1084/22-7

ALL INDIA RADIO, NEW DELHI,
3 June 1947

Friends and Comrades,

Nearly nine months ago, soon after my assumption of office, I spoke to you from this place. I told you then that we were on the march and the goal had still to be reached. There were many difficulties and obstacles on the way and our journey's end might not be near, for that end was not the assumption of office in the Government of India but the achievement of the full independence of India and the establishment of a cooperative Commonwealth in which all will be equal sharers in opportunity and in all things that give meaning and value to life.

Nine months have passed, months of sore² trial and difficulty, of anxiety and sometimes even of heart-break. Yet, looking back at this period with its suffering and sorrow for our people there is much on the credit side also, for India has advanced nationally and internationally, and is respected today in the councils of the world. In the domestic sphere

something substantial has been achieved though the burden on the common man still continues to be terribly heavy and millions lack food and cloth and other necessities of life. Many vast schemes of development are nearly ready, and yet it is true that most of our dreams about the brave things we were going to accomplish have still to be realised.

You know well the difficulties which the country has had to face, economic, political and communal. These months have been full of tragedy for millions and the burden on those who had the governance of the country in their hands has been great indeed.

My mind is heavy with the thought of the sufferings of our people in the areas of disturbance, the thousands who are dead and those, especially our womenfolk, who have suffered agony worse than death. To their families and to innumerable people who have been uprooted from their homes and rendered destitute, I offer my deep sympathy and assurance that we shall do all in our power to bring relief. We must see to it that such tragedies do not happen again.

At no time have we lost faith in the great destiny of India which takes shape even though with travail³ and suffering. My great regret has been that during this period, owing to excess of work, I have been unable to visit the numerous towns and villages of India, as I used to do, to meet my people and to learn about their troubles at first hand.

Today I am speaking to you on another historic occasion when a vital change affecting the future of India is proposed. You have just heard an announcement on behalf of the British Government. This announcement lays down a procedure for self-determination in certain areas of India. It envisages on the one hand the possibility of these areas seceding from India; on the other it promises a big advance towards complete independence. Such a big change must have the full concurrence of the people before effect can be given to it, for it must always be remembered that the future of India can only be decided by the people of India and not by any outside authority, however friendly. These proposals will be placed soon before representative assemblies of the people for consideration. But meanwhile the sands of time run out and decisions cannot await the normal course of events. So⁴ while we must necessarily abide by what the people finally decide, we had to come to certain decisions ourselves and to recommend them to the people for acceptance.

We have, therefore, decided to accept these proposals and to recommend to our larger committees that they do likewise.

It is with no joy in my heart that I commend these proposals to you though I have no doubt in my mind that this is the right course. For generations we have dreamt and struggled for a free and independent

united India. The proposal to allow certain parts to secede, if they so will, is painful for any of us to contemplate. Nevertheless, I am convinced that our present decision is the right one even from the larger viewpoint. The united India that we have laboured for was not one of compulsion and coercion, but a free and willing association of a free people. It may be that in this way we shall reach that united India sooner than otherwise and that she will have a stronger and more secure foundation.

We are little men serving great causes, but because the cause is great, something of that greatness falls upon us also. Mighty forces are at work in the world today and in India, and I have no doubt that we are ushering in a period of greatness for India. The India of geography, of history and tradition, the India of our minds and hearts cannot change.

On this historic occasion each one of us must pray that he might be guided aright in the service of the motherland and of humanity at large. We stand on a watershed dividing the past from the future. Let us bury that past in so far as it is bad⁵ and forget all bitterness and recrimination. Let there be moderation in speech and writing. Let there be strength and perseverance in adhering to the cause and the ideals we have at heart. Let us face the future not with easy optimism or with any complacency or weakness but with confidence and a firm faith in India.

There has been violence—shameful, degrading and revolting violence—in various parts of the country. This must end. We are determined to end it. We must make it clear that political ends are not to be achieved by methods of violence, now or in the future.

On this the eve of great changes in India we have to make a fresh start with clear vision and a firm mind, with steadfastness and tolerance and a stout heart. We should not wish ill to anyone, but think always of every Indian as our brother and comrade. The good of the four hundred millions⁶ of India must be our supreme objective.

We shall seek to build anew our relations with England on a friendly and cooperative basis, forgetting the past which has lain so heavily upon us.

I should like to express on this occasion my deep appreciation of the labours of the Viceroy, Lord Mountbatten, ever since his arrival here at a critical juncture in our history.

Inevitably on every occasion of crisis and difficulty we think of⁷ our great leader, Mahatma Gandhi, who has led us unfalteringly for over a generation through darkness and sorrow to the threshold of our freedom. To him we once again⁸ pay our homage. His blessing and wise

counsel will happily be with us in the momentous years to come, as always.

With firm faith in our future I appeal to you to cooperate in the great task ahead and to march together to the haven of freedom for all in India. *Jai Hind*.

¹The text was circulated by Press Information Bureau, Government of India, with the following note: "Not to be Published or Broadcast before 7.30 p.m. [Indian] S[tandard] T[ime] today. This advance copy is being given to the Press subject to the Broadcast taking place. Accordingly the Press is requested to make sure of this and also of any eleventh hour change in the text. Must not be used in any Dak Edition before 7.30 p.m. today." Also see *TP*, XI, No. 46, 94-7.

²The word "sore" has been omitted in the printed text, *ibid*.

³The word "struggle" has been substituted for the word "travail" in the printed text, *ibid*.

⁴The word "so" has been omitted in the printed text, *ibid*.

⁵The word "dead" has been substituted for the word "bad" in the printed text, *ibid*.

⁶The words have been converted into figures in the printed text, *ibid*.

⁷The words "crisis and difficulty we think of" have been given within square brackets with the note "Words in square brackets supplied from the *Statesman*, 4 June 1947, p. 8, col. 1", in the printed text, *ibid*.

⁸The word "more" has been substituted for the word "again" in the printed text, *ibid*.

4

Text of Broadcast by M. A. Jinnah¹

F.10/36-9

ALL INDIA RADIO, NEW DELHI,
3 June 1947

I am glad that I am afforded the opportunity to speak to you directly through this radio from Delhi. It is the first time I believe that a non-official has been afforded an opportunity to address the people through the medium of this powerful instrument direct to the people on political matters. It augurs well and² I hope that in the future I shall have greater facilities to enable me to voice my views and opinions which will reach directly to you life-warm rather than in the cold print of the newspapers.³

The Statement of His Majesty's⁴ Government embodying the Plan for the transfer of power to the peoples of India has already been broadcast and will be released to the Press to be published⁵ in India and abroad tomorrow morning. It gives the outlines of the Plan for us to give it our most earnest consideration. We have to examine it coolly, calmly and dispassionately. We must remember that we

have to take momentous decisions and handle grave issues facing us in the solution of the complex political problem of this great sub-continent inhabited by 400 million⁶ people. The world has no parallel for the most onerous and difficult task which we have to perform.⁷

Grave responsibility lies particularly on the shoulders of Indian leaders. Therefore we must galvanize and concentrate all our energy to see that the transfer of power is effected in a peaceful and orderly manner. I must earnestly appeal to every community and particularly to Muslim India⁸ to maintain peace and order. We must examine the Plan, its letter and spirit and come to our conclusions and take our decisions. I pray to God that at this critical moment He may guide us and⁹ enable us to discharge our responsibilities in a wise and statesmanlike manner, having regard to the sum toto [*sic*] or¹⁰ the Plan as a whole.

It is clear that the Plan does not meet in some important respects our point of view; and we cannot say or feel that we are satisfied or that we agree with some of the matters dealt with by the Plan. It is for us to consider whether the Plan as presented to us by His Majesty's Government should be accepted by us as a compromise or a settlement. On this point I do not wish to prejudge¹¹ the decision of the Council of the All India Muslim League which has been summoned to meet on Monday, the 9(th of) June;¹² and the final decision can only be taken by the Council according to our Constitution, precedents and practice. But so far as I have been able to gather, on the whole the reaction in the Muslim League circles in Delhi has been hopeful. Of course¹³ the Plan has got to be very carefully examined in its pros and cons before the final decision can be taken.

I must say that I feel that the Viceroy has battled against various forces very bravely and the impression that he has left on my mind is that he was actuated by a high¹⁴ sense of fairness and impartiality and it is up to us now to make his task less difficult and help him as far as it lies in our power in order that he may fulfil his mission of transfer of power to the peoples of India in a peaceful and orderly manner.

Now that the Plan that has been broadcast already makes it clear in paragraph 11 that a referendum will be made to the electorates of the present Legislative Assembly in the North-West Frontier Province who will choose which of the two alternatives in paragraph 4 they wish to adopt; and the referendum will be held under the aegis of the Governor-General in consultation with the Provincial Government. Hence it is clear that the verdict and the mandate of the people of the Frontier Province

will be obtained as to whether they want to join the Pakistan Constituent Assembly or the Hindustan Constituent Assembly. In these circumstances, I request the Provincial Muslim League of the Frontier Province to withdraw the movement of peaceful Civil Disobedience¹⁵ which they had perforce to resort to; and I call upon all the leaders of the Muslim League and the Musalmans generally to organize our people to face this referendum with hope and courage and I feel confident that the people of the Frontier will give their verdict by a solid vote to join the Pakistan Constituent Assembly.

I cannot but express my appreciation of the sufferings and sacrifices made by all classes of the Musalmans and particularly the great part the women of the Frontier played in the fight for our civil liberties. Without apportioning blame,¹⁶ and this is hardly the moment to do so, I deeply sympathise with all those who have suffered and those who died or whose properties were subjected to destruction and I fervently hope that the Frontier will go through this referendum in a peaceful manner and it should be the anxiety of every one to obtain a fair, free and true verdict of the people of the Frontier. Once more I most earnestly appeal to all to maintain peace and order. *Pakistan Zindabad*.¹⁷

¹⁵The text of Jinnah's broadcast was also circulated by Press Information Bureau, Government of India, with the following note: "Not to be published or broadcast before 7.40 [Indian] S[tandard] T[ime] today. This advance copy is being given to the press subject to the Broadcast taking place. Accordingly the press is requested to make sure of this and also of any eleventh hour change in the text. Must not be used in any Dak Edition before 7.40 p.m. today." F.1022/249-52, QAP. Also see TP, XI, No.47, 97-8.

¹⁶The words "It augurs well and" have been omitted in the printed text, TP, XI, No. 47, 97.

¹⁷This opening paragraph does not occur in the text circulated by Press Information Bureau but does in the printed text, *ibid*.

¹⁸The words "His Majesty's" have been omitted in the printed text, *ibid*.

¹⁹The words "to be published" were added probably by Jinnah in the text of his broadcast but were replaced by the words "will be published", and the words "in India" by the word "here", in the printed text, *ibid*.

²⁰The word "million" has been converted into figures in the printed text, *ibid*.

²¹The words "we have to perform" have been replaced by the words "His Excellency had to perform" in the printed text, *ibid*.

²²The words "Muslim India" have been replaced by the words "Muslims in India" in the printed text, *ibid*.

²³The word "and" has been replaced by "to" in the printed text, *ibid*.

²⁴The words "sum toto or" have been replaced by the words "sum total of" in the printed text, *ibid*.

²⁵A full stop has been placed after the word "prejudge" in the printed text, *ibid*.

²⁶See Annex to No. 41.

²⁷The words "Of course" have been replaced by the words "But for us" in the printed text, *ibid*.

²⁸The words "a high" have been replaced by the words "the highest" in the printed text, *ibid*.

²⁹The word "movement" has been replaced by the word "employment" in the printed text, *ibid*. The Civil Disobedience Movement was launched against the policy of repression and

curbing of civil liberties by Dr. Khan Sahib's Congress Ministry. See Appendix VIII, Vol. I, Part II, 326-449.

¹⁶The words "Without apportioning blame" have been replaced by "Without a personal bias" in the printed text, *ibid*.

¹⁷The portion "Once more... *Zindabad*" was added probably by Jinnah. This does not find place in Press Information Bureau's text.

*Annex I to No. 4
Vallabhbhai Patel to Louis Mountbatten¹*

IOR, R/3/1/150

NEW DELHI,
3 June 1947

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

I am distressed at the abuse by Mr. Jinnah of the hospitality extended to him by the All-India Radio² and his breach of the rules of broadcast which, as you are aware, are almost as inviolable as the laws of the Nature. I had not seen the script before the broadcast but I noticed later that not only did he depart from the script but he has also committed a sacrilege by making a political, partisan and propagandist broadcast. Had I known it in time I would certainly have prevented him from turning the All-India Radio into a Muslim League platform by not only justifying a movement which has resulted in so much bloodshed and destruction of property but also by appealing to Frontier voters to vote according to League persuasion. I am sure you will agree that this was grossly unfair to the Frontier Ministry.

I fully realise that you yourself did not expect, or had not sufficient notice to prevent it, but I am really disappointed that he should have taken undue advantage of the courtesy and consideration extended to him by you, particularly on a solemn occasion when India and the whole World were watching us. I only hope that its consequences will not be equally mischievous and that he stood before the listeners self-condemned.

Yours sincerely,
VALLABHBHAI PATEL³

¹TP, XI, No. 51, 102-3.

²No. 4.

³Dr Khan Sahib also wrote to Mountbatten on 4 June 1947 protesting against the reference to the NWFP in Jinnah's broadcast. See Annex II.

Annex II to No. 4
Dr. Khan Sahib to Louis Mountbatten

IOR, R/3/1/150

17 YORK ROAD, NEW DELHI,
4 June 1947

Dear Lord Mountbatten,

I feel I must write to you to draw your attention to certain remarks which Mr. M. A. Jinnah made last evening in the course of his broadcast.¹ He referred to the proposed referendum in the N.W.F.P. and appealed to the people of the Frontier to vote in a certain way, i.e. support the Muslim League candidates [*sic*]. On an occasion like this, it seems to me highly improper for Mr. Jinnah to indulge in an electioneering speech. Further he has referred to the fight for civil liberties in the Frontier. I do not know what Mr. Jinnah's conception of civil liberties is. It is evidently very different from the normal conception. The Muslim League movement² started very definitely on a communal basis and was responsible for a large number of brutal murders in Hazara District. Later there was continuing violence and occasionally arson. In D.I.K. [Dera Ismail Khan] and Tonk [Tank] there was murder and arson on a large-scale. There was destruction of public records. Even within the jails there were riots and mutinies resulting in death and injury.

2. The amount of civil liberty allowed to the Muslim League demonstrators for a considerable period was so great that most people criticised us for our lenient treatment of a movement which was not only violent but often indecent. Ultimately we had to limit these liberties for demonstrators and others in prison. Even so I think our record would compare very favourably with other Provinces, in spite of the grave situation in the N.W.F.P.

3. I am writing to you to record my protest against the misuse of the radio by Mr. Jinnah on a very special occasion.

Yours sincerely,
KHAN SAHIB

¹No. 4.

²See Appendix VIII, Vol. I, Part II, 326-449.

5

Text of Broadcast by Baldev Singh¹

F.1013/20-1

ALL INDIA RADIO, NEW DELHI,

3 June 1947,

7.50 p.m.

You have just heard the broadcasts of His Excellency the Viceroy and two of our distinguished countrymen, Pandit Nehru and Mr. Jinnah.

You now² also know the terms of the Plan which His Majesty's Government have formulated to end the long drawn political deadlock that had baffled³ us these many months and years.

It is a great day today. The occasion is historic. We have closed a dreary chapter. A new leaf is now turned. We seem to see gleaming on it the fulfilment of what till yesterday was but a dream. Today we enter the heritage that was ours—the heritage of freedom we have claimed⁴ as our birthright.

It will be idle for me to pretend that the day is bright and joyous as indeed we might well have hoped it would be. It will be untrue if I say we are altogether happy. Seldom perhaps has a fulfilment⁵ like this been tarnished with so much of fear and sorrow. I say seldom, because, even though we struggled and even though the struggle was long and heavy, our common quest for freedom need never have divided and torn us asunder, one from another. This has actually taken place. The shadow of our differences has thrown its gloom over us. We have let ourselves be rent apart. We witness today—even on the day of our freedom—scenes⁶ of mutual conflict and all the horrors that conflict brings in so many parts of India. Neighbour has risen against neighbour. Thousands of innocent lives have been lost. Men, women and children roam from one place to another, homeless, without shelter. Untold losses, financial, cultural, and spiritual, have been inflicted in wide areas. We look as if we are a house divided against itself. The day indeed finds us an unhappy people.

It is not necessary for me today to probe⁷ into [*sic*] the reasons for this affliction. We each have our faults. Let us own it. We each laid a price⁸ on what is priceless—the willing surrender of our best for the common good of us all. That is why we fell foul of one another.

But that was yesterday. Till yesterday, we were pre-occupied with our little selves. The Plan that has now been announced steers a course

obviously above the conflicting claims. It is not a compromise. I prefer to call it a settlement. It does not please everybody, not the Sikh community anyway, but it is certainly something⁹ worthwhile. Let us take it at that.¹⁰

Taken in that spirit, this Plan should halt the dismal gloom that stalks¹¹ our dear¹² Motherland in¹³ so many of its¹⁴ stricken spots today. In that spirit, we should find in it the many tasks that await us in every sphere of our national life—tasks that need doing not only to repair the damage we have inflicted on ourselves but to raise us in stature before the nations of the world.

We are poor. Let us not forget that we have no apology to let poverty continue [to] afflict our people now that we shall be masters of our affairs. We have tasks, big and small, of reconstruction on our hands. Let us remember that it is only when the mind of our leaders is not deflected by internal quarrels that¹⁵ they can effectively handle these tasks for our common good. Our people have many needs that have lingered unmet for years: let us settle down to meet these needs and relieve the distress that haunts us. Meanwhile, whatever our own preferences, let us grow above our petty outlooks and work together to put our country on the way to greatness that certainly belongs to it.

We too have to live as brothers or as neighbours. We all do want to live in peace and strive for the modicum of ease and comfort in our homes, whether in villages or in towns. We have had enough of quarrels and troubles. Let us now turn from an ugly past and help one another to build a great and glorious future.

This is my counsel to men and women of goodwill—Hindus, Moslems, Sikhs, Christians and others. For thousands of years our ancestors lived together in this land in tolerance and neighbourly relations. Let us restore the old glory of our traditions in order, as I have said, that we may equip ourselves to face the bright future that has now opened.

I believe with all my heart that the divisions which tend to keep us apart now will not last long. I believe, also, that even though we should choose to remain apart at present, we have so much in common—economically, geographically and even spiritually—that the very blueprint of our plans so soon as we view it with care, will bind us together. We have to forget the unhappy past to see this with precision. Let us concentrate on the common interests. I say this with all honesty [*sic*].

I will add that, while making this appeal, I am not unaware of the existence in our midst of those discordant elements who are inhuman

enough to imagine that their prosperity lies in the misfortune of their fellow men and women. Such people should be shown that they will, in fact, soon meet their fate.

As you must have heard, we have taken the strongest measures to enforce law and order and to apprehend the mischief-makers wherever we can lay our hands on them. During the last few weeks, large contingents of armed troops have been deployed in various parts of the country to aid the civil administration. These troops consist of trusted men. They will give succour to those in need and act also as stern keepers of the peace in troubled areas. I want you to look upon the soldier as your friend. He will not fail you. And to you, sailors, soldiers, airmen also, I must say a few words. You are obviously not uninfluenced by the greatest events that are taking place in India today. These include many political changes which will concern you. As trained men, trained in life by discipline and fortitude, you will obviously not allow yourselves to be needlessly perturbed. Let me say with all the authority I can command that your interests will in no circumstances be allowed to suffer. You have earned a name for yourselves throughout the world by your valour and high tradition. India will not and cannot forget the debt it owes to you. Some of you, today, are having to perform unpleasant duties on internal security work. No one is more conscious of this than I. Our Motherland is passing through a period of transition and strain. Your patriotism and high sense of loyalty will help you to steer clear through these difficult times. Do not forget that India's honour is your honour.

Serve India in her hour of trial with good conscience and to the best of your ability and remain confident that we stand by you today as we have done in the past.

The Commander-in-Chief will, in the next few days, broadcast a special message¹⁶ to you. He will deal with some of the specific problems that may now be impressing your minds. Meanwhile, I have no doubt that whatever political conditions may shape the future of India, your interests will be protected by all sides.

¹It was circulated by Press Information Bureau, Government of India. For full text, see *TP*, XI, No. 48, 99-101.

²The word "now" has been omitted from the printed text, *ibid*.

³The word "stifled" has been substituted for the word "baffled" in the printed text, *ibid*.

⁴The word "found" has been substituted for the word "claimed" in the printed text, *ibid*.

⁵The word "settlement" has been substituted for the word "fulfilment" in the printed text, *ibid*.

⁶The word "fears" has been substituted for the word "scenes" in the printed text, *ibid*.

⁷The word "go" has been substituted for the word "probe" in the printed text, *ibid*.

⁸The words "need advice" have been substituted for the words "laid ■ price" in the printed text, *ibid*.

⁹The word "something" has been omitted in the printed text, *ibid.*

¹⁰The words "at that" have been omitted in the printed text, *ibid.*

¹¹The word "shrouds" has been substituted for the word "stalks" in the printed text, *ibid.*

¹²The word "dear" has been omitted in the printed text, *ibid.*

¹³The word "and" has been substituted for the word "in" in the printed text, *ibid.*

¹⁴The word "other" has been substituted for the words "of its" in the printed text, *ibid.*

¹⁵Press Information Bureau's incomplete text available in QAP ends here. The remainder of the text has been taken from TP, XI, No. 48, 100-1.

¹⁶In all probability no broadcast was made.

6

Paper from Viceroy's Office

F.2/4

SUGGESTED AMENDMENT TO STATEMENT (BY BRITISH GOVERNMENT)

H.M.G. have suggested the following amendment to the Statement,¹ for clarification purposes:

Paragraph 20

Delete: "to one or two successor authorities as come into being as a result of this announcement".

Insert: "to one or two successor authorities according to decisions taken as a result of this announcement".

¹No. 1.

7

Viceroy's Conference Paper V.C.P. 63¹

F.2/5

You will see from Paragraph 20 of the Announcement² that Parliamentary Legislation setting up two Dominions, in the event of partition, will be introduced in Parliament during the current session,³ i.e. about the beginning of August. The Act will contain a provision enabling the Governor-General to bring it into operation at any time thereafter. It is my intention that the Act should be brought into operation at the earliest possible date after its enactment, in any case not later than 15th August, 1947.⁴

It is also my intention, as soon as the issue of partition is decided, to call for the resignation of my colleagues in order that prospective leaders of the new Government or Governments may be free without embarrassment to select their colleagues. Meanwhile the Members of the present Executive Council will, I hope, continue on the present basis as a Caretaker Government.⁵

Caretaker Govt.⁶

If we are to move according to this programme, we must move quickly, and vital decisions must be taken in a very short time. The task ahead is formidable, as is shown by the paper attached, which I have decided to circulate to my colleagues for discussion at the next meeting of Cabinet.⁷

⁵The paper was personally handed over to Jinnah by Mountbatten on the morning of 3 June 1947. See No. 8. Also see TP, XI, No. 28, 53-8.

⁶No. 1.

⁷The words "and passed before the end of the session" were later inserted. See No. 8.

⁸Underlined here and hereafter in the original, probably by Jinnah.

⁹In the event, there was no change in the position.

¹⁰Note by Jinnah.

¹¹The meeting was held on 5 June 1947. See No. 32. Also see TP, XI, No. 73, 137-42.

Enclosure to No. 7

F.2/6-14

THE ADMINISTRATIVE CONSEQUENCES OF PARTITION

1. This paper is written on the assumption that the decision will be in favour of partition,¹ including the partition of the Punjab, Bengal and Assam.

2. Before partition can be fully effective, decision, by agreement or if necessary by arbitration, will have to be reached on the following matters:

- i. Final demarcation of boundaries;²
- ii. Division of the formations, units and personnel of the Indian Armed Forces;³ Division of armed forces⁴
- iii. Division of the staff, organisations and records of Central Civil Departments, services and institutions, including Railways, Posts and Telegraphs, Broadcasting, Civil Aviation, Meteorology, Public Works, Income Tax, Customs, Central Excise, Accounts and Audit, Scientific Services, Central Waterways and Inland Navigation Board and Central Power Board;
- iv. Division of the assets and liabilities of the Government of India including fixed installations and stores of the Defence Services, assets and property of the departments, services and institutions

listed in (iii) above, public debt, funded and unfunded, Pensions, Provident Funds, etc.;

- v. Division of assets and liabilities of the Reserve Bank including Currency, Rupee securities, bullion and foreign exchange;
- vi. Economic relations including freedom of trade and commerce, distribution of food resources, use of port and railway facilities;
- vii. Jurisdiction of the High Courts and Federal Courts;
- viii. Determination of domicile;
- ix. Diplomatic representation abroad.

3. Similar decisions will be necessary as between parts of Provinces.

Partial Partition⁵

4. A "carry-on" agreement will be necessary, as a first step, between the main political parties, because it is clearly impossible to reach final agreement on all these complicated matters before the transfer of power, and also because it is necessary to preserve the continuity of administration. In respect of certain essential subjects such as boundaries, the armed forces, administrative organisation and staff, and finances, decisions must be reached before the date of transfer of power, for without decisions on these points the separate governments will not be able to function.

In the course of examination of the subjects it should become possible to determine more closely their relative degree of urgency, and the action which may be desirable or essential by way of either interim adjustments or final decisions, before the transfer of power.

5. The next step would be to set up machinery for examining the problems involved and making recommendations, for co-ordinating and progressing this process, and for deciding the terms of the agreements on each subject which will be submitted for the ratification of the successor Governments.

It is suggested that such machinery should be under the control of an Inter-Party Partition Committee, consisting of two members of the Congress, two of the Muslim League and one minority representative, all from the present Interim Government. This committee will effectively represent the successor authorities. It will be under the chairmanship of the Governor-General.

The machinery will consist of:

- a. an Executive organisation, in the form of a Partition Office or Steering Committee, and
- b. Expert Official Committees

The machinery should be such that the work relating to partition is kept separate as far as possible, from the current administrative work

of Government, and that it should proceed without obstruction or delay. In view of the urgency it should be recognised that the requirements of work relating to partition should have absolute priority over those of the current administrative work of Government.

The functions of the Partition Committee, and the functions and composition of the Partition Office and Expert Committees are examined in more detail below.

6. The functions of the Partition Committee will be to decide what administrative measures and adjustments, final or intermediate, are necessary to make fully effective the division of India into more than one sovereign State, and to prepare agreements for the ratification of the successor Governments. It will also decide all questions of policy and procedure relevant to its function.

The Partition Committee will appoint the Partition Office (Steering Committee), the Expert Committees (except the Committee for the Armed Forces, *vide* (8) (ii) below). It will frame the terms of reference for these Committees, prescribe procedure, and fix dates by which reports must be submitted.

In case an agreed decision cannot be reached by this Committee, the Governor-General will be empowered to give a final decision, if he thinks fit.⁶

7. The Partition Office or Steering Committee

This will have a function of extreme importance and must be composed of men of undoubted ability, integrity and impartiality. It will direct and co-ordinate the work of the Expert Committees, and submit reports and recommendations in a form that will facilitate quick decisions by the Partition Committee.

So long as it remains in being, it will also supervise the implementation of decisions reached.

It will also be prepared to assist Provincial Committees with information and advice if required.

The head of this organisation should have considerable latitude in the conduct of his business and the choice of his staff. Quick results will require flexibility and improvisation.

8. The Expert Committees

i. Demarcation of Boundaries

The question of boundary delimitation may arise in the Punjab, Bengal and Assam. Under the terms of paragraph 9 of the Announcement, Boundary Commissions will be set up by the Governor-General, but he will consult the Partition Committee about the membership and terms of reference of the Commissions.

ii. Defence Committee for the division of the Indian Armed Forces

This Committee will be set up by the Commander-in-Chief with as many sub-committees as may be necessary and will report direct to the Partition Committee. It should, however, keep the Partition Office (Steering Committee) in close touch with the progress of its work, and should be directly associated with the Finance Committee dealing with the division of installations and stores of the Defence Services. (See (iii) (c) below).

iii. Expert Committees

Expert Official Committees will be set up to make recommendations on the subjects enumerated below. The terms of reference suggested are provisional and intended only to indicate the scope of the respective enquiries.

These Expert Committees will not be subject to the authority of the Departments with which they are associated, but of the Partition Office (Steering Committee).

a. Staff and Organisation, Records and Documents

A Committee empowered to call for information from all Departments of the Central Government and the Central Board of Revenue, or alternatively ■ series of committees associated with the several Departments, should report to the Partition Office, by ■ given date, on the following terms of reference:

- i. the basis on which existing staff should be divided;
- ii. the actual division of staff;
- iii. duplicate organisation of offices and departments;
- iv. requirements of buildings, furniture, stationery;
- v. separation or duplication of records and documents, international agreements, etc.

b. Railways, Communications and Miscellaneous Central Services and Institutions

In the case of Railways, Posts and Telegraphs, Civil Aviation, Meteorology and other Central Services and Institutions, the terms of reference will include:

- vi. division of the administrative organisation of the services passing through or situated in the divided territories.

c. Assets and Liabilities

A Finance Committee will deal with the division of the assets and liabilities of the Government of India and of the Reserve Bank. It is essential that this Committee should include in its scope the Armed

Forces as well as the Civil Departments, so that it may obtain a fully integrated picture of all assets and liabilities. Where information is not available in the Finance Department, the Committee should be empowered to obtain the information from the Departments concerned.

The terms of reference of this Committee should include:

- i. the division, final or provisional, of Treasury and Bank balances;
- ii. the arrangements for the collection and distribution of Customs and Income Tax and other items of revenue which are now central;
- iii. to ascertain the note issue liabilities of the two new Governments;
- iv. facilities for transfer of funds from one area to another;
- v. the effect of partition on exchange control;
- vi. currency arrangements for a smooth transition;
- vii. the basis for division of assets and liabilities;
- viii. the enumeration and assessment of assets and liabilities;
- ix. responsibility of each area for the public debt held by its nationals;
- x. the nature of the financial settlements between respective Governments.

d. Economic Relations

An Economic Relations Committee associated with the appropriate Departments should be set up to make recommendations on:

- i. matters relating to freedom of trade and movement between the territories of the new Governments;
- ii. effect of partition on the administration of existing controls, and alternative arrangements necessary;
- iii. the pooling and distribution of food resources, and other commodities in short supply;
- iv. the sharing of port and railway facilities.

e. Jurisdiction of the High Courts and Federal Courts

The Chief Justice of India should be invited to examine the effect of partition on the jurisdiction of the High Courts and Federal Courts, and to make recommendations.

f. Domicile

A special Committee associated with the Home Department should examine the effect of partition on the question of domicile and nationality.

g. Foreign Relations

A Committee, associated with External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations Department, should make recommendations regarding the effect of partition on diplomatic representation in foreign countries, and the position of Indian nationals in Commonwealth countries.

9. As regards the partition of Provinces, the problems which would arise would be in connection with:

1. delimitation of boundaries;
2. division of administrative and judicial services;
3. division of financial assets and liabilities;
4. division of material assets, e.g. buildings, food stocks, irrigation;
5. jurisdiction of High Courts;
6. Public Service Commissions;
7. Educational, Medical, Research and Training Institutions.

As in the case of the Central Government, a "carry-on" agreement would be necessary.

Items (1) and (5) above would be covered by the action proposed above to be taken by the Central Government. For the other matters, Committees would have to be appointed, probably by the Governor, who would stand in the same relation to a Joint Committee representing the two parts of the Province, as the Governor-General to the proposed Cabinet Committee.

10. The decision of Council is required on the setting-up of a Partition Committee with the composition, functions and powers proposed in paragraphs 5 and 6 above.

¹Underlined here and hereafter in the original, probably by Jinnah.

²Underlined here and hereafter in the original.

³Note by Jinnah.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid.

⁶This sub-para. was sidelined in the original, probably by Jinnah.

8

Walter Christie to M. A. Jinnah

F.2/3

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE, NEW DELHI,
3 June 1947

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

H. E. the Viceroy asks me to say that the following alteration should be made on the first page (covering note) of the Paper V.C.P.63, on the Administrative Consequences of Partition,¹ which he gave you this morning.

In the third line, after the words "the current Session" add the words "and passed before the end of the Session", etc.

Yours sincerely,

W. H. J. CHRISTIE

[Joint Private Secretary to the Viceroy]

No. 7.

9

Mohamed Ismail Ghanty to M. A. Jinnah

F. 950/1-5

"LE HOME", RUE DU JARDIN,
CUREPIPE, MAURITIUS,

3 June 1947

Quaid-i-Azam *Janab* Mohammad Ali Jinnah

Dam-i-Iqbal'hu

[May God enhance your glory]

My Lord,

I am so happy this evening to have heard the *great man*¹ whom I have been admiring since my boyhood. The voice that breaks the impertinence of those of the other side, has now decided those of our dull and indifferent friends [*sic*] to join our noble cause—the cause you have been fighting for, since [*sic*] so many years and which is now crowned with success. May *Allah* bestow His choicest blessings upon you for the wonderful work you have done. *Aameen*!

At this stage it is perhaps necessary that I introduce my humble self: I am the founder of the Muslim Literary Association; my name is Mohamed Ismail Ghanty.

Profession: Proprietor, merchant, intellectual and politician

Origin: Muslim Vohra, formerly of Sayed Pura, Surat (Gujerat)

After many voyages to France, Italy, Germany, England, Turkey, Egypt, Madagascar, etc., I have established myself in Mauritius and owing to over-pressure of work I could not return back [*sic*] to India since 1919.

Being the former President of the Mauritius Textile Merchants Association, President of the Surtee Musalman Society, President of the

Muslim Vohra Benevolent Society and a former Honorary Manager of the Surtee (Government-aided) Free School, I have had sufficient matters to deal with during the past few years and am so glad to see that the result is after all satisfactory. May I also add that your humble servant writes and speaks French, Gujerati, English, Urdu and Arabic.

With the approach of the Great Pakistan Day, I should like to have some practical instructions as to our National Hymn [*sic* for Anthem] to be adopted. You would perhaps let me know [from] where to secure these records and also our National Flag. I would have been so glad to receive the same per V.P. Post parcel.

As you are aware, this island is situated in the Indian Ocean and out of a total population of 400,000 inhabitants there are more than 175,000 Hindus and only 50,000 Muslims—the latter enjoying, however, a better position but there has been some reaction among the Hindus recently. They are very active now-a-days and have already engaged in correspondence with Pandit Nehru who has encouraged them. I am of opinion that if we take no steps to check them, the hardships might be terrible for our Muslim brethren in the forthcoming days.

The Hindus are contemplating the scheme of establishing a Hindustan Consulate in Port Louis, the capital of Mauritius. So I am putting you *au courant* and sincerely recommend [to] you of the advisability of a Pakistan Consulate as well in Port Louis. This will raise the prestige of the Muslims of Mauritius, as the general population here attaches much importance to such a Body which is after all essential to protect the interest of our dependents.

It might also interest you to know that though the official language in Mauritius being [*sic*] English, the majority of the population speaks French and as the chance wishes me to speak that language better than my own one, I shall be only too pleased to put my humble capacities [*sic* for services] at your disposal and take care of the Consular services, should I be conferred the great honour of being the first Pakistani Consul in this territory and under such circumstances I would put one of my buildings at the disposal of your Government and personally act without any remuneration whatsoever, my only reward being the satisfaction of serving Pakistan in particular and the Muslims in general.

I shall be glad to send further particulars, my photo, bank and other references concerning my standing, morality and integrity, if necessary.

Awaiting the pleasure of your reply per return air mail and assuring you by now of my very best attention.

And before concluding may I say:

Pakistan Zindabaz [sic for *Zindabad*]!

Viva Jinnah.

Very respectfully yours,

M. I. GHANTY

PS. Having written this letter at my personal residence, I am sorry it could not be type-written.

M.I.G.

¹Underlined in the original.

10

Abdul Qaiyum Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F.324/14

26 FERROZ SHAH ROAD, NEW DELHI,

3 June 1947

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

I am leaving for Peshawar on the morning of 6th of June by air. The period of my parole expires on the afternoon of the 6th.

I am conscious of the fact that your time is limited and extremely valuable.

If you want to give any fresh instructions, you can send for ■■■ any time which suits you. Otherwise I shall assume that I have your permission to depart.

Yours sincerely,

ABDUL QAIYUM

11

C.E. Gibbon to M. A. Jinnah

F.493/3

15 JAIL ROAD, LAHORE,

4 June 1947

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Please accept my heartiest congratulations on your success.

A large number of friends and I listened in to the broadcasts. Except for

the interruption of a fan, the reception here was good, and your talk¹ [was] appreciative [*sic* for appreciated].

I enclose a copy of a statement I intend releasing to the press tomorrow, in respect of the formation of the Anglo-Indian Association of Pakistan, and have advised the Association's representatives at Karachi, Quetta, Peshawar and Rawalpindi to contact your provincial and town executives and establish friendly relations.

I would request you to reciprocate.

With my best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
C.E. GIBBON
MLA (Punjab)

¹No. 4.

Enclosure to No.11

F.493/4

15 JAIL ROAD, LAHORE,
5 June 1947

PRESS NOTE

Mr. C.E. Gibbon, MLA (Punjab), in a statement to the press announces the formation of the Anglo-Indian Association of Pakistan,¹ with its headquarters at Lahore, and Provincial Councils at Karachi, Quetta and Peshawar.

Mr. Gibbon says, "The bitterly resented 'political directives' and interference in provincial affairs by the Governing Body of the All India Anglo-Indian Association at Delhi,² has given rise to the demand by an overwhelming majority of Anglo-Indians domiciled in the Punjab, Sind, N.W.F. Province and Baluchistan for the immediate disestablishment of the All India Anglo-Indian Association in these Provinces, and for the formation of a new organisation which would be free to pursue policies in keeping with the wishes of the community in a free and democratic State.

In response to this demand, I am pleased to announce the formation of the Anglo-Indian Association of Pakistan with its headquarters at No. 15, Jail Road, Lahore, and Provincial Councils at Karachi, Quetta and Peshawar.

The Association, which is a non-political body, will sponsor the

following schemes for the benefit of its members—Death Benefit, Life Insurance, Co-operative Enterprises, Commercial and Technical Education Relief, Colonisation and, in co-operation with the Government by law established, a Nurses' Bureau and an Employment Exchange.

The political interests will be served by a Parliamentary Board consisting of representatives of the four Provinces."

C.E.GIBBON
MLA (Punjab)

¹Gibbon subsequently met Jinnah at Delhi and gave a press interview about their meeting.

See Annex I to Enclosure to No. 11.

²Gibbon's attitude was criticised by Frank Anthony who issued a press statement on 10 June.

See Annex II to Enclosure to No. 11.

Annex I to Enclosure to No. 11

QUAID-I-AZAM ASSURES FAIR TREATMENT FOR MINORITIES IN PAKISTAN STATE¹

Dewan Bahadur S. P. Singha, Speaker of the Punjab Legislative Assembly, and Mr C. E. Gibbon, Anglo-Indian Member of the Punjab Legislative Assembly, who recently met Mr. Jinnah and other top-ranking League leaders in Delhi, said in an interview yesterday that they had received an assurance from the League President that the minorities would not only be treated fairly but handsomely.

Mr. Jinnah told them he would not permit the State of Pakistan to be jeopardised because Muslims could not produce the best man for a job and that others would have their full quota. He would secure the services of the best available citizens of Pakistan irrespective of the latter's community.

INDIAN CHRISTIANS' DIFFICULTIES

Dewan Bahadur Singha complained to the League leaders that with their three seats out of 18 general seats, it would not be possible for Christians to return a member to the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, and as Muslims could only elect Muslims, it was not possible for the League to give any share out of the Muslim quota. The Christians, he revealed, had, therefore, requested the Viceroy to amend the arrangements so that the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, when formed, may be able to co-opt one member each from such communities as are represented in the Provincial Assembly but fail to be elected to the Constituent Assembly.

Asked why he had resigned from the Hindustan Constituent Assembly, Mr. Gibbon replied: "As a potential citizen of Pakistan State, it

is not proper for me to continue to be a Member of the Hindustan Constituent Assembly to which I was elected by a general constituency of the Central Provinces.

"My recent talks with Mr. Jinnah and other top-ranking leaders of the Muslim-majority provinces leave me with no doubt that the Anglo-Indian minority in Pakistan, along with other minorities, will be given every opportunity to promote their political and cultural rights and interests.

"I have no fear regarding the future of my community in Pakistan, provided, of course, we play the game and render unto the State what is the State's."

Mr. Gibbon felt so sure of the Anglo-Indians' future in Pakistan that he did not hesitate to advise the Anglo-Indians of Hindustan who, for one reason or another, had decided to quit India, to change their plan and come to Pakistan "where, I am assured, they would be happy and contented."

Mr. Gibbon was disappointed in the new plan according to which neither any Anglo-Indian nor any Christian, was likely to get a seat in the Pakistan Constituent Assembly. This, he said, was neither the fault of Congress nor the League, but was the result of the short-sightedness of the framers of the scheme. "Be that as it may," Mr. Gibbon confidently remarked, "I have been assured by Mr. Jinnah that the Anglo-Indian community will certainly be represented on all or any of the committees set up by the Pakistan Constituent Assembly where it is necessary for our community to express its views freely."—Globe.

¹*Pakistan Times*, 14 June 1947.

Annex II to Enclosure to No. 11

ANGLO-INDIANS IN PAKISTAN¹

Plea for Effective Voice In Constituent Assembly

NEW DELHI, 10 June: Mr. Frank Anthony, President-in-Chief, All-India Anglo-Indian Association, has written² to Mr. Jinnah, the Muslim League President, on the need for Anglo-Indians being given an opportunity to state their case in the Pakistan Constituent Assembly.

Mr. Anthony, who has just returned from Lahore after attending a meeting of Anglo-Indians in the Punjab, in a statement today, referred to the anxiety of all sections of Anglo-Indians in the Punjab and said that they "looked to the Associated [*sic*] to ensure that their rights and interests were protected".

Mr. Anthony stated that he was "fully alive to the difficulties of those Anglo-Indians who are likely to fall into Pakistan. With the exclusion of Ambala and Simla, only 5,000 Anglo-Indians, including men, women and children, from the Punjab are likely to be included in Pakistan. This numerical smallness will make it difficult for them to secure recognition as a distinct political entity in a sovereign State. But no stone would be left unturned by the Association to secure their legitimate educational and service interests".

OPPORTUNIST

The statement adds: "The meeting vehemently condemned the opportunistic policies of Mr. Gibbon, the Provincial President. Several speakers emphasized that the community in the Punjab had been induced to accept him because he was the Association candidate. The members present stated that if, in spite of their proving to the Muslim League that Mr. Gibbon had forfeited their confidence, he was still foisted on them they would, if necessary, concert measures for the mass migration of Anglo-Indians from the Punjab".

Mr. Anthony expressed the belief that the Muslim League would not foist any unrepresentative person on the community, but that if this was "unfortunately done the Association would itself initiate steps for the migration of Anglo-Indians from the Punjab".—API.

¹*Indian News Chronicle*, 13 June 1947.

²Not available in QAP.

12

Habib Bank Ltd., Delhi, to M. A. Jinnah

F. 682/267

CHANDNI CHOWK, DELHI,

4 June 1947

Dear Sir,

We thankfully acknowledge receipt of your letter dated 31st May 1947¹ together with enclosed Cheque No. 026421 on the Allahabad Bank Ltd., Moradabad, which is again being presented for collection.

Yours faithfully,

Agent

¹No. 515, Vol. I, Part I, 974.

13

M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Alizai

F. 156/139

4 June 1947

Dear Sir,

Many thanks for sending me the *Karakul* skins¹ and they are really very good. I will have my caps made of them as soon as possible.

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

M. A. Alizai, Esq.,
British Legation,
Kabul
c/o Postmaster
N.W.F.P., Peshawar

¹Nos. 67 and 119, Vol. I, Part I, 158 and 234-5 respectively.

14

M. A. Jinnah to Brenda Blencowe

F.87/12

4 June 1947

Dear Madam,

I have received your letter of 31st May¹ and I am awaiting the complete list of inventory and will then consider the matter and let you know what price I am prepared to pay for the House Boat *Mayflower*.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Madam Brenda Blencowe,
H.B. *Mayflower*,
The Island Ghat,
Srinagar, Kashmir

¹No. I. 108.

15

M.A. Jinnah to Ghulam Mohammad

F.87/11

4 June 1947

Dear Mr. Ghulam Mohammad,

There is a House Boat called the *Mayflower* for sale on the Island Ghat; and I am told that it is a very good boat and therefore I am troubling you to please inspect it at once and wire to me whether you would recommend me to buy it and what should be the minimum price that I should offer.

Please don't delay the matter and attend to it as soon as possible and let me know by express wire as to what you would suggest.

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Ghulam Mohammad, Esq.,
c/o Ghulam Mohidin & Son,
Jewellers, Residency Road,
Srinagar, Kashmir

16

M. A. Jinnah to Ghulam Mohidin

F.87/10

4 June 1947

Dear Mr. Mohidin,

I have received now the particulars of the House Boat *Mayflower* from its lady owner and she is going to send me the complete inventory and I am awaiting it.

In the meantime will you as a friend let me know whether the boat is a very good one and whether you would recommend me to buy it; and if so what should be the minimum price that I should offer.

Please wire to me without delay and oblige,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Ghulam Mohidin, Esq.,
c/o Suffering Moses, 3rd Bridge,
Srinagar, Kashmir

17

Patrick Lacey to M. A. Jinnah

F.162/43-4

TANGLEWOOD COTTAGE, ALLUM LANE,
ELSTREE, HERTS., ENGLAND,
4 June 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I hope it is not presumptuous or premature to offer you my very sincere congratulations on the terms of yesterday's announcement.¹ Indeed, if I could be sure that they impress you as much as they impress me, I should be thanking you for having secured the almost final justification of my own oft-derided arguments of the last 15 years. I don't know whether my little book, *Fascist India*,² ever came your way: still less do I know what you think of it if you *have*³ seen it, save that, in spite of the suggestion's friendly motive, I gather you would not approve my proposal for the partition of Bengal (to embrace Sylhet) and of the Punjab. Nor can I understand why a Government, ostensibly wedded to the idea of "India's unity", was so bent on allowing the 500-odd Indian States to go their own several ways, if they wish, towards the fragmentation of India. Oddly enough, I prefer my own scheme for twin federations of the Provinces and States within the borders of Pakistan and Hindustan respectively. But these are now academic issues. What matters is that you have within your grasp the Pakistan on which I have consistently agreed with you.

Your prolific champion at Cambridge⁴ claims, I think, to have invented the idea in 1933 or thereabouts. In fact—though "Pakistan" was then a word unknown to me—a tentative outline of the idea, by Sir Muhammad Yakub,⁵ gave me the material for one of the very first articles I sent home from India soon after I joined the *Statesman* in 1929. Two years later I became personally involved, as a journalist, in the troubles of the Kashmiris, and this was the beginning of a cherished friendship with Haji Rahim Bakhsh, whose son and grandsons my wife and I have just been entertaining here. Addition to the Pakistan idea was a surely logical consequence, reinforced subsequently by the pre-war sample of Congress *raj*.⁶ I sometimes wish my article in the *Contemporary Review* of June 1940⁷ had been less objective; and I certainly wish the publishers had been less slow in producing *Fascist India*; though it would be egregious complacency to imagine the book

could influence the unpersuadable. You gave me one or two bad frights, when I thought you were throwing your case away or over-calling your hand; but it is now my duty and pleasure to repent of that impertinence.

I don't believe in counting chickens before the eggs are hatched, but anyhow the eggs are now well and truly layed [*sic* for laid]; and with the deference due from a pullet to a prize cock (if I may put it like that, so as not to mix metaphors). I hope I may sign myself as

Your humblest but sincerest ally,
PATRICK LACEY

PS. The red type has no political or sinister significance: only that the black half of the ribbon has pernicious anaemia.

¹No. 1.

²Published by Nicholson & Watson, London, 1946.

³Underlined in the original.

⁴Choudhary Rahmat Ali.

⁵Secretary, AIML, 1933-36; Member, Council of State, 1938-42.

⁶Between 1937 and 1939, Congress formed ministries in a number of provinces.

⁷"Two Indias", *Contemporary Review*, January-June 1940, Vol. 157, 703-9. Also included in *India's Problem of her Future Constitution*, prefaced by Jinnah, Bombay, n.d., 76. See Annex.

Annex to No. 17

TWO INDIAS¹

BY PATRICK LACEY

The [1940] Lahore session of the All India Moslem League had two immediate effects. It stimulated resistance by Indian minorities, especially Mohammedans, to the communal authoritarianism (as they call it) of Congress hegemony; and it revived interest in the Pakistan scheme for the division of India into two independent Dominions. Here in England we have had much criticism of the Pakistan idea, but no adequate explanation of it. It is mentioned so vaguely as an "Indian Ulster" that very few people can give it with understanding the treatment it merits—to be damned as a nightmare, tolerated as an academic dream, or entertained as a *pis aller* to mitigate communal difficulties when other expedients have failed. If we are doomed to argue about it, for or against, we had better try to see exactly what it is.

The Indian Statutory (Simon) Commission and the Joint Parliamentary Committee on Indian Reform put the premises concisely in their study of the communal problem. "Differences of race, a different system of law, and the absence of inter-marriage, constitute ... a basic opposition manifesting itself at every turn in social custom and economic

competition." "They (the Hindus and Moslems) may be said to represent two distinct and separate civilisations." Mr. Jinnah said much the same in his presidential speech to the Moslem League on Good Friday. His inference seems to be that some partition of India may become the only means of satisfying the legitimate hopes of Hindu and Moslem alike, and of giving each community a form of self-government appropriate to its distinctive traits. In this he is supported by others, not Mohammedans only, who reject the obstructionist doctrine that India cannot or must not be emancipated completely except as a single geographical polity, one huge compound of federated units. If, they say, we cannot agree among ourselves on terms for our advance hand-in-hand to freedom under a single responsible Government, let the Hindu nation and the Moslem nation go ahead as well as they can separately; don't hold us back together just because we quarrel.

Hence the Pakistan scheme—the oldest and least fissiparous of several efforts by different authors to re-draw the map. Taking numbers-cum-vigour as the yardstick, it assumes with obvious reason that Indian Mohammedanism is most conspicuously concentrated, most virile and self-contained, in the bloc of contiguous territories comprising the Punjab, Kashmir, the North-West Frontier Province and Agencies, Sind, Baluchistan, Khairpur and Bahawalpur. These seven components would make up Pakistan, with a Federal or Dominion capital at Lahore and a growing air-and sea-port at Karachi. It would have an area roughly seventy-five times the size of Ulster and approximately equal to Spain, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Albania, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Lithuania and Eire combined. It would contain as many people as Albania, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Lithuania and Switzerland together. (None of these countries is usually considered, except by Germany, too small to deserve an independent sovereignty.) But that disposes only of a quarter of India and less than a tenth of her population. The rest of her, constituting a separate Dominion of Hindustan, would still have nearly three times as many people as any other nation in the world except China, and would be the seventh largest in area. Calcutta, Lucknow or Madras might be its capital.

These calculations take account of an ancillary proposal. Each of the two Dominions might have a Governor-General. For the discharge of its Commonwealth responsibilities—always limited, and often an expression of sentiment only—the Crown would still be represented by a Viceroy seated at Delhi. The Delhi enclave to-day is very small, and at least one of the plans published in India suggests it might incorporate parts of the Ambala and Jullundur Divisions of the Punjab. In

both of these adjoining Divisions—contiguous partly with Delhi, partly with the United Provinces—Hindus and Sikhs together are a substantial and robust majority. They might be restive in a Pakistan under Moslem control, and the Pakistan Government uncomfortable with them; and their separation would avoid the difficulty of letting Patiala and other Sikh statelets stand as islands in Pakistan territory. The Delhi enclave, thus enlarged, would have an area and population just about twice the size of Switzerland's, and might be a useful buffer between the two great Dominions on their strategic border. In its strictly domestic affairs it could be a condominium administered by the Viceroy, its own representatives, and nominees of the Hindustan and Pakistan Central Governments.

In this same authority, too, would vest control of India's Continental defence—her Navy, Air Force and the greater part of her Army—and perhaps the Customs Revenue required to pay for them. Pakistan and Hindustan each would want a small army for internal security, but the pooling of first-line troops under Delhi's neutral though representative command would guarantee each against assault by the other. There are very obvious flaws in the idea. Its supporters think, rightly or wrongly, that they have answers at least to some of them.

(1) A third of all the Indian Mohammedans live in Bengal, several hundred miles from the nearest point in Pakistan, and are the Presidency's majority community. If they are to be forgotten, or reckoned as Hindustanis, what becomes of the plan's main purpose? It is argued nonetheless that the comments already quoted from two reports to Parliament are true more especially of the difference between Pakistan and Hindustan—that the test of numbers-cum-vigour holds good. It is the distinguishing characteristics of Hindustan and Pakistan that would be most likely to aggravate serious conflict if a single Federal Parliament, with a large majority from the one dominating a minority from the other, were obtrusive over the whole of India. The Bengal Mohammedan has more in common with his Hindu neighbours than the Punjabi Hindu with the Madras Hindu. For these reasons, and also because Europeans hold the balance of power in the Bengal Legislature, the Presidency should be able (it is said) to muddle along as an integral part of Hindustan. If not, it is invited either to detach itself with a constitution similar to Burma's, or to let its districts east of the Brahmaputra become a self-governing colony of Pakistan or the Delhi condominium. Rather a cavalier dismissal.

(2) Kashmir—in area a big part of Pakistan, though its population is small—is a Hindu State inasmuch as its ruling dynasty is Hindu. But

nearly 90 per cent. of its oppressed people are Moslem, and democracy of some sort is a motive of the whole scheme. Hyderabad, where a Moslem dynasty rules a big Hindu majority, is expected to federate with Hindustan, so why not Kashmir with Pakistan? This argument may be less repugnant to a timid Political Department than the suggestion that the Maharaja of Kashmir should exchange thrones with the Moslem ruler of a Hindu majority in Bhopal.

(3) The scheme cannot kill the communal problem: there would be minorities scattered about in both Dominions. In round figures, Pakistan would have 25 million Moslems to 6 million Hindus and/or Sikhs: Hindustan would have 255 million Hindus to 55½ million Moslems if it included Bengal, or otherwise 233 to 27½. Yet the suggested partition is defended as the least impracticable means of signifying India's great religio-racial division in politico-geographical terms: as the only way of giving each community a governmental system it can approve of. Thus gratified (it is argued) they should have less quarrel with their minorities; and the minority in one Dominion would be hostage for the good behaviour of its co-religionists in the other. Hideous thought; but the existing Constitution, or any other seriously contemplated, must create a similar condition in autonomous provinces. Mohammedans all over India observed a special day of thanksgiving² for escape from Congress rule when the Congress Ministries had retroceded their duties to British officials. They say that under an All-India Federal Government and Parliament the Mohammedans, both outside and inside their own special provinces, would be hostages to Hindu fortune. They resist their subjection to a Hindu majority just as the Jews in Palestine dislike the idea of majority rule by the Arabs—and India, about 180 times larger, lends itself better to partition plans. Hence the Pakistan idea is favoured by Jinnah and other Moslems in Hindu provinces where it cannot directly benefit them.

(4) Could Pakistan be financially solvent? Orthodox economists say, "Not unless the Punjab continued to provide the backbone of the Indian Army." There is some reason to suppose it would. The Punjab, containing nearly two-thirds of Pakistan's population, was found to be the only province needing no re-distribution of funds from the Central Government when Sir Otto Niemeyer recommended his adjustments between Central and Provincial Finance. Other nations have carried on, somehow, long after orthodoxy has condemned them to ruin. Hopes also are fixed on the development of Kashmir (whose Maharaja cannot really need twelve times the Viceroy's salary), the prosperity of newly-irrigated Sind, and something like durable peace on the frontier.

Of all these speculative answers to much less hypothetical objections, the last challenges the most interesting discussion; for it is based on belief in the Pakistan plan as a remedy for the tribal sore on the North-West border. In the words of officialdom, "the time has arrived when an effort should be made to bring under our control, and, if possible, to organise for purposes of defence, the great belt of independent tribal territory which lies along our North-Western frontier." A well-groomed phrase; but it was written fifty-three years ago by the Government of India to the Government of the Punjab. Nothing came of it then: we can see how much has come of it since. Parliament was told last July that seven years' disturbances in Palestine had cost the Army and Air Force 113 men killed and 377 wounded. People were worried about those casualties, and dismayed that we needed a garrison of nearly 20,000 troops in Palestine. Very few noticed that in two years' unfinished campaign against the Wazirs we had employed some 40,000 troops, losing 306 killed and 888 wounded. And now, when every available man, weapon and penny is to be called into the war with Germany—when economy in all other directions is preached everywhere—we learn that three years of scrapping and skirmishing have not been enough to settle Waziristan, but a new expedition has had to go prowling about the Ahmedzai salient.

It is a tiny whisper as modern war goes, of course. The sixteen frontier expeditions or military demonstrations of the last ten years cannot have cost, in aggregate, the price we pay for thirty-six hours' war in Europe, nor the loss of life we suffered in H.M.S.s *Courageous* and *Royal Oak*. But the cost in money is a big sum for India, and Britain is still constitutionally responsible for military activity in India. Nobody thinks it pernicky to cry aloud when he hears of loaves and fishes being wasted in an Army camp at home. Nobody seems to wonder how much longer we must tolerate the jerry-building of India's land gateway, a political sore that does no one's appearance any good, and annual fireworks that end nothing except a few young lives and a few more dreams (in peace time) of retrenchment.

Abdul Ghaffar Khan, leader of the Frontier Red Shirts, once told me his alliance with the Congress was an expedient to be abandoned so soon [sic] as it seemed to interfere with Pathan notions of independence; "for what have we to do with Hindustan?" If that was the mind of a Pathan in British India proper—if the Simon Commission, the Joint Parliamentary Committee and Mr. Jinnah were right—we can hardly expect the militant zealots of Islam in tribal territory to accept laws made by the votes of a Hindu majority in Delhi. The argument

runs that the tribes cannot be wholly subdued except by costly and amoral violence, nor inveigled into an Indian comity for their own and the general good, if this requires their submission to an alien authority. Rule by a Hindu majority from Madras, Bombay, Bihar, the U.P., and so on, would seem at least as alien to them as the present British mixture of bribery, camaraderie and battery. But offer them a square deal and tolerable amenities in their own territory; let them see a Mohammedan Government established at Lahore on principles they can appreciate; let that Government persuade them, with such coercion as they make necessary, to co-operate with it in digesting the responsibility and fruits of civilised administration. It is possible they may then at last reconcile themselves to a new and better order of life within an Indian commonwealth. Some people think this could be done without the creation of an independent Pakistan; others are convinced that the bogey of an overriding, alien, Delhi-made regime would either deter the tribes at the outset, or provoke their secession eventually, from a system of provincial autonomy embracing all India.

Pakistan may be a Utopian dream, or something worse. The arguments against it need no advertisement. But at the moment it seems to be gaining favour for reasons, and in a particular manner, that bode nobody much good, whether there is anything to be said for the idea or not. It would be a mistake to assume that all Hindus to a man are opposed to it and will always be ready to resist it. If we believe it to be something worse than a dream, we had better make a reconnaissance flight over its last lines of defence, and that we may know exactly what, where and how we must attack if we want to win our offensive with the minimum cost to either side—or all three sides. This, perhaps, is the last-ditch argument:

The unity of India is the artificial creation of unitary government imposed from without, whether the binding force is popular approval, submission or antagonism. It is a Good Thing, but not indigenous to the country or natural to its people and history. The British were able to take India because they found it divided against itself. They took a large part of it from the Mussalman Moghals: they fought a variety of Hindu chieftains. They conquered at times with Moslem allies, at others with Hindu allies. The country has never known unity from Gilgit to Trivandrum and from Quetta to Calcutta save in the peace imposed on it by British rule. Many breaches and divisions have been healed, probably for ever; but the fundamental differences between Mohammedan and Hindu remain, and look as if they must remain, and it is no more Britain's business to subordinate the one civilisation

to the other than to aid the subjection of Bohemia to German *Kultur*. The alien bond of unity is now to go, and lest its disappearance should release full-blast the disintegrating tendencies now re-appearing there is something to be said for re-distributing India as fairly, naturally and securely as possible to the rival claimants from whom the British seized it—and who helped the British in each other's dispossession. In a talk reported to the *Manchester Guardian* nine years ago, Mr. Gandhi spoke with regret, but without noticeable emotion, of the possibility that independence might plunge his country into civil strife, and that this might end in the destruction of one community by the other. If that is a possibility, and if the only alternative to it is a choice between two lesser evils, let us decide now what our choice shall be. Let us say we would rather have two free Indian Dominions, each as nearly homogeneous as it can be, than one enormous cockpit of feuds under the ignominy of alien rule.

¹*Contemporary Review*, January-June 1940, Vol. 157, 703-9.

²Day of thanksgiving, popularly known as Deliverance Day, was observed by Muslims of India on 22 December 1939.

18

Jayantilal C. Mehta to M. A. Jinnah

F. 757/163

89 NEW STOCK EXCHANGE BUILDING,
APOLLO STREET,
FORT, BOMBAY,
4 June 1947

Dear Sir,

We are in receipt of your letter dated 31st May 1947,¹ enclosing a cheque for Rs. 135 to be paid to Mr. K. M. Nemani. We have given the cheque to him the stamped receipt for which is enclosed herewith.²

Thanking you,

Yours faithfully,
J. C. MEHTA

¹No. I. 109.

²Not printed.

19

*I. H. Qureshi to M. A. Jinnah**F.416/1*

UNIVERSITY OF DELHI, DELHI,
4 June 1947

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

When a few years ago, some of us, students at Cambridge, began to dream of an independent Muslim State in India and called it "Pakistan", even in our wildest dreams we were not so hopeful as to think that our cherished goal was so near at hand. Our battle was half won when you assumed the leadership of the Pakistan Movement. God in His great kindness has rewarded your endeavours with success and He has chosen you as the instrument to fashion the freedom of forty-five [sic] million Muslims. At this moment of the fulfilment of our prayers our hearts are full of gratitude to Him that He gave us a leader who, in spite of our shortcomings, has led us to this great success.

We have still to fight against a number of difficulties and have to build up a strong bulwark of Islam in Pakistan. All the constructive effort of which the nation is capable has to be put into the construction of a State worthy of our traditions. We have to fight ignorance, poverty and inertia. As one of your humblest soldiers I put at your disposal my services which you may utilize in any way that you please. Praying to God, Who has given us this success, that He may give us the further reward of enabling you to lead us for a very long time to come in achieving success in our constructive efforts to make our people happy at home and respected and powerful abroad.

I remain,

Yours very sincerely,

I. H. QURESHI

*Head of the Department of History
and Dean of the Faculty of Arts*

20

*Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah**F.10/45*CORONATION HOTEL, DELHI,
4 June 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

1. I submit a few suggestions regarding the India Plan.¹ The loss of Calcutta and Assam is terrible.

*The India Act*² puts a legal and moral obligation on the British to protect the Tribal and Excluded Areas. If we get the Excluded Areas of Santhal Parganas, Khasi and Jaintia Hills, Lushai Hills and Naga Hills, we will get room for expansion.

2. The Calcutta Delegation is still waiting.

Yours sincerely,

RAGHIB AHSAN

*Calcutta District Muslim League*¹No. 1.²Government of India Act, 1935.*Enclosure to No. 20**F. 10/181-2*

SUGGESTIONS RE[GARDING] INDIA PLAN
RIGHT OF OPTION FOR THE EXCLUDED AREAS OF ASSAM AND
SANTHAL PARGANAS AND CHHOTANAGPUR

1. Tribals and Backward Classes of the Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas of Chhotanagpur and Santhal Parganas (bordering Murshidabad) and of Assam, e.g. Khasi and Jaintia Hills, Garo Hills, Naga Hills, Lepcha Hills, Lushai Hills, etc., should be given the option to join either Pakistan or Hindustan.

Firstly because the Tribals are not Hindus and Congress does not represent them and they are demanding separate electorate and they know that the tribes can get it only through the League.

Secondly because the Excluded Areas and the Partially Excluded Areas under the Government of India Act, 1935, are special charge and obligation of the British Government, Britain owes it to the poor Tribals

and civilisation to give them protection. *They are not chattels to be transferred to Hindustan without giving them any voice in the determination of their fate. The British Government is morally, constitutionally and legally bound to protect them. The Tribals are a trust of civilisation.*¹

The Tribals are 30 per cent. in Assam. The Tribals are in majority in Santhal Parganas and Chhotanagpur. The Tribals hold strategic points on the frontier of East Pakistan.

COLLECTIVE VOTE OF BENGAL HINDU MLAs

2. All the Hindu Members of the Bengal Assembly, both of East and West Bengal, be given the right to decide by their combined collective majority vote to keep Bengal united and to prevent provincial partition.

Similar right should be given to the non-Muslim Members of the present Punjab Assembly as a whole to rescind the proposed partition of the Punjab.

RIGHT OF OPTING IN

3. Every *thana* or sub-division be given the right of opting into and opting out of the contiguous Pakistan or Hindustan areas according to votes of the majority of its adult population. Every five years any contiguous *thana* or union [may] exercise this option.

POSITION OF AMRITSAR

4. Amritsar is a Muslim-majority town and Muslim sub-division and is a trump card of the League. Never surrender Amritsar town and the sub-division of Amritsar to the Sikhs who regard it as their Mecca.

Try to effect bargain and compromise on the basis:

FREE CITIES OF AMRITSAR, DELHI, AJMER AND CALCUTTA

That Amritsar be declared a free city with equal Muslim and non-Muslim representation provided Delhi, Ajmer, Aligarh and Calcutta are [also] declared free cities with similar rights of equality for Muslims.

MINORITIES RIGHTS COMMITTEE

5. Minorities Rights Committee of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly should negotiate with the Hindustan Constituent Assembly for safeguard[ing] the rights of Muslim minority in Hindustan. The Muslims of Hindustan be recognized as the co-nationals of Pakistan Muslims.

¹Underlined in the original, probably by Jinnah.

21

Draft Proposal by Anonym for a Free and United Bengal

F.142/20-1

4 June 1947

BASIS OF AGREEMENT

Bengali Muslims, Hindus, Christians and Buddhists have a common mother tongue and are bound together by racial, social, cultural, economic and other ties and a Free and United Bengal, where they can fully co-operate with one another, is essential for their social, economic and political progress.

TERMS

1. Bengal will be a Free State. The Free State of Bengal will decide its relations with the rest of India. The question of joining any Union will be decided by the Legislature of the Free State of Bengal by a two-thirds majority.

2. The constitution of the Free State of Bengal will provide for election to the Bengal Legislature on the basis of joint electorate and adult franchise, with reservation of seats proportionate to the population amongst Hindus and Muslims. The seats, as between Caste Hindus and Scheduled Caste Hindus, will be distributed amongst them in proportion to their respective population or in such manner as may be agreed among them. The constituencies will be multiple constituencies and the votes will be distributive and not cumulative. A candidate who gets the largest number of votes of his own community cast during the elections, and at least 25 per cent. of the votes of the other communities so cast, will be declared elected. If no candidate satisfies the above condition, then the candidate who gets the next largest number of votes of his own community cast during the elections and at least 25 per cent. of the votes of the other communities so cast will be declared elected. If no candidate satisfies the condition laid down in the previous sentence, the candidate who gets the largest number of votes out of the total votes polled will be elected.

3. On paragraphs 1 and 2 being accepted by both parties, the present Ministry will be dissolved and an Interim Ministry brought into being consisting of an equal number of Muslims and Hindus (including Scheduled Caste Hindus) but excluding the Chief Minister. In this Ministry, the Chief Minister will be a Muslim and the Home Minister a Hindu. The Interim Ministry is to be treated by H.M.G. as an independent Indian Government.

4. Decisions to be taken by the Interim Ministry are not to be taken by a bare majority but by a two-thirds majority. Similarly, decisions to be taken in the present Bengal Legislature are not to be taken by a bare majority but by a two-thirds majority of its members excluding the European Members.

5. Pending the final emergence of a Legislature and a Ministry under the new constitution, the Hindus (including Scheduled Caste Hindus) and the Muslims will have an equal share in the services including Military and Police. The services will be manned by Bengalis. Merit shall be the determining factor in the matter of recruitment to the services.

6. A Constituent Assembly composed of 30 persons, 16 Muslims and 14 non-Muslims, will be elected by the Muslim and non-Muslim members of the Legislature, respectively, excluding the Europeans.

7. As far as Bengal is concerned, H.M.G. is to transfer power either to the Interim Ministry mentioned in paragraph 3 or to the Constituent Assembly mentioned in paragraph 6.

22

Mohamed Yehia to M. A. Jinnah

F.676/62

30 GILLING COURT, BELSIZE GROVE,
HAMPSTEAD, LONDON, N.W.3,

4 June 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have, of late, been in communication with the American Ambassador in London, and, in my letter of 22nd May, I spoke of Pakistan. I enclose a copy of the letter, and of the reply, in order to show the line of thought adopted. I shall certainly await your comment with great interest.

The impression I have gained through contacting Mr. Attlee and Mr. Bevin¹ is that the British Government is not interested in a strong Muslim Federation friendly to Great Britain. Whether this lack of interest or indifference is an expediency, or a permanent policy, is difficult to say.

It was only after ascertaining the attitude of the British Government that I mentioned the Nahas-Jinnah agreement² to the American Ambassador in the hope of arousing the interest of the Washington State Department in support of both Pakistan and Egypt. Needless to say, I have kept Nahas Pasha fully informed of all the moves.

It is in the sure knowledge that no power on earth can stop the march of events, in the sure knowledge that Islam derives its real strength from the abounding faith in the hearts of true Muslims, and in the fervent belief in the return of the demanded unity and glory of Islam that all my prayers and earnest good wishes go out to you for the unstinted [*sic*] attainment of Pakistan.

When one reflects on conditions in the Middle East and sees the lack of Muslim democracy, rivalries, feuds, Greater Syria scheme and the like, one realises the pressing necessity for the appearance of a new partner on the scene, unshackled and unhampered by events of the near past. Hence our ardent belief in the Nahas-Jinnah agreement and in the Wafd-Muslim League sacred mission.

Believe me,
Yours very sincerely,
MOHAMED YEHIA

¹British Foreign Secretary, 1945-51.

²Nahas Pasha was leader of the Wafd, a political party in Egypt. Full details of the Nahas-Jinnah agreement are not available. However, there is a reference to the formation of a Federation of Muslim States with Cairo as the Centre. See Enclosure 1.

Enclosure 1 to No. 22
Mohamed Yehia to Lewis W. Douglas

F.676/64

30 GILLING COURT, BELSIZE GROVE,
HAMPSTEAD, [LONDON], N.W.3,

22 May 1947

Your Excellency,

In view of the announcement by the Secretary of State, Mr. [George Catlett] Marshall, that a State Department Planning Committee was making an exhaustive study of the economic and political situation in the Middle East, with America's new world situation in mind, I request the State Department, through the medium of your Excellency, to take into account, in its study, the proposed new relationship between the Muslim States.

Nahas Pasha, President of the Egyptian Wafd, and Mr. Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, agreed some six months ago to bring into being, as soon as practicable, what may be broadly described as a democratic Federation of Muslim States with Cairo as its Centre.

The principle of a separate Indian Muslim State has already been accepted by all concerned, and the British Government have undertaken to evacuate [*sic*] India by the summer of the next year.

The new democratic Federation is calculated to embrace such countries as would constitute a willing and, therefore, effective barrier against the infiltration of ideologies and influences alien to true democracy. It can, with the help of America, develop, in a comparatively short time, into a bulwark of peace and democracy.

While Egypt and Muslim India will form the nucleus of the new Federation, it is expected that countries such as Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and others will join later.

The invaluable assistance of America will find ample reward in the economic and political life of this vast territory as well as in the productive friendship of its enormous population.

In acquainting Your Excellency with the broad outline of the Nahas-Jinnah agreement, it is incumbent on me to emphasize that the continuance in office of a minority Government in Egypt¹ is not only creating a state of violent discontent and instability conducive to the infiltration of Communism, but is also hindering the progress of the plan. It is sincerely hoped that, with American interest and support, the rule of the majority will soon return.

I request Your Excellency to be good enough to cause this note to reach the State Department. Assuring you of my appreciation and thanking you,

I am,

Your Excellency,

Yours very truly,

MOHAMED YEHIA

*London representative of the Wafd,
the majority party in Egypt*

His Excellency Lewis W. Douglas,
American Ambassador,
London

¹Although the Wafd was the majority party in the Egyptian Parliament, the Government was headed by Nokrashi Pasha, the minority leader.

Enclosure 2 to No. 22
G. Lewis Jones to M. Yehia

F.676/63

AMERICAN EMBASSY, LONDON,
29 May 1947

Dear Mr. Yehia,

This is to acknowledge and thank you for your letter of 22nd May 1947, regarding the conversations between Nahas Pasha and Mr. Jinnah, a copy of which, in accordance with your request, has been forwarded to the Department of State for its information.

Sincerely yours,
G. LEWIS JONES
Second Secretary of Embassy

Mr. M. Yehia,
30 Gilling Court,
Belsize Grove,
Hampstead, [London], N.W.3

23

Ghulam Mohammed to M. A. Jinnah

F.264/7

BOMBAY HOUSE, FORT, BOMBAY,
5 June 1947

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I write to offer you my warmest congratulations on the achievement of the goal of your life which you set before your people and which would have been almost impossible to achieve but for your wise and far-sighted statesmanship and single-minded devotion to the "Cause". Your name as the instrument for creating the biggest Muslim State in the world, without firing a shot, shall go down in history for your great and noble achievement, unparalleled and unheard of in the past. May you be spared a long time to see the fulfilment of your dreams and their translation into hard facts. A lot of constructive work lies ahead and your unswerving loyalty to the cause of the Musalmans will be needed ever more to find lasting solutions to problems as they arise.

The greatest disappointment in my life has been due to my health, specially as it debarred me from assisting you and doing my humble bit for the cause of the Musalmans. I am shortly sailing for the United States to seek medical treatment. It is in the hands of God to give me back my health if He chooses that I shall ever be able to be of service to my people. I want your good wishes and blessings. Do kindly let me know if I can be of any service to you while in the States.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
GHULAM MOHAMMED

24

Note by Qazi Mohammad Isa on Baluchistan¹

F. 302/144-6

5 June 1947

Last year at the time of election to the Constituent Assembly, the Member from Baluchistan² was elected by members of the so-called *Shahi Jirga* and the Quetta Municipality. The Muslim League never approved of this procedure and for this reason did not even select their candidate. The Muslim League was perfectly right in adopting this attitude; it could never submit the name of their candidate to a handful of nominated members.

The *Shahi Jirga* is supposed to be a body of tribal elders but in reality it is not so; there are members who have no *locus standi* in their tribes but are there in the *Jirga* because [*sic*] for reasons best known to the local officers of the Political Department. Again, some tribes have been given more representation in the *Jirga*, out of proportion to the numbers of the tribe, and there are bigger tribes that have been given proportionately inadequate representation.

The *Jirga* in no way represents the popular wishes of the masses and in fact there is a great feeling in the Province against the *Jirga*. Any such right given to them again would amount to the total disregard of the wishes of the people and the move would certainly be an undemocratic move, and the people would never accept the decision of the *Jirga*.

The *Shahi Jirga* is composed of Kalat State's representatives and the representatives from the British Baluchistan. At the time of the last

election, the State members were excluded from voting; only representatives from the British part of the Province voted and the British part included the leased areas of Quetta, Nasirabad Tehsil, Nushki and Bolan Agency. We have always looked upon the so-called Leased Areas as parts of British Baluchistan and we still look upon them as such. Therefore, any attempt to detach these areas at this stage from British Baluchistan would be strongly opposed by the people. At the time of the last election to the Constituent Assembly, the Quetta Municipality was a hundred per cent. nominated body, but now out of the 19 members ten are elected.

There are five administrative Districts in British Baluchistan: Zhob, Loralai, Chagai, Quetta-Pishin, and Sibi (including the Mari and Bugti tribal areas). Baluchs dominate in Sibi and Chagai Districts and in the other three districts Pathans dominate.

Para. 12 of the British Government Statement dated 3rd June 1947³ lays down that "In view of its geographical situation, this Province (Baluchistan) will also be given an opportunity to reconsider its position and to choose which of the alternatives in paragraph 4 to adopt. His Excellency the Governor-General is examining how this can most appropriately be done."

From the above, it appears that H.M.G. has not accepted the absence of Baluchistan representative from the Constituent Assembly as sufficient indication of the desire of Br[itish] Baluchistan to join Pakistan and has, therefore, provided in para. 12 that H.E. the Governor-General is examining how the opinion of the Province can most appropriately be found out. If it were the intention of the Government to have a referendum, it would have been made clear in the Viceroy's Statement⁴ as has been done in the case of the N.W.F.P., but the absence of any such procedure provided in para. 12 strongly indicates that some other method will be adopted to find out the wishes of the people of Baluchistan.

It is well-known that so far the Government in Baluchistan has not associated representative public opinion with the administration of the Province and has only relied upon the antiquated *Jirga* system in certain matters as a proper method for ascertaining the views of the tribes to which the *Jirga* members belong, and this method was adopted in the case of selecting a Member to the Constituent Assembly last year. No opportunity was given to the public to send their representative by a machinery based on elective system. Now that the Province is going to be given an opportunity to choose which of the alternatives in para. 4 of the Viceroy's Statement [*sic* for 3 June Statement] to adopt, I

strongly urge that the Muslim League of the Province, which is the only representative organisation of the people and which is democratically constituted, should be given an opportunity to send its representatives to any machinery which may be set up by the Governor-General for finding out the wishes of the people of Baluchistan.⁵ If it is proposed to include some *Jirga* members also then I would suggest that in no case their number should be more than one-fourth of the total chosen representatives.

If for any reason the Government is not prepared to give the Provincial League as such the right to send its representatives, then the only other alternative which I can suggest is to hold a limited plebiscite of all adult persons on the basis of the ration cards. This method would do away with the necessity of preparing voters' list, which would take a long time.

I think it goes without mentioning that along with the finding of the wishes of the people to decide [on] the alternatives given in para. 4, they will also get a chance to elect their real representative to the Constituent Assembly.

Q. M. ISA

¹A draft of this Note is available in F. 302/149, QAP, in which the following suggestions also had been made: "Some other points suggested to Quaid-i-Azam when Baluchistan representatives met him recently. If it is found difficult to hold even limited plebiscite, then, in preference to *Shahi Jirga*, the following alternatives to be adopted: (i) All the members of the District *Jirga* to sit together and vote (about 400 in number); (ii) All the recognized *Maliks* of British Baluchistan to sit and vote (these *Maliks* collect land revenues for the Government); (iii) *Shahi Jirga* members plus Quetta Municipality members plus equal number of Provincial League nominees."

²Nawab Mohammad Khan Jogezi.

³No. 1.

⁴No. 2.

⁵The Provincial Muslim League Baluchistan had resolved on 29 April 1947 to authorize its President, Qazi Mohammad Isa, to appoint a Committee for preparing a scheme for a democratic Government in the Province. See Annex.

Annex to No. 24

AFM, 371/43

BALUCHISTAN MUSLIM LEAGUE PREPARES TO TAKE [OVER] POWER

The Council of Provincial Muslim League Baluchistan
passed the following resolution in its Meeting
held at Quetta on 29th April 1947

RESOLUTION

Whereas the British Gov[ernment]'s Declaration of 20th February

1947¹ made it probable that the administration and its machinery would be handed over to Provinces in certain areas, and whereas the present course of events has made it obvious that the British Government will begin the transfer of power to Provinces before 30th June [19]48, and whereas in Baluchistan (unlike the other Muslim Provinces) there is no machinery which can take over the burden and responsibilities of Government and administration, and there is reasonable apprehension that the inevitable political change may bring about disunity and fissiparous tendencies between British Baluchistan, State Baluchistan, Agency, Tribal and other areas, which may break the geographical and essential unity of Baluchistan and thus undo the work of a century.

Now, therefore, this meeting of the Provincial Muslim League Baluchistan hereby authorise the President Qazi Moh[amma]d Isa Khan, Bar-at-Law, to appoint a committee which should, while maintaining the essential unity of Baluchistan, prepare a scheme to [sic] a Democratic Gov[ernment] for Baluchistan in which every adult shall have a vote and no person or class as such shall have any special privileges or power, and in consultation with and direction from the All India Muslim League give effect to it so as to be able in time to take over power from the British Government in this Province as an integral part of Pakistan.

ABDUL HAMID KHAN, ROHELA
*Joint Secretary,
 Provincial Muslim League Baluchistan,
 Quetta*

Note: Qazi Moh[amma]d Isa Khan, the President, while thanking the Council for the whole-hearted trust and confidence placed in him, refused to shoulder the responsibility alone for the selection of the committee and request[ed] the District and Quetta City Leagues to elect a member from their respective Leagues.

¹No. 1, Vol. I, Part I, 1-3.

25

M. A. Jinnah to Habib Bank Ltd., Delhi

F. 682/268

5 June 1947

Dear Sir,

I am sending you herewith Pass Book No. 2 of the Bihar Relief Fund

Account. Please bring it up to day [sic for date] and return it to me as early as possible.

Please acknowledge receipt.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

The Agent,
Habib Bank Ltd.,
Chandni Chowk,
Delhi

26

M. A. Jinnah to Habib Bank Ltd., Delhi

F.156/140

5 June 1947

Dear Sir,

I am enclosing herewith a *hundi* and a demand draft with a pay-in slip for the total sum of Rs. 1,389-13-0 (Rupees One thousand, three hundred and eighty-nine and annas thirteen only)¹ which amount on realization please credit to the Bihar Relief Fund and issue receipt to the donor, name and address given below, direct:

The Editor, *Indian Views*,
137 Grey Street,
Durban (Natal),
South Africa

Kindly acknowledge receipt and oblige,

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

The Agent,
Habib Bank Ltd.,
Chandni Chowk,
Delhi

¹Annex.

Annex to No. 26
Editor, Indian Views, Durban to M. A. Jinnah
F. 681/213-4

137 GREY STREET, DURBAN,
12 May 1947

Dear Sir,

We have pleasure in enclosing a bank draft for Rs. 951-3-0 for the Muslim League Relief Fund. This amount represents sums received by us from our readers. Will you please send your acknowledgement to us for publication in our paper?

We shall be extremely favoured if you will send us your message for our *Eid Number* which we shall be publishing in the beginning of July. It is needless to remind you that the *Indian Views*¹ is the only paper in Southern Africa which supports the Muslim League and has contributed tremendously towards educating public opinion in favour of the League's ideals.

Thanking you in anticipation,

Yours faithfully,
Editor

Note. A *hundi* for Rs. 438-10-0 is also for Relief Fund.

¹A weekly journal.

27

Eric Mieville to M. A. Jinnah

F. 10/48

PRIVATE

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE, NEW DELHI,
5 June 1947

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am sending you herewith for your private and confidential information a copy of the minutes of a meeting which the Viceroy held on Tuesday afternoon with the members of the States Negotiating Committee as I feel that you may be interested in what transpired.

Yours sincerely,
ERIC MIEVILLE

Enclosure to No. 27

F.2/27-33

CONFIDENTIAL

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE, NEW DELHI,

COPY NO. 39

3 June 1947

MEETING OF THE VICEROY WITH MEMBERS OF THE STATES
NEGOTIATING COMMITTEE

MINUTES

A meeting was held by His Excellency the Viceroy with Members of States Negotiating Committee at The Viceroy's House, New Delhi, at 1600 hours on Tuesday, 3rd June, 1947.

PRESENT

The Viscount Mountbatten of Burma Viceroy of India

MEMBERS OF THE STATES NEGOTIATING COMMITTEE

His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal

His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala

His Highness the Maharawal of Dungarpur

His Highness the Maharaja Jam Saheb of Nawanagar

His Highness the Raja of Bilaspur

Sir Mirza Ismail, Hyderabad

Sir Brojendra Lal Mitter, Baroda

Diwan Bahadur Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, Mysore

Rai Bahadur Ramchandra Kak, Jammu and Kashmir

M. A. Srinivasan, Esq., Gwalior

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Travancore

Sir V. T. Krishnamachari, Jaipur

Sardar K. M. Panikkar, Bikaner

Sir Sultan Ahmed, Chamber of Princes

Sardar D. K. Sen, Chamber of Princes

Mir Maqbool Mahmood, Secretary to the States Negotiating Committee

VICEROY'S STAFF

Lord Ismay

Sir Conrad Corfield

Sir Eric Mievill

SECRETARIAT

Lt. Colonel V. F. Erskine Crum

DISTRIBUTION

[This document was marked for distribution to a number of officers—list not printed.]

MINUTES

HIS EXCELLENCY'S OPENING REMARKS

His Excellency the Viceroy said that, although the negotiations which he had been holding with the political leaders of British India in no way altered the Cabinet Mission's Memorandum of 12th May, 1946,¹ the outcome of these negotiations could but have a certain effect on the position of the States. Therefore, he was anxious to report to representatives of the States, in person, the way in which these negotiations had been carried out and how the Plan had been devised. The Plan had now been broadly accepted by the Indian leaders themselves. He was going to make a broadcast that evening, followed by Pandit Nehru, Mr. Jinnah and Sardar Baldev Singh.

ACCOUNT OF NEGOTIATIONS

His Excellency said that it was not until he first arrived in India as Viceroy that he realised that a speedy decision was required above all. There had been no indication in London, before he left to take up the appointment of Viceroy, of a need for urgency. He had been told there that it would be soon enough if legislation was introduced at the beginning of 1948. However, since his arrival he had acted as quickly as possible. He had tried first to get the Cabinet Mission Plan accepted because he sincerely believed that that Plan was the best for the future of India; and because, in his opinion, it was fairest to the States as it gave them an opportunity of joining the sort of Centre which they could most easily accept. It had proved impossible to obtain agreement on the Cabinet Mission's Plan—and the essence of that Plan was agreement. It could not be imposed. The Viceroy said that he had then started to find out what views the different parties had in common. Mr. Jinnah wanted Pakistan. His prescription for this was "a surgical operation". He (the Viceroy) had tried to persuade Congress that it was valueless for them to have, in their own territories, a large section of the population which was bitterly hostile to them. This would only be embarrassing to their own development. Congress had come round to the view that they would accept Pakistan on the condition that no large non-Muslim areas were forced into it. This involved the partition of the Punjab and Bengal. The Viceroy explained that he was as much opposed to the partition of Provinces as he was to the partition of India as a whole. It would be a retrograde step, but nobody who had

seen the communal bitterness prevalent in the country with riot, bloodshed, massacre and torture could believe that this strong feeling could be healed. It was no good appealing to logic or reason. The only way whereby the peoples of India could eventually live together would be to split them now and start afresh.

The Viceroy said that he was so bitterly opposed to any form of partition that he had refused to take the responsibility for such a decision himself. He had recommended to H.M.G. that the responsibility should be placed on the shoulders of the people of India. It was unfortunately impracticable to hold a plebiscite all over the country; but, in view of the special circumstances, there would be plebiscites in the N.W.F.P. and Sylhet.

His Excellency went on to say that both parties, particularly Congress, had declared their desire for the transfer of power to take place as soon as possible. Moreover, his own position at the present time was one of responsibility without the authority to fulfil it. His first idea had been to transfer power before June 1948, on the basis of complete independence, but this was out of the question as it would mean handing over to Units without Constitutions. The only way in fact that power could be handed over in the immediate future was on the basis of the 1935 Act with Dominion status. This solved many problems. For example, the British would be enabled to remain as the servants of India for so long as they were wanted.

His Excellency then gave an account of his recent visit to London.² He emphasized that he had found the utmost goodwill in England towards India. The main result of his visit had been that it had been decided to pass legislation through Parliament this session. For this object the support of the Opposition had been obtained.

His Excellency stressed particularly the difficulties of dividing the Armed Forces, especially from the morale viewpoint. He said that Field Marshal Auchinleck was going to broadcast³ on this subject during the next few days.

He went on to state that the main consequences of the new Plan on the States would be two-fold. First, it was improbable that the two new Dominions would have such loose Centres as that at present envisaged by the existing Constituent Assembly. Secondly, the fact that two separate Dominions were to be voluntarily accepted into the Commonwealth would, he hoped, represent a measure of compensation to the States who were the old allies and friends of Britain.

His Excellency explained that he had that day put before the Indian political leaders a proposal that power should be demitted on 15th

August (this was, of course, a secret and the date should not be repeated). It meant that the leaders themselves would have to work night and day, but he felt that it was in their own interests not to delay.

Copies of His Majesty's Government's Statement,¹ to be made later that day, were then handed round the meeting.

THE LAPSE OF PARAMOUNTCY

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar⁵ said that he wished to appeal to His Excellency that paramountcy should be loosened or allowed to lapse in advance of the date of the transfer of power. Such a course would enable the States to negotiate on equal terms with the prospective Governments of the two Dominions. He felt that there might be States which were not likely to join up with either Dominion. It was even more essential for the bargaining powers of these to be improved.

His Excellency the Viceroy said that, in his opinion, the fact that paramountcy was about to lapse made possible negotiations by the States on a basis of complete freedom, even at the present time. His instructions were that paramountcy should lapse on the transfer of power. He would, however, consider the premature lapse of paramountcy in special cases if it could be proved to him that its continuation constituted a handicap to negotiation.

Sir Conrad Corfield⁶ gave his opinion that a number of States would be glad to see paramountcy continue to function until the transfer, even though it was relaxed before that date. The Nawab of Bhopal confirmed this view subject to any opinion expressed by the Standing Committee of the Chamber. Sir Conrad Corfield pointed out that paramountcy was already in process of retraction.

ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL AGREEMENTS, CLAIMS AND CONTRACTS

Sir B. L. Mitter⁷ asked what would happen to economic and commercial agreements when paramountcy lapsed. His Excellency the Viceroy said that, in order that there might be no administrative vacuum, interim arrangements would be required for the period between the lapse of paramountcy and the conclusion of fresh or modified agreements. These interim arrangements could best be made on a stand-still basis with such modifications as were necessitated by the reversion to the States of the rights surrendered by them to the Crown. In negotiating these interim arrangements, he and the Political Department would give all the assistance they could during the short remaining period.

The Nawab of Bhopal said that, apart from negotiations in regard to agreements, there were also certain claims which would have to be

settled in advance of the lapse of paramountcy. He suggested that an *ad hoc* organisation should be set up to deal with these. Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar² pointed out that the need for agreement to be reached in all these matters was as essential from the point of view of the two new Dominions as from that of the States.

Sir Conrad Corfield gave some examples of the way in which interim arrangements on a stand-still basis could be made. He said that, when the Central Government had decided to abolish the salt duty, they had also decided to continue to observe the terms of existing agreements and to make payments due under these agreements until such time as new agreements were made. That was an example of stand-still interim arrangements. He next exemplified Posts and Telegraphs. When paramountcy lapsed, the States would be free, for example, to imprison the Postmaster of an Imperial Post Office. If they did so, however, they would run the risk of cutting themselves off from All-India communications, so they would presumably agree to treat Post Offices with sufficient consideration to ensure their continued functioning. Another example was Railways and Cantonments in Indian States, where the Crown Representative had at present the powers of jurisdiction. These powers would revert to the States on the lapse of paramountcy. Efforts were being made to persuade the Interim Government to negotiate arrangements whereby the reversion of jurisdiction would not affect the working of the Railway and the accommodation of the Indian Army pending the conclusion of fresh agreements. Sir Conrad Corfield said that he was not clear to what claims the Nawab of Bhopal referred. Claims arising out of the lapse of paramountcy would be a matter of negotiation, and any decisions by the Crown Representative in such matters would have no sanction behind them after the lapse of paramountcy.

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar pointed out that there were a certain number of agreements into which the States had entered which were not with the Crown Representative. He suggested that it would be necessary for machinery to be set up to deal with these. Sir Conrad Corfield said that efforts had been made to establish an All-India Consultative Committee for such purposes, but the Interim Government had not agreed to this. He stated that existing contractual agreements would be a matter for discussion with the opposite party. There had already been a number of conferences with the relevant Departments of the Central Government, regarding "paramountcy" agreements. He had explained to these Departments that jurisdiction was about to return to the States and had suggested that they should make interim arrangements based on that assumption. He understood that the Viceroy was going to explain the matter to the Cabinet.

Sir V. T. Krishnamachari⁹ advocated the necessity for machinery for joint consultation in regard to existing agreements. Sir Conrad Corfield said that efforts had been made to find a formula which would embody a general stand-still agreement. If these were successful joint consultation for fresh agreements could be arranged either within each Constituent Assembly or by *ad hoc* negotiating committees.

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE STATES AND THE TWO NEW DOMINIONS

The Raja of Bilaspur asked whether the entry of States into either Dominion Constituent Assembly was a matter of free choice. This the Viceroy confirmed. The Raja of Bilaspur then asked whether Constitutions were likely to be drafted by the respective Constituent Assemblies before or after the lapse of paramountcy. His Excellency replied that the broad outlines of the Constitution drafted by the existing Constituent Assembly for Hindustan were likely to be ready before that date. In the case of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, he believed that Mr. Jinnah had been working on Heads of a Constitution, but these would probably only be a guide and nothing concrete would have appeared before the lapse of paramountcy. In any case paramountcy would lapse as soon as the new self-governing Dominions came into being; these would be set up under the 1935 Act (amended for this purpose).

The Raja of Bilaspur then asked what was likely to happen to States which decided to join neither Constituent Assembly. Did His Majesty's Government envisage further relations with them? His Excellency the Viceroy stated that, until it was known what shape the two Dominions would take, this was a hypothetical question which he was not prepared, at the present stage, to refer to His Majesty's Government; but it was clear that the first step should be for these States to enter into practical negotiations for *administrative arrangements*¹⁰ with one or other or perhaps both of the successor Dominion Governments of British India. Whether a State actually joined *either Dominion or not*, it was obvious for *geographical and economic* reasons that such *arrangements would be essential*.

In answer to a further question, His Excellency the Viceroy said that it was intended to recommend to the respective Dominions that their Constituent Assemblies should act as their Parliaments. The existing *Legislative Assembly* would presumably be *abolished*; but he was not prepared to state whether the new Governments would in fact make *these decisions*.

Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar asked whether, in the event of the Constituent Assemblies taking over legislative functions, the States' representatives could withdraw from them for legislative purposes and remain only for Constitution making. His Excellency the Viceroy said that the States

were not committed one way or the other on this point. He emphasized that the question of any new functions for the Constituent Assemblies was still only in the proposal stage.

The Viceroy enquired regarding the desirability of the States Negotiating Committee remaining in being so that, during the next two and a half months, a body would be available to consider the various broad principles of the problems which were bound to arise. Perhaps it would be better to call the States Negotiating Committee by another name.

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar said that there was a practical difficulty in this suggestion. Such a Committee had been suggested to the Interim Government but the objection had been raised that the present States Negotiating Committee was unrepresentative as the States' people were not represented on it. While all the members present were ready and willing to place their experience at the disposal of the Viceroy, the reactions of the rulers of the two Dominions, which it was proposed to set up, should first be ascertained.

The Viceroy pointed out that the greater demand would be for a committee of representatives of those States which were likely to adhere to the Hindustan Constituent Assembly. Perhaps two Committees might be set up; one to consider negotiations with each Constituent Assembly.

With this view there was general agreement—on the condition that the Interim Government agreed to such proposals. The Nawab of Bhopal said that he would put up the suggestion before the Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes and inform the Viceroy of their opinions.

Finally, the Viceroy said that, whereas he did not wish to give any official advice on what steps should be taken by States which were doubtful of whether or not to join either Constituent Assembly, he would be willing to give personal advice to anybody who came and asked him for it. He had one suggestion to make now. This was that, in coming to their decisions, the representatives of the States should cast their minds forward ten years and consider what the situation in the country and in the world as a whole was likely to be at that time.

¹Appendix X, Vol. I, Part II, 479-81.

²The Viceroy left for London on 18 May 1947, returning on 30 May 1947.

³In all probability, no broadcast was made. Also see No. 5, note 16.

⁴No. 1.

⁵Diwan of Travancore.

⁶Political Adviser to the Crown Representative.

⁷Diwan of Baroda.

⁸Diwan of Mysore.

⁹Prime Minister of Jaipur.

¹⁰Underlined here and hereafter in the original, probably by Jinnah.

28

S. Muhsin Tirmizey to M. A. Jinnah

F.10/49

LUDHIANA,
5 June 1947

Quaid-i-Azam,

Allow me to invite your attention to the following before the League Council meeting:¹

1. The Sutlej valley and the area connecting it with District of Gurdaspur are compact Muslim areas and must be included in Pakistan.
2. The valley is ten to fifteen miles on each side of the river. It passes through the Districts of Hoshiarpur, Ambala, Jullundur, Ludhiana, Ferozepur, etc., from Kartarpur ferry in the Hoshiarpur District downwards. The Muslim population must not be less than 60 to 80 per cent. Muslim towns of Rupar, Ludhiana and Phillaur are in this region.
3. The highway connecting the valley with the Gurdaspur District is 93-miles long and runs through Mukerian, Dasuya, Hariana, Hoshiarpur and Garhshankar, all Muslim towns in Muslim areas of Hoshiarpur District along the Siwaliks.
4. The League resolution must enable us to fight for these parts of Pakistan before the Boundary Commission.

Yours obediently,
S. M. TIRMIZEY
LL. M. (HONS.), P.C.S.
Sub-Judge

¹The meeting was held on 9 June 1947. Also see Annex II to No. 1.

29

Habib Bank Ltd., Delhi, to M. A. Jinnah

F. 682/271

CHANDNI CHOWK, DELHI,
6 June 1947

Dear Sir,

We thankfully acknowledge receipt of your letter dated 28th May

1947¹ together with three drafts and one pay-slip for Rs. 4,088. Receipts to the donors will be duly issued on realization of the drafts etc.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. SIDDIQUI
Agent

¹No. 494, Vol. I, Part I, 911.

30

Hamidul Huq Chowdhry to M. A. Jinnah

F. 847/24

19 FIRE BRIGADE LANE,
CAMP, NEW DELHI,
6 June 1947

Dear Sir,

We tried to see you today to give you our views on some of the subjects that you are engaged in, especially with reference to Bengal.

I am herewith sending you some notes relevant to the boundary question as it will apply to Bengal.

Yours truly,
HAMIDUL HUQ CHOWDHRY
MLC, Calcutta

Enclosure 1 to No. 30

F. 722/9-14

NOTES ON EASTERN PAKISTAN¹

BY

HAMIDUL HUQ CHOWDHRY, M.L.C

The first reaction to the decision for partition of Bengal on the lines announced by H.M.G. is one of mixed feelings. It was never thought that Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling, where Hindus are in a minority of the total population, would be declared a Hindu area even for a temporary purpose; that Khulna, where there is a nominal majority of Caste

Hindus-cum-Scheduled Castes over the Muslims, should have similarly been grouped with the Hindu districts without consulting the local opinion is also a serious injustice to the majority of the population. In this district, the Muslims and Scheduled Castes, together forming three-fourths of the population, would have, if given a chance, cast[*in*] their lot with the Muslim districts of Bengal. The other objectionable feature is that relating to Calcutta. Much of these serious drawbacks, we hope, will be rectified at the time of fixing the boundary by the Boundary Commission. When contiguous areas are re-assigned according to population and full consideration is given to the necessity of creation of an economic unit with simpler international boundaries, the whole of Khulna, 1/3rd of the 24-Parganas and part of Calcutta and the whole of Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling are bound to be included in the new Muslim State. The essential feature of the scheme, namely the constitution of an independent Muslim State, even with the temporary drawbacks mentioned above [but] with the neighbouring Muslim part of Assam in it, is one of the greatest achievements and one for which Muslim India cannot be too grateful to [*sic*] the efforts of their great leader, the Quaid-i-Azam.

It will not require a very close examination for dismissing such criticism as that the new State thus created even without Calcutta will be economically weak. The area of the new State, along with the District of Sylhet and a major part of Cachar and Goalpara (where Muslims are in majority), would be at least 60,000 sq. miles as against 27,000 sq. miles of the new Hindu Bengal, on the basis that the whole of the 24-Parganas, Calcutta, Khulna, Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling are included within the Hindu area. The population of the Muslim Bengal would be at least 470 lakhs as against 190 lakh for the Hindu Bengal. The new Muslim State will, therefore, be as big in size as Bihar and bigger than the present Assam, and in population as big as Madras and more than twice as that of [big as] Bombay. In short, it will be of the size and population of France. When boundaries are drawn up finally on an equitable basis the Muslim area is bound to benefit by another 2 to 10 thousand sq. miles.

Regarding the economic position, the following considerations will show that it will be economically as strong as many other independent States. It is true that it has not got any minerals except certain oil-bearing areas in the Muslim part of Cachar. Its real strength lies in the fact that it produces 85 per cent. of the total jute produce of the world. The value of jute export to other countries, both raw and manufactured, in 1942-43 was above 90 crores of rupees. The jute exports form more than 25 per cent. in value of India's total exports. In short, without jute India will have very

little foreign exchange, specially dollars, to pay for the machinery which India needs for her post-war reconstruction. This alone will be sufficient for the new Muslim State to be able to pay for all her requirements from foreign countries and for her development and reconstruction, and she will be in a very much stronger position in this respect than the rest of India.

It has often been stated that the Muslim Bengal is a deficit area in respect of food compared with the Hindu Bengal. The reverse is the case. The annual average of the last quinquennial for the Hindu districts of Bengal is 669 lakh maunds of rice and for the Muslim districts 1,732 lakh maunds (on the basis of the present division of Hindu and Muslim districts by H.M.G.). This works out at the rate of 3.3 maunds per head for the Hindu Bengal as against 4.2 maunds per head for the Muslim Bengal. In fact, Calcutta depended mostly on the rice of Eastern and Northern districts (Muslim area and often these latter districts were starved even to death to feed Calcutta). Similarly, the bulk of the agricultural products come from the Muslim parts of Bengal; as an example, the annual production of tobacco in the Muslim area is 120 lakh tons as against 10 lakh tons in the Hindu Bengal. Ninety-two per cent. of the Bengal mustard seeds are produced in the Muslim Bengal. Practically the whole of sugarcane also comes from the same area. All the sugar mills are situated in this area. The same is the story in respect of other cereals and pulses and hides, silk, shellac and betel-nut that are produced in Bengal. 200,000 acres of Bengal tea cultivation are mostly situated in Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling. This will no doubt, we are confident, only temporarily pass into the Hindu Bengal. As against this, the areas under tea in Sylhet and Cachar, together with those in the Tippera State, will be almost equal in extent to the area of tea in Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling.

The Hindu Bengal is very deficient in food and her resources will have to be consumed for providing food to her people and she will have to depend upon supplies from the Muslim Bengal, for whatever surplus is there in this part (Hindu Bengal) will not be enough to feed the present population of Calcutta.

The only commercial commodity of Western Bengal is coal. The average production from Bengal mines works out at 50-lakh tons. Its value cannot be more than 5 to 6 crores of rupees per annum.

It is true that Calcutta is one of the two greatest industrial cities in India. This in itself may be an object of pride for the people of Bengal. But speaking from the point of view of the real people of the province and especially those of the East and North Bengal, the city has or had no economic value except as a negative factor. The hundred jute mills and

hundreds of jute presses that are there are owned by Europeans and by Marwaris. This constitutes Calcutta's biggest industry.

The Muslims of Bengal have not even the advantage of employment in these industries. Similar is the story of most of the cotton mills (23 mills are in West Bengal against 6 in the Eastern Zone). The powerful foreign industrial interests have utilised the governmental machinery for their benefit. The East and North Bengal for generations have not received any consideration from the provincial government, be it in the field of employment, industrialisation, education, health, irrigation or improvement in the system of cultivation. Whatever little has been done for improving the lot of the cultivators has been entirely confined to the cultivators of the Burdwan Division. The vicious circle which has made this possible is so strong that all efforts by representatives from East Bengal to improve the lot of the people of those parts have never met with any success till today.

The best natural port [Chittagong] in Bengal has been neglected in preference to Calcutta, an inland river port lying more than 125 miles from the river mouth and maintained at enormous cost, thus neglecting the development of the best natural port of the Province of Bengal. There is an erroneous view held in certain quarters that unless a considerable sum of money is expended on improvements and the River Karnafuli made permanently navigable for the largest class of ocean-going steamers, the port of Chittagong, though it serves a large and prosperous area, has no future before it. In 1917 Sir George Buchanan was deputed by the Railway Board to advise them as regards the engineering works and improvements necessary to make the port suitable for accommodating the largest ships and the amount of the expenditure that these works would involve. His proposals, excluding the cost of dredgers, amounted to £ 250,000 and there was in his opinion no engineering difficulty in keeping the Karnafuli River permanently open for navigation by the largest ocean-going steamer.²

The partition of Bengal in 1906 [sic for 1905] gave a short fillip to these areas and aroused considerable hope in the minds of the people but that too was destined to be only short-lived, as in 1911 the centre of gravity was again shifted to Calcutta by annulling the partition, and since then Western Bengal marched on the road to prosperity and the East slowly languished.

In the field of politics also Calcutta's domination over Bengal has been complete and will continue for years to come if Bengal remains undivided. The only escape lies in accepting the formula of H.M.G.

The Eastern and Northern Bengal represent the Muslim Bengal. Anything done for the improvement of these areas had always been looked upon with suspicion by the entire Hindu Bengal; even the Hindus coming

from these areas always opposed economic measures designed for the improvement of the people of these areas, simply because the bulk of the benefit will go to the Muslims. The opposition to the amendment of the Tenancy Act of 1928 and 1939 and the Debt Settlement Board Act, the Money-lenders Act and the Rural Primary Education Act are illustrations of the working of the Hindu mind. The Secondary Education Bill, meant for the improvement of the schools in the province (which by all opinion—Hindu and Muslim—need immediate improvement), is meeting with the combined opposition of the entire Hindu community on the sole ground that a very great portion of the benefit will be shared by the Muslims. Without multiplying the instances it can safely be said that at a time when the combined Hindu strength in the legislature is below 100 as against the 150 which the League Government commands, [any] legislation essential for the improvement of the lot of the people has been made impossible because of the opposition of the Hindu representatives. This is so even when the entire body of Muslim representatives has united under the Muslim League banner. With the disappearance of the political controversy the Muslims are bound to be split into groups in the legislature and then the vested interest represented by the Hindus of West Bengal will be able to make the Muslim representatives completely ineffective, the more so when the representation between the respective communities would be in the proportion of 45 and 55.

Under the new arrangement the representation of the Muslims is bound to increase to 68 per cent. and the influence of the vested interests will be reduced to the minimum by the removal of the powerful interests of Calcutta.

Rapid industrialisation of the Muslim Bengal will not only be possible but [is also] imperative and the people [would be] rapidly taken towards prosperity, once we have a government controlled by us and suitably manned by the ablest amongst us. To continue under the present arrangement [will mean that] our lot will be what it has been during the last 100 years—poverty, illiteracy and disease.

Therefore, it should be patriotic of every Muslim to make possible the regeneration of the largest Muslim bloc of India. For this purpose, the removal of the influence of the Burdwan Division and of Calcutta would be a blessing in disguise thereby increasing the proportion of Muslim representation in the legislatures and making it more effective and the atmosphere in which the Government will be acting [would be] made rural and Islamic in its outlook.

¹ Also see Annex to Enclosure 1 to No. 30.

² See the *Commercial Information for India*, 1919.

*Annex to Enclosure 1 to No. 30*SUGGESTIONS ON E. PAKISTAN BOUNDARY¹

BY HAMIDUL HUQ CHOWDHRY, M.L.C.

The demand for the separation of the Muslim-majority provinces had the verdict of the country recorded upon it. The last election was fought on this issue. The electors of the provinces of Bengal, Sind, the Punjab and the NWFP declared by a majority in favour of separation. On the basis of this verdict the parties have agreed to a separation. The agitation started at the instance of the Caste Hindus and the Sikhs for the partition of the provinces of the Punjab and Bengal is too recent to have been carefully considered by the people at large.

The people of these provinces in general and the Scheduled Castes in particular have had no opportunity to record their verdict on this claim. In the circumstances the demand for the partition of the provinces is a case between the Caste Hindus on the one hand and non-Hindus on the other, unlike that between the Muslims on one side and the non-Muslims on the other in the case of partition of India.

At best the Caste Hindu majority districts can be separated from the rest of Bengal perhaps, and this can justifiably be done without eliciting the opinion of the people of these districts in which the Caste Hindus form the majority of the population only with the Scheduled Castes, separation cannot be effected without finding out whether the majority of the people want separation of their district from the rest of the province.

PLEBISCITE NECESSARY

In the case of the districts where the Muslims are almost in equal numbers with the rest of the population, the difference being 1 per cent. or so, separation cannot be effected without having a plebiscite taken amongst the people of the district, specially when the bulk of the Hindu population consists of Scheduled Castes who are decidedly opposed to separation from Muslim Bengal where the bulk of their people reside. On this basis the Burdwan Division alone can be separated from the province. In the case of 24-Parganas (Caste Hindus being 33 p.c.), Khulna (balanced district—Caste Hindus 25 p.c. and Muslims 49.5 p.c.), Jalpaiguri (Caste Hindus 22 p.c.), and Darjeeling (Caste Hindus 40 p.c.), separation without a reference to the people concerned will be an outrage against the right of the local people to decide this important issue for themselves and imposition of a government against the will of the overwhelming majority. The Boundary Commission must be authorized to take the opinion of the people in

these circumstances and take into consideration the verdict of the people while determining the boundary.

DISTINCT UNIT

The next point for consideration is whether the division that will take place will not put both the parts on similar footing. It should be borne in mind that in the case of the Eastern part, for all practical purposes, it will form a distinct unit having to rely upon its own resources for its immediate defence, its food, its administration and its communications. In short, it must have all the conditions and resources necessary for a country's continued existence as an independent State. In the case of Hindu Bengal the circumstances are otherwise. It will merely form part of a bigger whole, namely Hindustan. It will not have to worry about its defence and a separate administration. Its food problem will be the concern of the entire Hindustan as it will at best be a province. It will have restricted power unaccompanied by that responsibility which along with authority will belong to the Central Government of Hindustan. On the East it will have only one frontier to guard. Eastern Bengal will have two frontiers to protect.

JALPAIGURI AND DARJEELING

If Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling are separated from it a third frontier will be created which will mean a virtual encirclement of the new State by another Power thereby creating possibilities of friction and difficult situations for both sides.

Eastern Pakistan should be economically solvent; its boundaries and frontiers should be simple and as short as possible thereby rendering the frontier defence and customs control feasible. Natural line of division would make better boundaries from these points of view.

ONE-CITY PROVINCE

The other important point to be remembered is that Bengal is practically a one-city province. Calcutta is the nerve centre of the entire panorama of Bengal's life. It is not only the Capital but is also the commercial and industrial centre of the province. Calcutta owes its prosperity to Eastern Bengal's agricultural produce and labour while West Bengal's contribution to that prosperity is a meagre 2 crores of rupees by way of coal supplies. The claim of Eastern Bengal for the possession of the city is irrefutable. Either the city must go to Eastern Bengal or it must be put under joint administration. By this method the city's present prosperity will be assured and the respective rights maintained.

NATURAL BOUNDARY

Shortly put, the River Hooghly is the best natural boundary between the two parts of Bengal, namely the Caste Hindu majority districts and the rest. Any other arrangement will be a perpetual source of trouble and difficulties for both sides.

[? *Dawn*], 12 June 1947.

Enclosure 2 to No. 30

F. 722/15-9

PARTITION OF BENGAL—WHOM WILL IT BENEFIT?

BY

HAMIDUL HUQ CHOWDHRY, M.L.C.

The agitation for the partition of Bengal has caught the imagination of a section of the upper strata of the Hindu society especially of Calcutta and the western districts. It was engineered by a few individuals and derives inspiration from the Muslim-phobia which unfortunately vitiates the balanced judgement of the best amongst them. It is still not a self-regarding [*sic*] or genuine demand for the division of the Hindu and Muslim populations into districts and separate States. The agitators are demanding the partition because they are persuaded that it will be a crippling blow to Pakistan.¹ The agitation is only a few weeks old. The vast majority of the Hindus and the Scheduled Castes, less emotional than politicians, never had an opportunity to pronounce their verdict on the issue of partition.

If in spite of all our efforts to prevent it, the Hindus insist upon a separation of the districts in which they happen to be in majority from the rest of Bengal then it may be wise policy to respect this demand and establish peace in the land by partition. If this agitation succeeds and the partition becomes an accomplished fact, it will administer the final [*sic*] *coup de grace* to the hopes and ambitions of the Bengali Hindus.

Thenceforth, instead of playing an honourable role in one great and united Bengal, which their number in population entitles them to, they will be divided into powerless fragments between two or three States, which the madness and hatred of the few have created for them and disappear as an effective force in politics. The heart of the Bengali Hindus will beat in Pakistan in whatever way the amputation is made. There is no analogy between Hindus and Muslims, for Islam will retain her [*sic*] cohesive strength in spite of political frontiers, while

the Hindu communities with their social stratification and divided by hills, dales or rivers and often by mere distances will seldom be able to look beyond their limited horizon. The fall of the Bengali Hindus will be unlamented in India, but they will increase its area by 18,000 or 19,000 sq. miles by taking a slice from Bengal. The partitionists hope that Calcutta will go to West Bengal. Without Calcutta they will not accept partition. In fact, if Calcutta is given to Muslim Bengal or even if it is made a free city, as some think [it] possible, then this agitation for partition will wash out in no time. Calcutta is thus the crux of the question.

The division of Bengal into East and West Bengal is artificial. Geographically Calcutta may be within what is known as West Bengal; economically Calcutta belongs to East Bengal and economic facts are more potent than geography or even culture.

Calcutta owes her position as a great city to jute. The world demand for the commodity, which first made its appearance about 1870, brought about a phenomenal increase in jute cultivation in East Bengal, which in its turn gave a marvellous fillip to the jute trade and industry of Calcutta. Greater Calcutta was created on the crest of this wave of prosperity and from that time the population of the city increased nearly five-fold. This rapid growth of wealth and population of Calcutta was an index of the expansion of her jute trade and industry. Jute has made the wealth of the Marwaris and the Britishers; and jute is the focal point from which all other industries and Eastern India took their start, just as cotton had been the starting point of the industries in Western India. More than 200,000 labourers are employed in the jute mills of Calcutta; the number of those engaged in jute trade is not far below 100,000. The great commercial and financial houses of the city are all engaged in jute trade and derive their wealth chiefly from the same source. These great armies of traders, manufacturers, financiers, technicians, labourers and their subsidiary tradesmen constitute three-fourths of Calcutta.

If the wealth of Calcutta has been due to jute, it is jute again which has changed the face of Calcutta and increase the amenities of life for her citizens. The development of the city and the creation of her public parks and boulevards have been the work of the city's Improvement Trust during the last 40 years, and [they] were made possible by the export cess on jute. With the exception of jute, the commodity cesses, for instance the cesses on cotton, tea, coffee, lac, hide and sugar, are all spent for the improvement of the staples; but East Bengal or rather the Muslim cultivators of East Bengal have forgone their claims to jute cess like many

other rights for the extension of the city and the elegance and beauty of her public life.

East Bengal has made Calcutta what she is; but West Bengal has contributed nothing for her growth or embellishment. With the exception of coal, Burdwan has given no raw materials or labour to the industries of Calcutta. The utmost value of coal imported annually into Calcutta from the coal-fields of Burdwan is less than two crore, while the quantity of jute goods handled by Calcutta is worth 100 crore annually. Without Burdwan Calcutta may exist as a great port and industrial city, but cut off from East Bengal, she will be a dead city in less than 20 years.

While Calcutta owes so much to East Bengal for her greatness she in her turn has not been a blessing to the backward part of the province such as the Eastern and Northern Bengal. The interests of Calcutta's business and commercial community dominated the economic policy of rural Bengal, and the problems of these areas never got the recognition and attention they deserved. Similarly, it is the city politicians who dominated the political field during the last 10 years of provincial autonomy and these politicians are bound to occupy a very large part of the provincial politics so long as Calcutta remains the capital of the province. That is how West Bengal had received so much attention at the cost of the rest of Bengal.

True that partition will put severe strain on the finances of the Eastern Pakistan State. Some of the familiar sources of the present-day revenues will not be available to begin with. Our difficulty, though great, will not however be insurmountable. With the three Muslim-majority districts from Assam (Sylhet, Cachar and Goalpara) joined to the non-Hindu-majority districts of Bengal the area of the new Pakistan would be 70,000 sq. miles. It will have a population of 475 lakh (these without including Calcutta or the 24-Parganas in the Pakistan area). A period of national austerity, accompanied by hard labour and mounting taxation, will probably be the immediate consequence of the partition. But nationalism will not shrink from any sacrifice to realise the drawn [*sic* for dawn] of its destiny, however long may be the night of trial [and however] great the sacrifice.

Eastern Pakistan will be a maritime State and must have her own port and shipping. The necessity of self-preservation will oblige her to develop the port of Chittagong into a great Calcutta, to assume the monopoly of the jute trade, and draw the ring closer and closer around Calcutta until there will be not a single jute mill or a jute trader left in Calcutta. A trade war between the East and West Bengal may be inevitable. Trade follows the flag, and tea will follow jute. With the shift of the trade and industry from West to East, the revenues of

Calcutta Port Trust, now over 4 crores of rupees, will fall and the most difficult and expensive port in the world will sink back into an inland river-port on the back-waters of the Hooghly. If we have to give up the city and the port somebody will have to pay for making another, for we are not going to give away Calcutta for nothing.

Alongside the development of her port, the Republic or the Dominion of Pakisthan—whatever may be its status—will require to develop her vast potentialities of hydro-electric power in Chittagong and Rajshahi Divisions and the Mymensingh District to their full capacities. New industrial cities will have to be created within the reach of consuming markets for supplying the needs of the State and the civil population. During the first 20 years of her life, the Soviet State created 100 new industrial cities, each with a population of over 100,000. Humanity has made great strides in industrial and technical efficiency. Both in America and [in] Russia, cities, harbours and populations have sprung up in the midst of jungles and steppes as if by magic, in the course of a few years.

For keeping the Bengalis and Bengal united as one people in an independent sovereign State, the Muslims will perhaps be prepared to exert themselves to the utmost so long as this is within reasonable bounds. But they cannot be expected to give up substance of power for a shadow. Precipitate and panicky utterances and needless nervousness will only complicate the situation without making the situation easier; hence a word of caution and care. Great problems likely to affect future generations, maybe for ages, should not be discussed or decided on personal equation.

¹The author has spelt Pakistan as Pakisthan, which has been retained.

31

Imperial Bank of India, Bombay, to M. A. Jinnah

F. 682/270

POST BOX NO. 13, BOMBAY,
6 June 1947

Dear Sir,

With reference to your letter of the 2nd instant¹ the sum of Rs. 200 credited to your account on 20.3.1947 represents proceeds of cheque on our Poona Branch received from you under cover of your letter

dated 16.3.1947. The cheque for Rs. 3-8-0 received with your above letter was sent for collection and was credited to your account under advice to you on 1.4.1947, less our collection charges annas 8.

The debit entry for Rs.16 represents cheque on Bharat Bank Ltd., Dehra Dun, returned to you on 25.11.1946. This cheque was received under cover of your letter dated 3.11.1946. The returned cheque was acknowledged by you on 31.12.1946.

The debit entry for Rs. 204-8-4 represents interest charged on your overdraft account for the quarter ending 31.3.1947.

We do not appear to have received the cheque for Rs. 2,167-13-0 for credit of your No.2 account.

Yours faithfully,
Chief Accountant

¹No. I. 110.

32

H. L. Ismay to M. A. Jinnah

F. 2/41

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE, NEW DELHI,
6 June 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I thought that it might be helpful to you to have the attached note, which sets out some of the points which will have to be considered at tomorrow's meeting.

It is only intended to be a reminder, and the list is, of course, not exhaustive.

Sincerely,
ISMAY

PS. You will remember that it was agreed at the meeting¹ on the 5th June that the Viceroy should have individual talks with the leaders about the personnel and terms of reference of the Boundary Commission. His Excellency has instructed me to ask you whether it would be convenient for you, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan and Mr. Nishtar to stay behind after the meeting to have a preliminary talk on this matter.

¹See TP, XI, No. 73, 137-42.

*Enclosure to No. 32**F.2/42*

THE ADMINISTRATIVE CONSEQUENCES OF PARTITION

Note by the Viceroy's Staff

It is suggested that the following should be included in the business to be done at the meeting of the Viceroy with the seven Indian Leaders at 10 a.m. on Saturday, 7th June:

- a. A final decision is required on the name of the high-level body; the suggestions made were:
"Partition Tribunal
Council
Committee
Executive"
- b. A decision is required on the composition of this body, which will consist of four members, together with one spare from either side.
- c. Lists of names suggested for the appointment of "Umpire" should be brought to the meeting. In this connection, an alternative suggestion is that there should be both a Partition Council and a Partition Tribunal; the former to consist of the top-ranking political leaders and the latter of three senior Judges as "Umpires"; the former would deal with political, executive and administrative matters and the latter with judicial matters and arbitration.
- d. A decision is required on the composition of the Steering Committee.

Note. It was agreed at the meeting on 5th June that, as regards the personnel and terms of reference of the Boundary Commission, the Viceroy should have individual talks with the leaders.

33

*M. A. Jinnah to Habib Bank Ltd., Delhi**F.156/141**6 June 1947*

Dear Sir,

I am enclosing herewith a Demand Draft and a cheque with a pay-in slip for the total of Rs. 2,250 (Rupees two thousand, two hundred and fifty only) which amount please realize and credit to the Bihar Relief Fund Account opened with your bank. Names of the donors of these two amounts have not been received by us yet, which will be

forwarded to you on receipt for acknowledgement to be sent directly to them. Kindly acknowledge receipt and oblige.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

The Agent,
Habib Bank Ltd.,
Chandni Chowk, Delhi

34

M. A. Jinnah to Nizam of Hyderabad

F.395/10

6 June 1947

Your Exalted Highness,

In continuation of my letter dated 23rd May,¹ I beg to inform you that I have had a talk with Monckton² on 4th June and he will tell you everything. We discussed tentatively all the points and I think that when I meet you personally we may further discuss these points, and [sic] it is very difficult to explain matters in correspondence.

I hope I shall be able to meet you very soon, and I am looking forward to see[ing] you.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

His Exalted Highness
Nizam of Hyderabad,
Hyderabad

¹No. 474, Vol. I, Part I, 863.

²Sir Walter Monckton, Constitutional Adviser to the Nizam of Hyderabad.

35

Louis Mountbatten to M. A. Jinnah

F.2/43

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE, NEW DELHI,
6 June 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I return herewith the booklet on *Eastern Pakistan*¹ which you left with me. I have looked through it with much interest.

Yours sincerely,
MOUNTBATTEN OF BURMA¹*Eastern Pakistan*, Accession No. 212, QAP (Printed Material).

36

Louis Mountbatten to M. A. Jinnah

F.2/39

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE, NEW DELHI,
6 June 1947

No.1446/18

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have been asked by the Prime Minister of New Zealand, Mr. Fraser, to convey to the Indian leaders his personal good wishes and cordial greetings, and his assurance that both he and his colleagues wish them every success in the great tasks that lie before them.

I attach a copy of Mr. Fraser's press statement, which I felt may interest you.

Yours sincerely,
MOUNTBATTEN OF BURMA*Enclosure to No. 36*

F.2/40

Following is text of press statement released by the Prime Minister [of New Zealand] today. Begins:

In commenting upon the Viceroy's Statement on India, the Prime

Minister, Rt. Hon. P. Fraser, said that the New Zealand Gov[ernmen]t had been following recent developments with close attention and particularly those relating to the process by which India is to assume independence. "I consider", said Mr. Fraser, "that as a means to expedite that process the United Kingdom Government are taking the right course in proposing to introduce legislation during the coming session for the transfer of power on the basis of Dominion status. As a member of the British Commonwealth, New Zealand is naturally and deeply interested in any decision designed to give India, or parts of India, the same privileges as we ourselves enjoy. It is, however, not for us to advise India as to whether she should remain within the fellowship of the Commonwealth or separate herself from it. On behalf of the New Zealand Government, however, I would like to make it abundantly clear that we in New Zealand would welcome the continuation of our partnership with India on this new basis. "I would like to add", said Mr. Fraser, "that the people of the British Dominions do not regard Dominion status as an imperfect kind of independence. On the contrary, it is independence with something added, and not independence with something taken away. It carries with it membership of a free and powerful association from which every element of constraint has vanished but one in which a way has been found for the practice of mutual confidence and co-operation in the full respect for the independence, sovereignty and individuality of each member. The New Zealand Government, therefore, in acclaiming the approaching consummation of India's independence, express the hope that independence may be exercised within the British Commonwealth of Nations to the greatly increased benefit of all members of the Commonwealth, and of the whole world and they assure the people of India in all circumstances of their friendship and goodwill." Ends.

37

National Bank of India Ltd., Bombay, to M. A. Jinnah

F.89/24

POST BOX NO. 141, BOMBAY,
6 June 1947

Dear Sir,

We are in receipt of your letter of 2nd instant¹ enclosing the draft on

Delhi for Rs.30,000 and have credited your account No. 2 with Rs. 29,981-4-0 being the proceeds, less exchange Rs. 18-12-0.

As desired we have today sent under separate book post 2 pay-in slip books.

Yours faithfully,
pro Manager

¹Not available in QAP.

38

Note by Nawab of Bhopal¹

F.1120/68-71

BHOPAL,
6 June 1947

TOP SECRET

Perhaps you (Mr. Jinnah)² have come to know by now that the Viceroy is putting pressure, not quite openly but in an indirect way, on the States to join the existing Constituent Assembly of Hindustan. You should lodge a strong protest to the Viceroy and say that such pressure is extremely unfair to Pakistan. The States should be left absolutely free to take what action they like. It should be purely voluntary for them to join the one Constituent Assembly or the other. If they want to be independent, they can do so. No pressure should be brought to bear on them to join any one or the other Constituent Assembly. If they wish to join Pakistan, we can offer them suitable terms for doing so and then they can decide which way they are to go.

I (H. H. of Bhopal) am strongly of the opinion and consider it extremely essential that without waiting for the Pakistan Constituent Assembly to come into being, which will take at least 2 or 3 months, Mr. Jinnah should appoint immediately—and the 9th of June when the Council of the League meets in Delhi will [be] ■ most appropriate occasion—a small committee of ■ or 5 persons—1 from each Province—to discuss and negotiate with such individual States or groups of States as may desire to be associated with Pakistan, terms of their future relationship with the new sovereign State of Pakistan.

Note. If Mr. Jinnah comes into this committee as president, as did Jawaharlal Nehru in the case of the Negotiating Committee, this

will have a tremendous effect upon the States who would be inclined to associate themselves with the Pakistan State.

An announcement creating such a Committee should be made as soon as possible and this announcement should be very wide [*sic*] and sympathetic and should be made in far more generous and liberal terms [than] in any previous announcement.

It should give [an] impression to the States that their sovereignty, integrity and autonomy are in no manner to be jeopardised by this relationship. This relationship will only be confined to a very few matters of common concern and the subjects could be limited only to Defence, Foreign Relations, and Communications, with additions of only such other subjects as the States may freely and voluntarily wish to add to these 3 subjects.

Pakistan will not endeavour to over-tax or lay heavy burdens on the States who may wish to join it; and every endeavour will be made not to interfere with the fiscal and financial autonomy which the States have hitherto enjoyed.

As regards their internal matters, Pakistan has no desire to meddle or interfere with [*sic* for in] them; but it is natural that Pakistan would wish the Ruler of each State to democratise its administration on popular basis and it would also wish the States to legislate themselves for the protection of the rights of man [*sic*]. It would also desire that the States should so frame their constitution that they always rule as Constitutional Monarchs through clearly defined constitutional channels. Such democratization need not necessarily follow the line of the constitutions prevailing in Great Britain or any other Western democratic government. The plan is to suit local conditions and should preferably be indigenous. It is recognised, taking into consideration the prevailing conditions in the Indian States, that progress in this connection cannot be too hurried or haphazard, and if satisfactory progress is maintained, Pakistan will be satisfied if the goal set above is reached within a reasonable period, say 10 or 12 years.

To those States who may wish to associate themselves with the State of Pakistan, we shall have no hesitation in giving them [*sic*] the assurance that we shall deal with them with real sympathy and goodwill. There can be no intention of using threats or force in such matters. We shall always endeavour to protect the rights of all the States associated with us as our own.

I think such a general announcement should be made without loss of time before the other party has time to offer their [*sic* for its] own terms. An announcement on these lines, if made now and at once, will

be immensely helpful to the cause of Pakistan. It will go a long way to stem the type of propaganda against Pakistan that has already started and will grow in force and intensity from day to day. It is with the object of counteracting such propaganda that I propose that an announcement on these lines, and with still more generous terms if possible, be made without further loss of time. Mr. Jinnah can obtain the sanction of his Council on the 9th instant for making this announcement.

This is just an outline of the plan that has occurred to me and if Mr. Jinnah desires me to put it to him in greater detail and definiteness I shall be only too glad to do so, but it is definitely a matter which calls for Mr. Jinnah's immediate and earnest attention.

¹Dictated to his Private Secretary, H. M. Hayat, to be conveyed to Jinnah in Delhi.

²Jinnah has been addressed here in the second person and in the third person subsequently. The form of address in the original has been retained.

Enclosure to No. 38

F. 1120/72

CONFIDENTIAL NOTE FOR MR. JINNAH

I have always appreciated the undesirability of associating too many Hindu States with large Hindu population, or even such Muslim States as have a large Hindu population, too closely with the Constitution of Pakistan. Because if that were done, it would disturb the Muslim preponderance in population. Therefore I suggest the offer to Indian States to associate with Pakistan to be based on some form of Alliance or Treaty relations rather than their entry through Constituent Assembly. Because if the suggestion of this form of association originates from Pakistan, it is likely to upset completely the applecart of Hindustan. The quicker this thing is done the better. Otherwise it is feared that Hindustan or Congress would lose no time in upsetting our plan by organised effort to set up the Hindu population in the States against this plan. Once the thing is done it will not be possible easily to undo it, more so if Pakistan continues to remain within the British Empire.

39

Mrs K. L. Rallia Ram to M. A. Jinnah

F.487/73-4

5 MASSON ROAD, LAHORE,

6 June 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am forwarding some very important cuttings¹ of reaction to the Mountbatten plan in the Punjab, the most important being of Tara Singh and Bhim Sen Sachar.² The latter seems to be in jitters now, for politically he is finished. But Master Tara Singh still talks of "cold steel" and Panth opposition to the Plan. It is strange that he goes on with his destructive tactics whereas Baldev Singh, whose lieutenant he is, has gleefully accepted³ the Plan. This is rather strange. Or are the Sikhs playing a double game, one thing on the surface and another from beneath? You should watch carefully this double game lest the Sikhs come out with some inner game. Tara Singh's today's statement⁴ is also rather threatening. Take note of it. These two gentlemen, T. S. [Tara Singh] and Sachar, are the persons who are mainly responsible for what has happened in the Punjab.⁵ It was their hidden hand that worked the havoc-plan. The Hindu knows how to work on a subtle plan. The simple Sikhs were only the tools of the Brahman's machinations.

Thank you very much for your letter of 31st May,⁶ which I received last evening, the 5th. It is so very good and kind of you to even write a few lines when you are so heavily burdened with Himalayan duties. May God bless and keep you under His protective wings and give you a very long life.

Pakistan Zindabad!

Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad!

Sincerely yours,
MRS. K.L. RALLIA RAM

¹Not available in QAP, except for the Enclosure.

²Finance Minister, Punjab, 1946-47.

³See No. 5.

⁴In his statement of 4 June Tara Singh criticised the 3 June Plan for allegedly ignoring the interests and future of the Sikhs and declared continuation of the struggle for achieving their rights and goals. He reiterated the demand that River Chenab should be the dividing line and reserved final decision about the Plan after the terms of the Boundary Commission had been announced. TP, XI, No. 72, note 1, 136.

⁵Refers to communal riots in the Punjab.

⁶Not available in QAP.

*Enclosure to No. 39**F. 487/74*

Mahatma Gandhi went on to say that he had decided to make an appeal to Mr. Jinnah that, as he (Mr. Jinnah) had got what he wanted, he should now invite the Congress and other parties to a Conference to find out a solution, independent of the British.—API.

Note this!

MRS. K. L. RALLIA RAM

40

*Abdul K. Mehta to M. A. Jinnah**F.1108/37-8*

C/O E. J. LONGYEAR COMPANY, MINING ENGINEERS,
MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA, U.S.A.,

7 June 1947

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Now that the situation is shaping favourably I wish to take this opportunity to suggest that in the future mineralogical exploration and development in the proposed Pakistan State, the records of the Geological Survey of India will prove most valuable without which the development may be delayed considerably. It may be worthwhile that some suitable and competent geologist be appointed to protect the interests in the event that the question of division of available technical information comes up.

You will recall our lengthy discussion in New Delhi in early 1946 covering the various phases of the development of mineral resources in the North-West and the North-East. Subsequent to our discussions, I paid a visit to H. H. the Khan of Kalat in Kalat for the possible development of petroleum and other mineral resources in Kalat.

Since November of 1946, I have been in the United States in order to provide medical attention to my child who had had a spinal meningitis attack in India. Presently, I am associated with a firm of geologists and mining engineers who have wide experience in exploratory problems having successfully conducted several extensive operations throughout the world. This firm is also the manufacturer of mining equipment such as we may need in exploratory and development work.

The strength of a nation largely depends upon the suitable mineral resources it commands and its ability to utilize its natural and mineral wealth. In my opinion, to meet this end an extensive programme of mineral exploration, development and training of suitable personnel

should be started immediately. The industrialist is at a disadvantage to plan new industries which are required so urgently, unless he is given the type and extent of raw material available. To accomplish this and to train a force of suitable young explorers, who may in the future share the burden of further developments, I am prepared to offer my services in accordance with your wishes expressed during our interview in New Delhi and supplemented in our correspondence which followed.

Should my suggestions be accepted and I be charged with the responsibility of organizing a separate Geological Survey for the Pakistan State and conducting exploratory work to determine the nature and extent of mineral resources of this State, I believe this could be accomplished without [sic] most success. I am in a position to land in India a group of highly experienced geologists, mining engineers and explorers who have so successfully conducted work on behalf of the Governments of U.S.A., U.S.S.R., and China as well as both American and foreign corporations engaged in mineral resources development. I know these scientists personally by reason of common interests, membership in technical associations and contacts in the field due to my almost seven years of residence and working experience in the United States.

Although my previous communication to you from U.S.A. has been left unanswered, probably due to the tense situation in India, I would greatly appreciate hearing from you at an early date in connection with my above proposals.

With my best personal regards and season's greetings,

I am,

Cordially yours,
ABDUL K. MEHTA

Enclosure to No.40

F. 1108/38

7 June 1947

Abdul Khaliq Mehta, Geologist and Geophysicist, Managing Director of a firm of Consulting Geologists and Mining Engineers in India.

Member of the following Technical Societies:

American Institute of Mining & Metallurgical Engineers, New York.

American Association of Petroleum Geologists, Tulsa, Okla.

Society of Exploration Geophysicists.

Sigma Gamma Epsilon—an Honour fraternity in Professional Geology and Mining, U.S.A.

Geological, Mining and Metallurgical Society of India.

Indian Science Congress, Bangalore.

41

George Abell to M. A. Jinnah

F.2/45

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE, NEW DELHI,
7 June 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

H. E. asks me to send you the enclosed copy of a legal opinion by Sir G. Spence.¹He hopes you will be good enough to let him see the draft resolution for the All India Muslim League Council.²Yours sincerely,
G.E.B. ABELL¹Secretary, Legislative Department, Government of India; on special duty in the Reforms Secretariat, June-August 1947.²On 10 June, Liaquat Ali Khan forwarded a copy of the resolution passed by the AIML Council in its meeting on 9 June 1947 to Mountbatten. See Annex.

Enclosure to No. 41

F.2/46

7 June 1947

I understand that a question has arisen regarding the authority competent to vest the contemplated Partition Tribunal and various ancillary committees with the authority which they ■■■ designed to exercise. I understand further that the Partition Tribunal is designed to be authorized to take *binding decisions and require the Departments of the Government of India to take action on those decisions* ■ if they were decisions of the Government of India.¹

2. I understand the contention to have been advanced that the authorization of the Tribunal and the committees should emanate from the Governor-General and not from the Governor-General-in-Council. I ■■■ very clearly of opinion that this contention is untenable. The vesting of ■■■ extra-governmental body or bodies with power to issue binding directions ■■■ Department[s] of the Central Government clearly involves the exercise of the executive authority of the Central Government and that executive authority is required by sub-sections (1) and (3) of Section 313 of the Constitution Act to be exercised by the Governor-General-in-Council.

3. It has, I understand, been suggested that authority to issue the

authorization accrues to *His Excellency the Governor-General from paragraph 21 of the Statement of 3rd June 1947*.² This suggestion is very clearly untenable. Paragraph 21 embodies merely a statement of fact that His Excellency the Governor-General will from time to time make such further announcements as may be necessary and it will of course be open to His Excellency to make *an announcement of the fact that the Partition Tribunal has been constituted and authorized in the manner proposed*.³ But paragraph 21 manifestly does not purport, and cannot operate, to render *exercisable* by the Governor-General functions which under the Constitution Act *cannot be exercised* otherwise than by the Governor-General-in-Council.

G. H. SPENCE

¹Underlined here and hereafter in the original, probably by Jinnah.

²No. 1.

³Sideline in the original, probably by Jinnah.

Annex to No. 41

*Liaquat Ali Khan to Louis Mountbatten*¹

R/3/1/156

ALL INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE, DELHI

10 June 1947

Dear Lord Mountbatten,

I am herewith enclosing for your information a copy of the Resolution passed by the Council of the All India Muslim League at its meeting held on the 9th of June, 1947² regarding the Statement of His Majesty's Government dated the 3rd of June, 1947.³

Yours sincerely,
LIAQUAT ALI KHAN

¹TP, XI, No. 127, 240.

²Enclosure to Annex.

³No. 1.

Enclosure to Annex to No. 41

RESOLUTION PASSED BY THE COUNCIL OF THE ALL INDIA
MUSLIM LEAGUE AT ITS MEETING HELD AT DELHI ON
MONDAY, THE 9TH OF JUNE, 1947¹

The Council of the All India Muslim League, after full deliberation and consideration of the Statement of His Majesty's Government dated

the 3rd of June, 1947,² laying down the Plan of transfer of power to the peoples of India, notes with satisfaction that the Cabinet Mission's Plan of May 16th, 1946,³ will not be proceeded with, and has been abandoned. The only course open is the partition of India as now proposed in H.M.G.'s Statement of the 3rd June.

The Council of the All India Muslim League is of the opinion that the only solution of India's problem is to divide India into two—Pakistan and Hindustan. On that basis, the Council has given its most earnest attention and consideration to H.M.G.'s Statement. The Council is of the opinion that although it cannot agree to the partition of Bengal and the Punjab or give its consent to such partition, it has to consider H.M.G.'s Plan for the transfer of power as a whole.

The Council, therefore, hereby resolves to give full authority to the President of the All India Muslim League, Quaid-i-Azam M. A. Jinnah, to accept the fundamental principles of the Plan as a compromise and to leave it to him, with full authority, to work out all the details of the Plan in an equitable and just manner with regard to carrying out the complete division of India on the basis and fundamental principles embodied in H.M.G.'s Plan, including Defence, Finance, Communications, etc.

The Council further empowers the President, Quaid-i-Azam M. A. Jinnah, to take all steps and decisions which may be necessary in connection with and relating to the Plan.

¹AFM, 295/2. Also see Sharifuddin Pirzada, ed., *Foundations of Pakistan*, II, Karachi, 1970, 568.
²No. 1.

³No. III. 1, Vol. I, Part II, 32-42.

42

Mohammad Akram Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F.10/56-60

Bismillah

MULTAN CITY,
7 June 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

After offering my heartiest congratulations on your unique triumph in attaining our cherished goal, I wish to submit for your consideration my humble views on an important matter. Now that the establishment of the sovereign Muslim State of Pakistan is practically settled,

the selection of a capital for it becomes an urgent question. Formerly, Lahore was often mentioned as the probable choice but the partition of the Punjab, and especially the exclusion of the Amritsar District, definitely rules out Lahore geographically, strategically and politically. It would be situated in an unsafe extremity of Pakistan.

2. Recently the name of Karachi has been frequently mentioned. No doubt Karachi is the largest city in Pakistan and from climatic point of view, perhaps the most suitable place, but geographically, Karachi is also situated at another extremity and does not command a central position. It can appropriately be called the "Gateway of Pakistan"; but surely it cannot claim to be its heart. Moreover, until Pakistan builds a strong Navy, it would not be strategically sound to have the capital of the State in a coastal town.

3. Karachi, Lahore, Peshawar and Quetta will remain the capitals of the four Provinces. Obviously, it would not be desirable to have the headquarters of Pakistan at any of these provincial capitals. Ruling out Karachi and Lahore on that score as well, the two next largest cities of Pakistan are Rawalpindi and Multan. Rawalpindi again lies near another extremity and, therefore, Multan is left as the only choice.

4. Geographically, Multan occupies the most central position in Pakistan and is almost equidistant from all the four provincial capitals. While Karachi is the "Gateway", Lahore the "Corner-stone" and Peshawar and Quetta the "Sword-arms", Multan is literally the "Heart of Pakistan"—and a warm heart no doubt. It lies in a predominantly Muslim and strategically safe area.

5. Multan is the most ancient and historical city in Pakistan. Especially, Muslim history in India begins with the capture of Multan by Muhammad bin Qasim. Multan remained the capital, first of Sind, then of the Province of Multan, later of the Punjab and ultimately of the almost independent State of Multan. In fact it has actually been at one time the capital of most of the territories which will now constitute Pakistan.

6. Owing to the tombs of so many saints in it, Multan, often called Multan Sharif, is the holiest city in Pakistan. Especially for the people of Sind, Multan is an important place of pilgrimage. Almost all the *pirs* and divines who have used their influence for the attainment of Pakistan regard Multan as their spiritual centre and would surely like the same to be their political centre as well.

7. Multan has always been one of the most important commercial centres commanding not only inter-provincial trade but also international one, i.e. between India, Iran and Afghanistan.

8. Multan is situated in the most fertile agricultural tract in Pakistan. With its unique orchards of mango trees and date palms it can very

well be called the fruit garden of Pakistan. Multan has great potentialities for industrialisation as well. Multan, along with its subordinate towns of Lyallpur,¹ Montgomery,² Khanewal, etc., has already made some headway in that direction.

9. Multan has an inexplicable attraction for outsiders. In earlier days Arabs, Iranians and Afghans settled here in large numbers and many of their families are still here. In recent times people from all parts of India have migrated to Multan. It is a common experience that any outsider who happens to come to Multan on business or in service eventually purchases a piece of land and settles down permanently.

10. In short, from all points of view Multan is no doubt the most suitable place to become the capital of Pakistan. The only possible objection can, however, be on account of its climate. Heat and dust of Multan have become proverbial due to an immortal Persian couplet:

*Chahar cheez ast tuhfa-i-Multan,
Gard o garma gada o goristan.*³

But there is more of poetry than fact in it. Actually, the temperature of Multan seldom exceeds that of Lahore and Delhi. A reference to the weather chart would make it clear that Jacobabad and not Multan is the hottest place in Pakistan and that Multan is not hotter than Lahore or Delhi. Even when the maximum summer temperature is equally high in Multan, its mornings, evenings and nights are always comparatively cooler. On the whole, although the climate of Multan cannot stand comparison with Karachi, Quetta or Peshawar, it is admittedly more pleasant and healthier than that of Lahore or Delhi. Especially, the water of Multan is very sweet and health-giving. The general prejudice against the climate of Multan is based more on hearsay than actual experience and in any case this one factor need not outweigh other overwhelming considerations in favour of Multan.

11. Even if the summer of Multan, like that of Lahore or Delhi, may not be considered tolerable, the Governor-General or the President and a limited portion of the Pakistan Government might move for a short period to Karachi or Quetta and even the summer session of the Pakistan *Majlis* (Parliament) might be held there. In fact, had its heat been intolerable, Multan would not have remained a cantonment of British troops for the last one century.

12. Multan, of course, cannot at present suitably accommodate the Pakistan Government. The initial meetings of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly will probably be held at Delhi and, when the Pakistan Government has actually been formed, it will be necessary for it to remain in Delhi for some time in view of common records.

When the Government has eventually to move to the Pakistan area, it may temporarily shift to Karachi until the arrangements for the building of a permanent Secretariat at Multan have been completed. In due course a new city, *Multan-i-Jadeed* (New Multan) like New Delhi, could be planned on the banks of River Chenab near Multan to accommodate the new Government. Vast tracts of land are available near Multan for development and ■ new model city can be built befitting the new Government of Pakistan. As land, labour and building materials are comparatively much cheaper in Multan, it would be more economical to build a new city near Multan than any other big city like Lahore, Karachi, etc.

13. If for the consideration mentioned in paragraph 3 above, and to obviate inter-provincial jealousy, it may be considered desirable not to let the capital of Pakistan remain under the Governments of any of the four Provinces, Multan offers ■ very convenient solution. The District of Multan, naturally bounded by three rivers, Ravi, Chenab and Sutlej, can very easily be separated from the Punjab and constituted into ■ Central Commissionship or Chief Commissionship like Delhi.

14. I hope that the above information will prove helpful in arriving at a decision. My proposal, as you will appreciate, is not actuated by territorial patriotism but is based on solid logical grounds. I am sure that the selection of a capital will be made purely on the strength of its merits and will not be influenced by personal interests of any leaders belonging to Lahore or Karachi.

Yours sincerely,
MOHD. AKRAM KHAN
Editor, the Daily Shams

¹Now called Faisalabad.

²Now called Sahiwal.

³Four things are characteristic of Multan, namely dust, heat, beggars and cemeteries.

43

Habib Bank Ltd., Delhi, to M. A. Jinnah

F. 682/274

CHANDNI CHOWK, DELHI,
7 June 1947

Dear Sir,

We thankfully [acknowledge] receipt of your letter dated 5.6.47¹

together with one *hundi* and a draft for Rs. 1,389-13-0. The receipts of the above will be issued on realization.

Yours faithfully,
Agent

'No. 26.

44

M. A. Jinnah to Habib Bank Ltd., Delhi

F.89/25

7 June 1947

Dear Sir,

I have appointed Mr. Qadri of Rasool & Co., Auditors, to audit the account of the Bihar Relief Fund opened with your Bank. In this connection Mr. Qadri will have to examine your books and records which you have kept of the accounts of the Fund, and I shall be obliged if you will give him every facility in this behalf and help him so that he is in a position to submit his report to me as soon as possible.

Thanking you,

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

The Agent,
Habib Bank Ltd.,
Chandni Chowk,
Delhi

44A

Abdul Qaiyum Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 324/15-6

PESHAWAR,
7 June 1947

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

The Pir of Zakori is very powerful in our district of Bannu and [in] D. I. Khan. He played a very active part in our movement and led about 2,000 of his followers to jail. He is an orator and will be much more useful in our coming fight. This is to request you to send for him,

when he visits Delhi for the Council meeting. A few words of encouragement will mean so much for us.

The Red Shirts have begun their campaign of lies and propaganda. We must start our work soon. I beg of you to nominate the Committee¹ you suggested at your earliest convenience, so that we can start at once. Trucks, jeeps and microphones should reach us at once.

We would like you to visit N.W.F.P. at your earliest convenience.² Abbottabad where the climate is cool will be your headquarters.

It is in ■ cent. per cent. Pakistani area. From there you can make trips to 2 or 3 district headquarters. I would request you to grant ■ interview to Khan Mohammad Ali Khan—the young and energetic Secretary of our Provincial League. He will invite you to take up your residence in the "Hoti House" in Abbottabad as his guest. Mohammad Ali Khan owns the "Hoti House" and not his uncle the Nawab of Hoti. This Bungalow will be quite suitable for you ■ it is quiet and has extensive grounds. His cars will be at your disposal.

I hope you are well and cheerful.

Yours sincerely,
ABDUL QAIYUM

¹The Committee was appointed by Jinnah on 17 June 1947 and comprised I. I. Chundrigar, Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Pir of Manki Sharif and Syed Wajid Ali. See *Pakistan Times*, 18 June 1947.

²See No. 124.

45

Iftikhar Husain Khan Mamdot to M. A. Jinnah

F.682/273

MAMDOT VILLA, LAHORE,
7 June 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am enclosing a cheque for Rs. 18,200.¹ Begum Daultana gave me this sum out of the sum of Rs. 25,000² which you were pleased to send from Karachi. She will send you the account of Rs. 6,800 spent during the movement.³

Yours sincerely,
IFTIKHAR HUSAIN KHAN

¹No. 519, Vol. I, Part I, 975-6.

²Advanced on 1 February 1947.

³Civil Disobedience Movement.

46

Lo Chia-Luen to M. A. Jinnah

F.676/8-9

[NEW DELHI],
7 June 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I wish to tell you how deeply I appreciated our pleasant meetings.

May I take this opportunity to present you a pair of Chinese porcelain vases ■ my personal gift? They are made of such fine stuff and by such skilful handicraftsmanship that they look quite transparent if placed against sunshine or electrical [sic] light. I hope you will like them.

With my best regards to you and Miss Jinnah,

I remain,
Very sincerely yours,
LO CHIA-LUEN
[Chinese Ambassador]

47

Mumtaz Hasan to K. H. Khurshid

F.783/18

FINANCE DEPARTMENT,
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA,
NEW DELHI,
7 June 1947

My dear Khurshid,

With reference to our telephonic conversation, I enclose the note which I mentioned.

Yours sincerely,
MUMTAZ HASAN
[Private Secretary to the Finance Member]

K. H. Khurshid, Esq.,
10 Aurangzeb Road,
New Delhi

Enclosure to No. 47

F.783/19

MEMORANDUM

There have been spasmodic efforts on the part of Muslim labour (mainly on the Railways) to organize itself. The Muslim League having so far completely neglected the labour, such efforts have so far never met [with] any great success in spite of the Muslim labour being in complete sympathy with the League ideal. At the moment there are two main labour organizations in the country—one controlled by the Congress and the other by the Communists. Both have considerable following in the North-West and Eastern parts of India.

Both the above organizations are hostile to the League and in the event of its having to assume power can cause great embarrassment during the transition period by creating unrest among labour. This should be anticipated and counter-measures should be taken well in advance. It is necessary that two prominent leaders, one from the East and one from the West, should be assigned the immediate task of organizing and arousing in them an enthusiasm for making a complete success of the ideal of Pakistan. Great deal of propaganda and organization is necessary. The work is of a nature which needs to be done at once and cannot be tackled by such official agency as may be available in the future. As the economic future of the Pakistan State must, to a large extent, depend upon the co-operation of labour during the transition period, the urgency of the work needs no emphasis.

48

Mumtaz Hasan to K. H. Khurshid

F.783/20

PSF.4164/47

FINANCE DEPARTMENT,
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA,
NEW DELHI,
7 June 1947

My dear Khurshid,

You desired a translation of the following telegram in Arabic received by the Quaid-i-Azam:¹

Ashour beshour deshiourikom waohanikom ala el tawfeek Beelgobool motamani el Pakistan el saiadah waelislam walakom el sehah.

The translation which, as I told you, carries the authority of Mr. Abdullah St. John Philby,² who happens to be here, is as follows:

I rejoice in your happiness and congratulate you on your successful achievement. I wish Pakistan all prosperity and peace and wish you best of health.

2. You told me that the telegram emanates from Transjordan. In that case Abdullah Ibn El Housain can hardly be any one except King Abdullah of Transjordan.

Yours sincerely,
MUMTAZ HASAN

[*Private Secretary to the Finance Member*]

K. H. Khurshid, Esq.,
10 Aurangzeb Road,
New Delhi

¹The telegram was sent by Abdullah Ibn ■ Housain on 6 June 1947 from Amman and addressed to el Syed Mohammad Ali Jinnah, *Raies el rabitah el eslamieh*. Available in F. 480/5, QAP.

²He was an I.C.S. officer who embraced Islam in 1930 and later worked for King Abdul Aziz Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia; was a keen supporter of Pakistan Movement.

49

Mrs K. L. Rallia Ram to M. A. Jinnah

F.487/63-4

5 MASSON ROAD, LAHORE,
7 June 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Today I ■■■ forwarding some very interesting cuttings¹ from the press. The editorial on Frontier Referendum is worth reading. Then Birla's facts and figures of Hindustan and Pakistan are also interesting.² I can't understand why the Hindus are meddling in Pakistan affairs. If they think that it is an economic failure, they should mind their own business and sit contented [*sic* for content] with a rich and resourceful Hindustan. But they are so vindictive and spiteful that they will go on meddling with [*sic* for in] Muslim affairs.

Now that the Anglo-Indians have decided to form a Pakistan party in the Punjab, I do hope Indian Christians will follow suit. I told Mr. Gibbon when he and S. P. Singha were bargaining with the Congress, that Anglo-Indians and Christians should join the Muslims. At that time they wavered. Now of course the force of circumstances has compelled them to take the step.³

I hear you are going to the Frontier for the Referendum. I do hope you will take every precaution for your safety. Of course God is there to protect you, but one has to take every possible precaution. The Pathans (Congress) are in desperation now. So please take care of yourself, for your life is precious for millions.

I am also leaving for Simla tomorrow. Will send you the cuttings from there.

May you be under the wings of the Almighty God.

Sincerely yours,
MRS. K. L. RALLIA RAM

¹Not available in QAP.

²Not available in QAP. This refers to a pamphlet issued by Birla prior to the meeting of the Council of the Muslim League at Delhi on 9 June 1947. In that meeting Jinnah "read the pamphlet line by line" and analysed its contents. Pirzada, *Foundations* 430. For a brief account of the contents of the pamphlet, see Annex I.

³See No.11.

Annex I to No. 49

"BASIC FACTS RELATING TO HINDUSTAN AND PAKISTAN"¹ BY G. D. BIRLA

FINANCE OF HINDUSTAN AND PAKISTAN

Mr. G. D. Birla in a pamphlet entitled: *Basic facts relating to Hindustan and Pakistan*, analyses the effects of partition of the country, with particular reference to the country's economy. The pamphlet has been sent to prominent Indian leaders.

He gives the following on the basis of official statistics:

INDUSTRIAL LOCATIONS 1939-40

	<i>Hindustan</i>	<i>Pakistan</i>
Cotton Mills	380	9
Jute Mills	108	nil
Sugar Mills	156	10
Iron and Steel Mills	18	nil
Cement Factories	16	3
Paper Mills	16	nil
Glass Factories	77	2

BUSINESS INCOMES

	<i>Hindustan</i>	<i>Pakistan</i>
Mines and quarries	9,41,47,624	2,35,40,880
Textile manufactures	44,86,81,860	2,72,18,223
Metals and metal goods	6,52,44,835	1,86,33,974
Buildings and miscellaneous goods	7,86,67,462	1,91,73,273
Distribution and communications	104,63,54,472	18,47,46,721
Finance	20,62,11,519	3,88,07,472

AGRICULTURAL AND FOOD RESOURCES

	<i>Hindustan</i>	<i>Pakistan</i>
Raw jute (acres)	983,519	1,403,700
Raw cotton (acres)	13,770,000	1,630,600
Tea (acres)	641,243	96,657
Rice (tons)	17,229,000	5,376,000
Wheat (tons)	4,199,740	2,785,260
Raw sugar (tons)	2,631,000	517,000
Groundnuts (tons)	2,274,000	nil

MINERAL PRODUCTION

	<i>Hindustan</i>	<i>Pakistan</i>
Coal (tons)	2,50,79,502	198,476
Petroleum (gallons)	6,59,68,951	2,11,13,420
Chromite (tons)	5,194	21,892
Copper ore (tons)	288,076	nil
Iron ore (tons)	1,421,701	nil
Manganese ore (tons)	766,341	nil
Magnesite (tons)	23,052	nil
Mica (cwt)	108,834	nil

COMMUNICATIONS

	<i>Hindustan</i>	<i>Pakistan</i>
Railways (mileage)	25,970	14,542
Railways (capital investment in crores of Rupees)	625.68	232.81
Roads (mileage)	246,605	9,863
Potential water power (kilowatts)	1,343,000	2,847,000

FINANCES (IN LAKHS OF RUPEES)

	<i>Hindustan</i>	<i>Pakistan</i>
Provincial revenues	143.38	44.79
Provincial expenditure	142.27	49.47
Provincial surplus	1.11	4.63
Central revenues	277.21	82.95

Central expenditure	389.32	116.29
Central deficit	112.11	33.34
Combined deficit of central and provincial revenues	111.00	33.02

PUBLIC EXPENDITURE

The public expenditure in Pakistan says Mr. Birla in a note, will be bigger on almost all counts, if the present level of administration and social services is to be maintained. Pakistan areas being frontier areas will have to bear a far larger defence expenditure than otherwise.

Pakistan will have two major ports—Karachi and Chittagong, which handled a total of 2,441,000 tons of cargo in 1939-40 and Hindustan will have Bombay, Cochin, Madras, Vizagapatam and Calcutta, which handled a load of 10,515,000 tons.—API.

¹*Dawn*, 8 June 1947.

*Annex II to No. 49*BIRLA'S FIGURES ON ECONOMY OF PAKISTAN INACCURATE¹

LAHORE, Monday: "The comparative economic figures for Pakistan and Hindustan as given by Mr. G.D. Birla are misleading and false and are certainly an under-estimate of the economic potentialities of Pakistan," says Professor Mohammad Hassan, the well-known Economist and Muslim League Member of the Constituent Assembly in a statement to the press today.

Professor Mohammad Hassan says: "Mr. Birla gives a long list of industries which have been developed to a great[er] extent in Hindustan than in the whole of India. He, however, seems to forget that these industries, constituted as they are at present, do not employ more than 2 per cent. of our population and are rather unimportant in the total economy of the country.

"These industries whether in Pakistan or in Hindustan are exclusively owned and managed by Hindu capitalists and as such are hardly of any significance to the bulk of Muslim population. Also most of these industries are based on raw materials obtained from Pakistan and it should be possible to develop them locally in the future.

"Mr. Birla's estimates of agricultural produce do not mention that per capita production of wheat, rice and other agricultural articles is far higher in Pakistan than elsewhere in India. Pakistan has a large yearly surplus of these products and these form the bulk of India's export at present.

"The per capita consumption of food and indeed, the general standard of living is recognised to be higher in Pakistan areas than in the rest of the country. Mr. Birla's figures in regard to petroleum and other minerals are obviously wrong.

FINANCES OF PAKISTAN

"It is true that Pakistan will be deficient in iron ore, but so were Japan and other countries which built up huge industrial structures in spite of this deficiency. There is no reason why Pakistan should not be able to follow their examples and build up an adequate iron and steel industry on the basis of imported iron ore or pig iron.

"She has a monopoly of jute and a favourable balance of trade in wheat, cotton, oilseeds and tea. This gives her the necessary purchasing power for iron or of any other material which she might require for her industries.

"In regard to the finances of Pakistan it may be said that Mr. Birla's figures are arbitrary and far short of her actual reported capacity. In any case, ■ deficit budget is not always an indication of national poverty though at times it may reflect inefficiency in the management of financial affairs. There is no reason to suppose that Pakistan finances will not be managed efficiently and with due regard to her progressive economy."—API.

¹*Dawn*, 10 June 1947.

50

Abdul Aziz¹ to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F.483/5-6

[Original in Arabic]²

RIYADH, SAUDI ARABIA,

8 June 1947

His Excellency Mohammad Ali Jinnah,
President, Muslim League, Delhi.

Bemonasebet tasis Pakistan el moslimah abaath elaykom atyab tamannyiatan leajil Saddet akhwannana el muslimin el honood warafahahom el dayid motamanniyan min el mawla taala an yawaffiqokom wayosaddid khotakow waen takol amilan qawryan lilsilm el bashari walokhowwah al almiah.

ABDUL AZIZ

¹Abdul Aziz Ibn Saud was King of Saudi Arabia.

²For the English translation, see No. 63.

51

Nawab of Bhopal to M. A. Jinnah

F.10/72

PERSONAL/SECRET

QASR-I-SULTANI, BHOPAL,
8 June 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I understand Sir Ghulam Mohammed¹ is leaving for America by the end of this month on medical advice. It would perhaps be a wise thing to let him go and have himself properly treated.² But if you think his services should be available to you at once I suppose he would be prepared to postpone his departure for another six months.

I am writing this in view of your instructions to me about the preparation of a list of our expert advisers, for your consideration.

Yours very sincerely,
HAMIDULLAH

¹Finance Minister, Hyderabad Deccan, 1942-46; Director, Tatas, 1946-7.

²Also No. 23.

52

Nawab of Bhopal to M. A. Jinnah

F.10/68

SECRET/PERSONAL

QASR-I-SULTANI, BHOPAL,
8 June 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am sending you quite informally a note which has been suggested to me and which contains one point of view as to the pros and cons of the Sylhet District joining Eastern Bengal or remaining in Assam.

The note may be of some little [sic] use to you. It is of course for you to decide which is the best course for Sylhet to adopt.

Yours very sincerely,
HAMIDULLAH

*Enclosure to No. 52**F.10/69-71*

NOTE

The District of Sylhet in Assam, the population of which is predominantly Muslim, will be called upon to make its choice whether to join the East Bengal Constituent Assembly or to join the Hindustan Constituent Assembly. At first sight it would appear as if the decision should be a pure formality in the sense that the ideology of Pakistan would require that Sylhet and its surrounding Muslim-majority areas should link up with East Bengal. But even from the point of view of Pakistan and the Muslims, the matter is not quite so simple. In order to properly appreciate the issues that arise, it is necessary to keep in mind clearly the population divisions in Assam. According to the 1941 Census, the proportion of Caste Hindus in the population of the Province is roughly 35%, that of Muslims 32%, that of the Tribes 26% and that of the Scheduled Castes 6%. If the Scheduled Castes are included in the category of Hindus the total of the Hindu population would amount to 41.5% as against 32% Muslims and 26% Tribes. It will thus be seen that no single community can claim an absolute majority in the population.

If Sylhet decides to join East Bengal, what would be the gain to East Bengal and what would be the gain to Sylhet? In East Bengal the Muslims have already a majority of over 75%. The accession of Sylhet might raise this majority by another 2 or 3% which would make no practical difference to anybody. There would, however, be a distinct gain to Sylhet if it joins East Bengal inasmuch as the Muslims of that area would become a part of the majority of East Bengal and cease to be a portion of the Muslim minority in Assam. As against this, their position in Assam is not merely that of a minority comprising slightly less than one-third of the total population. There are several other minorities in the Province, the largest of which, the Tribes, comprise as much ■ 26% of the total population. In fact the Muslims and the Tribes together comprise over 57% of the population.

Another very important factor in the situation is that the number of Muslims in Assam has been constantly on the increase owing to both natural causes and migration from East Bengal. It is reasonable to expect that in the course of the next few years the number of Muslims in the Province shall be equal to the number of Caste Hindus and that thereafter the Muslims will be the largest single community in the Province. It is not beyond the bounds of reasonable possibility that in

the course of a quarter of a century the number of Muslims may equal and even exceed that of Caste Hindus and Scheduled Castes combined. This is a position of great advantage and should not be surrendered without compensating advantages on the other side.

If Sylhet decides to join East Bengal, the number of Muslims in the rest of Assam will be reduced to a very small proportion of the total population and they will occupy in that Province the position of an unimportant minority. This would mean that Assam would for all time have been abandoned as a part of Pakistan.

On the other hand, if Sylhet and its surrounding Muslim-majority areas decide to continue as parts of Assam, there is every prospect that with passing years Assam will grow closer to East Bengal and that at no distant date the two will decide either to form one Province or to form one group. Already the Hindu leaders in Assam are hoping that Sylhet will decide to leave Assam and join East Bengal, thus leaving Caste Hindus in a position of absolute majority in the Province. The principle of Pakistan having been conceded and the Muslims having secured large areas as parts of Pakistan in the west and in the east, their anxiety should now be to make such dispositions as may enure to their benefit in the long run. The decision to leave Sylhet in Assam would prove that the Muslims are beginning to take long [sic] views already and it will certainly carry dismay and consternation to the ranks of the Caste Hindus in Assam whose devout wish at the moment is to get rid of the Muslim-majority in Sylhet and its surrounding areas. It is, therefore, to be hoped that the decision on this matter will be arrived at on the basis of the considerations set out above and other relevant factors and not merely on the basis of the desire to claim as much area for Pakistan today as may be possible. The factors pointing in the direction of leaving Sylhet in Assam are of a very weighty character and should not be lightly brushed aside.

53

H. L. Ismay to M. A. Jinnah

F.2/48

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE, NEW DELHI,
8 June 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

At the end of yesterday's meeting, the leaders said that it would be

helpful if they could have copies of the conclusions; and I therefore enclose the attached.

You will remember that, in the talk that you had with the Viceroy on the conclusion of the main meeting, there was a good deal of discussion about the terms of reference to be given to the Boundary Commissions, and of the possibility of including therein some special reference to the problem of the Sikhs. The Viceroy has asked me to say that it would be immensely helpful if you could let me have your idea of the terms of reference that should be given to the Commissions.

His Excellency proposes to have a talk with the Congress leaders on the subject of the Boundary Commissions early next week, and to ask Mr. Nehru also for his preliminary draft of the terms of reference. The Viceroy will then be in a position to try to put up a draft which may meet the wishes of both parties.

Yours sincerely,
ISMAY

Enclosure to No. 53

F.1/7

Viceroy's Seventeenth Miscellaneous Meeting¹

CONFIDENTIAL

7 June 1947

CONCLUSIONS

It was agreed:

i. that a legal opinion, if possible that of the Chief Justice, should be obtained on the issue whether it was the Governor-General, or the Governor-General-in-Council, who was the responsible authority for making the necessary arrangements and issuing the various orders with regard to Partition;²

ii. that a Committee³ should be set up forthwith consisting of two representatives of Congress and two of the Muslim League, all of whom should be members of the Interim Government, and with His Excellency as Chairman; that Pandit Nehru and Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan should send in to His Excellency, as soon as possible, the names of the representatives of Congress and of the Muslim League, respectively, to be appointed to this Committee; that the duty of this Committee should be to make an examination of the steps to be taken to set up machinery, including the formation of Sub-Committees, for carrying out Partition; and that this should be

a fact-finding body, whose duty it will be to make proposals and not to reach final decisions;

iii. that the present *Cabinet Secretariat* should undertake immediate action which was necessary in regard to the provision of secretariat accommodation; the securing of clerical staff, typewriters, stationery, etc.; and consultation with Departments so that personnel for expert Committees were put on special duty and given facilities at once;

iv. that, as soon as a decision on Partition was known (i.e. immediately any one Province had declared in favour of joining a new and separate Constituent Assembly), a *Partition Council* should be set up; that it should consist of two of the top-ranking leaders of Congress and two of the Muslim League; that His Excellency should be Chairman of it, with no arbitral functions; and that the recommendations of the Committee in (ii) above should be subject to acceptance by the Partition Council;

v. that an *Arbitral Tribunal* should be set up at the same time as the Partition Council; that it should consist of three members, all men of great judicial experience; that the composition of it should be settled by the Partition Committee; that Sardar Baldev Singh should consult the other Sikh leaders about the composition of the Arbitral Tribunal, and inform the Partition Committee of their views; and that the services of the Arbitral Tribunal should be offered to the Provinces which were to be partitioned;

vi. that Pandit Nehru and Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan should inform the Viceroy as soon as possible to whom he should address himself in calling for names for the two Governments which would be set up (if there was Partition) when Dominion status was granted;

vii. that there was no objection to the Governor of the Punjab issuing preliminary invitations now to the members of the Punjab Legislative Assembly to meet to decide the issue of the partition of that Province.

¹For minutes of the meeting, see TP, XI, No. 100, 184-90.

²See Nos. 41 and 57.

³Underlined here and hereafter in the original.

54

M. A. Jinnah to Lo Chia-Luen

F.910/323

8 June 1947

Dear Dr. Luen,

Many thanks for your kind thought in sending me two pretty little

vases¹ made in your country for which she is so famous. I shall always keep them as a token of friendship between China and Pakistan.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

H. E. Dr. Lo Chia-Luen,
Ambassador of the Republic of China,
Jind House, Lytton Road,
New Delhi

¹See No. 46.

55

M. A. Jinnah to Messrs Goval Brothers

F.910/324

8 June 1947

Dear Sirs,

With reference to your notice of call dated 5th of May, towards the first call of Rs. 1,800 for 1200 Shares Ordinary, I am sending you herewith a cheque for Rs. 1,800 (Rupees one thousand, eight hundred only). I am also enclosing the notice form entire as desired by you.

Please acknowledge receipt and oblige.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Messrs Goval Brothers,
Managing Agents,
Indian National Airways Ltd.,
Scindia House,
New Delhi

56

M. A. Jinnah to Messrs R. E. B. Willcox & Co.

F.155/142

8 June 1947

Dear Sirs,

I am in receipt of your letter of 21st April 1947,¹ and I was only

awaiting the arrival of Mr. Hassan Ispahani who, you know, had been away from India on ■ Trade Mission. He returned ■ few days ago and I have had a talk with him about the various matters referred to in your letter.

I need not say I am extremely thankful to you for all the assistance that you have given. I have received the statement of accounts from you showing the amount so far spent and, as desired by you, I am sending you a cheque for £ 1,000 (One thousand pounds) and that will leave a margin in your hand of about £ 300.

For the present all that I can suggest is that you should try and help us and keep your eyes on the work and the Secretary, Mr. Suleri; and he should not make any payments except as required in the ordinary course for running the office. If there is any other item or items for which he requires money, then you will take the trouble of asking him to submit such items to me before the amount can be sanctioned. But this is not to interfere with your discretion in any way to pay or spend whatever you consider necessary.

I know I am asking you to [go] out of your way and undertake this task, but I hope that it will not be very long before we will relieve you of this burden. At present we are so busy that we have no time and are working under high pressure and hence I am asking you to help me as best as you can.

Thanking you again,

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Messrs. R. E. B. Willcox & Co.,
Crosby House,
36-37 Great St. Helens,
London

¹No.333, Vol. I, Part I, 578-80.

57

K. H. Khurshid to George Abell

F.2/44

8 June 1947

Dear Mr. Abell,

Mr. Jinnah has received your letter of 7th June, 1947,¹ enclosing a

copy of the legal opinion by Sir George Spence, and he wishes me to say that you will be good enough to inform His Excellency the Viceroy that Mr. Jinnah does not agree with the opinion given and thinks it is done in very great haste by Sir G. Spence and, obviously, the real point has not been put to him. Mr. Jinnah is looking into the matter carefully and will be able to give his views to H.E. perhaps within the next few days, as you know we are all working under high pressure and on Monday and Tuesday, the Council of the All India Muslim League will be in session. Thereafter, Mr. Jinnah will take up the matter as soon as possible. He thinks it is a very serious matter involving a great principle, and therefore, it cannot be disposed of in a hurry.

Yours sincerely,
K. H. KHURSHID
Private Secretary

G. E. B. Abell, Esq.,
Private Secretary to
His Excellency the Viceroy,
The Viceroy's House,
New Delhi

'No. 41.

58

Nawab of Bhopal to M. A. Jinnah

F.10/61

SECRET/PERSONAL

QASR-I-SULTANI, BHOPAL,
9 June 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

As instructed by you I submit for your consideration, as a first instalment, the names of those who in my opinion will be competent to serve on the five Expert Committees which you wish to appoint to advise in connection with the various subjects affecting the future of Pakistan. Other names will follow as soon as I find more.

I hope very soon to submit to you my proposal relating to the Secretariat for these five branches.

After my plans have been completed, and if you so desire, I will come to Delhi to discuss them with you.

I am also enclosing a separate note on the desirability of associating foreign and English personnel with our Committees. I will proceed with my suggestions in this connection after I have received further instructions from you.

If it is decided to consult foreigners, we can do so in a manner which will give no opportunity to our enemies to make capital out of it. This is another question which can be discussed at our next meeting.

Yours sincerely,
HAMIDULLAH

Enclosure 1 to No. 58

F.10/62-3

1. *For Constitutional Problems*

1. Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan (available for part time only)
- *2. Justice Din Mohammad
- *3. Muhammad Wasim, Bar-at-Law, Lucknow
4. Mahmood Parpia, Bombay (Younger Assistant)
5. Chaudhry Asadullah Khan, Lahore
6. Muhammad Shamim, Bar-at-Law, Lucknow
7. Dr. Mahmood Husain, Department of History, Dacca University
8. Dr. M. Nasim, Allahabad
9. Mir Maqbool Mahmood (As Secretary, Constituent Assembly)

*These two gentlemen occur to me as most suitable for the post of Constitutional Adviser to the Constituent Assembly. If the services of Mr. Justice [M. C.] Chagla can be borrowed, he is another person who may be considered by the Quaid-i-Azam.

2. *For Problems relating to Finance, Currency and the Distribution of Assets*

1. Sir Ghulam Mohammed, Bombay (Not available till September)
2. Mohamad Ali, Delhi
3. Mir Laiq Ali, Hyderabad
4. Hossain Imam
5. Mian Abdul Aziz (of Punjab; once Financial Commissioner to the Punjab Government)
6. Zahid Husain, Aligarh

3. *For Problems relating to Communications*

a. Railways

1. K. B. Muzaffar Husain (Retired Member, Railway Board)
2. Z. H. Khan (Member, Railway Board)
3. G. Farooque (General Manager, E. I. Railway)
4. Mian Nizamuddin (General Manager, N. S. Railway)
5. K. B. Ubaidullah (Member, Tariff Board)
6. Zahid Husain, Aligarh

b. P & T, Civil Aviation, Meteorology, etc.

1. Sir Ghulam Mohammed (Not available till September)
2. Muhammad Zaman Khan (Retired Postmaster-General)
3. Zahid Husain, Aligarh

4. *For Problems relating to the Army*

I have to give this matter further consideration.

5. *For Problems relating to Industry*

1. Sir Ghulam Mohammed (Not available till September)
2. Ahmad Ispahani
3. G. Farooque (Former Coal Controller [Commissioner]; General Manager, E. I. Railway)
4. Mir Laiq Ali, Hyderabad
5. Shuaib Qureshi
6. Dr. [Anwar Iqbal] Qureshi, Hyderabad
7. K. G. Murshad, I.C.S., Calcutta

6. *Economists*

1. [Dr.] Anwar Iqbal [Qureshi], Hyderabad
2. Professor Muhammad Hasan, Hailey College [of Commerce]
3. Adviser, Indian Commander (Germany)

Note. The names of the Muslim Members of the present Interim Government are not mentioned. They are of course available and have experience etc.

Enclosure 2 to No. 58

F.10/64-7

SECRET

9 June 1947

NOTE

In continuation of the brief conversation I had with you relating to the question of the inclusion of Englishmen in our Planning Committees, I am sending you this note which further explains my point of view. During

the last few days I have given this matter my full and deep consideration and I am personally definitely of the opinion that no non-Muslim Indian and no Englishman should, at this stage, be asked openly to act as adviser. I know there are competent men amongst non-Muslim Indians as there are amongst Englishmen and it may be said that when one needs advice one is anxious to get the best available. But the circumstances in which the new State of Pakistan is coming into being make a limitation of this wider field of choice advisable—in my view, imperative.

The whole *raison d'être* of Pakistan is the keen anxiety of the Musalmans to arrange their life for themselves at least in their area. Non-Muslim opposition to their view has been very general and has continued almost to the last minute. Non-Muslim advisers will, therefore, be looked upon with great suspicion by the people of Pakistan, particularly by the N.W.F.P.

In the case of Englishmen, we have to respect the general sentiment of the Musalmans in favour of securing freedom from English rule—a sentiment as wide-spread among Muslims as among any other section of the Indian population. Throughout the struggle for Pakistan the Musalmans have not been less anxious to avoid English than Hindu domination. Only due to the special position *vis-a-vis* the Hindus this sentiment has, perhaps, not been as loudly expressed. As a matter of fact, the Hindu press has been brand[ing] the Pakistan demand as a pro-British move. This did not influence the Musalmans as it was interpreted to be interested calumny to weaken the Muslim demand. But now that they have Pakistan, anything that can be construed as pro-British and denounced as such will not be as readily ignored, and the accusation will find a much wider response than before. The appointment of any Englishman as adviser will, I am sure, be looked upon with suspicion and resented widely in Pakistan. Work for the Muslim State should not begin in an atmosphere of such suspicion, for it is bound to weaken the inner morale of its citizens. Advice even on the more complicated problems of administration, finance and currency, communications, industry, etc., should be available from Indian Musalmans whose talent should be immediately mobilised. If there are problems that require more technical expert advice than is available from this source, some of the Muslim advisers may go to the U.S.A. or the U.K. and consult experts to be able to make up their minds.

The final decision in this matter, as in any other matter relating to Pakistan, will, of course, always rest with you. But knowing as I do that you welcome frank expression of opinion I have ventured to repeat what I told you in Delhi. The precaution I am suggesting will, I hope, help in starting the work of Pakistan in an atmosphere conducive to its smooth development.

There is yet another very important matter which must have already received your consideration. It relates to the question of giving our young men full and proper technical training in foreign countries without a moment's delay. I think that arrangements in this connection should forthwith be taken in hand. We should send out at least 500 hand-picked young men for training to America, England and one or two other foreign countries. This would cost roughly Rs. 30 lakh a year, and Rupees one crore altogether for a period of three years. This is a matter which, I venture to suggest, should be taken in hand at once and a first batch of, say, 50 students should be sent out within the next two months. The rest could go at an interval of, say, one month for each batch of 50.

A Selection Board is needed which would first lay down a list of subjects in which our young men should receive special training, and after that list has been approved by you, the same Board will proceed to select candidates from the several Indian Universities, as well as from amongst the Muslims in service in British India and some of the Indian States. Finance should not be very difficult. I understand that Punjab already spends about Rupees 3 crore on education and has been giving liberal scholarships amounting to about Rupees 20 lakh a year to the depressed classes alone. If all the Pakistan Provinces share the cost it should not be difficult to find Rupees 30 lakh a year for three years to begin with. All of us will also subscribe to the full extent of our capacity, and if Hyderabad alone helps, the question of finance for this purpose would be settled overnight. As soon as Ahmad Said Khan¹ takes over, I will, with your permission, take up the question with him.

I only want your orders to proceed with this matter and once I have received them, I will not take very long to place a full scheme before you for your approval and final sanction.

HAMIDULLAH

¹Nawab of Chhatari, President, Executive Council of the Nizam of Hyderabad, 1941-46 and 1947.

59

Sarat Chandra Bose to M. A. Jinnah

F.507/7-8

CONFIDENTIAL

CALCUTTA,
9 June 1947

My dear Jinnah,

I have to thank you most sincerely for your courtesy and cordiality

towards me and for the consideration you gave to my suggestions. Bengal is passing through the greatest crisis in her history, but she can yet be saved. She can be saved if you will kindly give the following instructions to Muslim Members of the Bengal Legislative Assembly:

- i. At the meeting to be held of all members of the Legislative Assembly (other than Europeans) at which a decision will be taken on the issue as to which Constituent Assembly the province as a whole would join if it were subsequently decided by the two parts to remain united, to vote neither for the Hindustan Constituent Assembly nor for the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, and to make it clear by a statement in the Assembly or in the press or otherwise, that they are solidly in favour of Bengal having a Constituent Assembly of her own;
- ii. At the meetings of the Members of the two parts of the Legislative Assembly sitting separately and empowered to vote whether or not the province should be partitioned, to vote solidly against partition.

The request I am making to you is in accordance with the views you expressed to me when we met. But it seems to me that if you merely express your views to your Members and not give them specific instructions as to how to vote, the situation cannot be saved. I hope you will do all in your power to enable Bengal to remain united and to make her a free and independent State.

If Muslim Members of the Bengal Legislative Assembly vote solidly as suggested in paragraphs (i) and (ii) above, I think Lord Mountbatten will be compelled to convene another meeting of all Members of the Assembly (other than Europeans) at which a decision can be taken on the issue as to whether the province as a whole desires to have a Constituent Assembly of her own.

I shall be coming to Delhi again on the 13th or the 14th and shall call on you on the 14th or the 15th.

Thanking you and with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
SARAT CHANDRA BOSE

60

*Mui'n Osman Bushnak to M. A. Jinnah**F.480/7-8*

THE ARAB HIGHER COMMITTEE,
P.O. BOX 1269, JERUSALEM,
9 June 1947

Sir,

I have the honour to request you to be so kind enough [sic] as to answer the following questions; the answers will appear in the leading newspapers in Egypt, Lebanon, Palestine, Syria and Transjordan.

I am preparing now for the establishment of an Arab News Agency in Palestine by the name of "The Palestine News Agency" and on this occasion I would like to know precisely what would be the contribution of the Muslim press and the League to our Agency. We are ready to supply to you every little detail about the current life in Palestine and the future of the Arab World, and to distribute to the local press the news of the Muslim League and our favourite [sic] comments on Pakistan. It is good to know that, besides my work as an Assistant Director to the Department of National Economy in the Arab Higher Committee, I am corresponding with the following leading newspapers:

*Saut al-'Amma**Al-Asas**Al-Wihda**Al-Yaum**Sada al-Nahda**Akhbar al-'Alam**The Wafd's Paper in Egypt**The Prime Minister's Paper in Egypt**The Arab Party's Paper in Palestine**The Liberal Paper in Lebanon**The National Syrian Party's Paper in Lebanon**The Liberal Paper in Lebanon*

My colleagues in the Agency are corresponding with Papers all over the Middle East, France, England and the U.S.A.

Here are the questions:

1. What is your opinion on the new Constitution Scheme for India?
2. What is the constructive step taken by the Muslim League to help the Arabs of Palestine?
3. Did the role played by the Indian delegates in the U.N.O.'s Extraordinary Session on Palestine meet with your most satisfaction?

4. In which ways, if any, could India render help to the Arab World or *vice versa*?
5. Do you believe that there is a common cause between the different peoples of Asia and [if so] what is it?
6. What are the economic plans of the Muslim League for the reconstruction of Palestine?
7. Who are the leaders of the Arab World on whose efforts in your opinion the Muslim League could depend in encouraging the Arab World to support the League's demand for Pakistan?
8. What is your opinion on the Palestine case, and is there any message to the Arabs in Palestine?
9. Why does the Muslim League not invite correspondents from the Arab World to visit India, and to make [sic for have] interviews with the leaders of the Muslim League, and have their opinion on the Palestine case?

Yours obedient servant,
MUI'N BUSHNAK

61

Khan of Kalat to M. A. Jinnah

F.699/13-4

KALAT,
9 June 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

First of all I offer my sincere thanks to God Who through His kindness has crowned with success your efforts in respect of *Pakistan*.¹ You will very kindly accept my heartfelt congratulations on it.

Owing to malarial fever and dysentery, I have not been feeling well of late. With the express purpose of consulting the doctors, I went down to Quetta, if they could allow me to go on a flying visit to Delhi. They warned me against this, especially in these hot days. They have put ■■■■ on diet, and advised complete rest. I had, therefore, to return to Kalat.

In your telegram² you have summoned me to Delhi. A similar telegram has been sent to me by the Nawab Sahib of Bhopal. I quite realise the gravity of the moment, but owing to the present state of my health I am helpless. Consequently, I thought that I might send to you some trustworthy men to ascertain from you the real position, and also to

inform you of the true state of affairs in Baluchistan. I am, therefore, deputing Maulvi Munir Ahmad, my Assistant Political Adviser, and Muhammad Azim, my Private Secretary, for this purpose.

Quaid-i-Azam, our relations have not only been of friends, but rather those of a father and son. Your love and past kindness have [made] a very deep impression on my heart. I pray God may enable me to do you some service in return. No doubt you are very much busy these days at Delhi. But in spite of that, I believe, it will not be impossible for you to come to Baluchistan for a few days. The climate here these days is superb, and it is sure to have a very soothing effect on your health. You will be able to continue your work in this clime in a better way. If this can be made possible, it shall please me immensely. And my wife will also be very much delighted to meet Miss Jinnah.

Much looking forward to meeting you soon, and with kindest regards from Begum and myself to Miss Jinnah and yourself, and love from the children.

Yours affectionately,
AHMAD YAR KHAN

¹In capital letters in the original.

²Not available in QAP.

62

Louis Mountbatten to M. A. Jinnah

F.2/50

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
9 June 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I hope you will not consider that I am intervening in what is your concern but I feel it might help if I sent you the suggestion that you should take the earliest opportunity of preparing a list of vacancies and persons whom you consider suitable for high appointments such as Governor, diplomatic representative abroad, etc. The matter will be particularly urgent in regard to Governors if your party desire to replace any or all of the existing Governors on the transfer of power.

It always takes a little time to settle a high appointment, as you know, and I am sure it will be advisable to think this out in advance.

Yours sincerely,
MOUNTBATTEN OF BURMA

63

Mumtaz Hasan to M. A. Jinnah

F.783/17

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA,
FINANCE DEPARTMENT,
NEW DELHI,
9 June 1947

My dear Khurshid,

In confirmation of my telephonic message, I give below the translation of the telegram from King Ibn Saud¹ to the Quaid-i-Azam which you read over to me this afternoon:

"On the occasion of the establishment of the Muslim State of Pakistan I send you our best wishes for the lasting happiness and welfare of our Indian brethren. I pray to God Almighty that He may guide your steps and help you to become a strong factor in the cause of world peace and Muslim brotherhood."

Yours sincerely,
MUMTAZ HASAN
[Private Secretary to the Finance Member]

K. H. Khurshid, Esq.,
10 Aurangzeb Road,
New Delhi

¹No. 50.

64

National Bank of India Ltd., Bombay to M. A Jinnah

F.682/276

P.O. BOX NO. 141, BOMBAY,
9 June 1947

Dear Sir,

Cheque No.^{BZ/}₄₇ 39710 for Rs. 1,00,000

With reference to your Private Secretary's letter of 2nd instant,¹ we have to advise that the sum of Rs.1,00,000 was credited to your No. 2 account on 27th May 1947.

Yours faithfully,
pro. Manager¹Not available in QAP.

65

M. K. Tabbara to M. A. Jinnah

F.932/1

P.O. BOX NO. 70, BEIRUT,
9 June 1947

Your Honour,

I have formerly written¹ to your honour about all the efforts I effected [*sic*] in the Arabian countries and I hope that the efforts of your devoted supporter have met [with] your satisfaction.

I am still begging of your honour your accord [*sic*] on the establishment of an office in Cairo in order to propagate the aims of the Muslim League in the Arabian world.

But if Pakistan will be organised [*sic*] very soon, the job of this office can be done by the eventual [*sic*] legations and consulates of the new State.

The day of the announcement of the establishment of Pakistan will be a big festival in all Arabic (?) and Islamic world and I wish I will be [*sic*] in India that day, and I request your honour to let me know the date of this event, when possible.

The Egyptian newspaper *Akhbar al-Yaum* has published the article herein enclosed and the big [?] writer, Mr. Solh, has asked me to communicate to your honour his respects and regards.

Waiting for your orders,

I am,
Yours respectfully,
M. K. TABBARA

¹Not available in QAP.

Enclosure to No. 65
[Original in Arabic]

F. 932/2

THE ADVERSARY OF GANDHI SPEAKS¹

BY TAQIUDDIN AL-SOLH

The idea of creating an Islamic State in those regions of India where the majority of population is Muslim receded into the background with the death of the great poet, Muhammad Iqbal, the proponent of the idea.² The idea remained dormant waiting for the leader who could translate it into an effective campaign so that, after some time, it could become a reality.

This great poet-philosopher extolled this idea, advocated it and propagated it among his companions and disciples. One day one of them asked him the name of the State-to-be. The philosopher pondered for a moment, and raised his head only when he heard one of his young disciples³ saying, "We can take the first letter from the name of each region that will comprise the State and we may give a name to be composed by these letters." This suggestion was heartily approved by the colleagues of the young man as well as the master. They started coining the name from the initial letters of the Punjab, Bengal, Assam, Kashmir and Sind, but not Baluchistan from which they took only "tan," and thereby coined the name Pakistan—land of the pure.⁴

Qazi Isa, a young leader from Baluchistan, known as the "Lion of Baluchistan" and a member of the All India Muslim League [Working] Committee, said to me, "When the Pakistan movement started gaining momentum, the Hindu press waged a campaign against us saying that we are going to name our proposed State the "land of the pure" (which Pakistan literally means). Yes, the word "Pakistan" means "land of the pure" but the authors of this acronym did not coin it because of

this. It was just a happy coincidence. For two years we continued to bring home this fact to the Hindu press but they refused to accept our explanation and went on repeating their own contention. At last we had to tell them: It may be true, but what is the harm in that?"

Hardly fifty [*sic*] years had passed after the poet's dream of Pakistan when one hundred million people realised that it was indispensable. They adopted it as their goal and made a demand never to be given up, for which they would be prepared to sacrifice their lives. Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, the Finance Member in the present Interim Government of India and the leader next to Jinnah, said to me, "I was a strong believer in the essentiality of Pakistan before my experience in the Government, but after I joined the Government and observed from within what I could not notice from without, my belief in the idea has become much stronger. I now feel that if we are unable to obtain the desired land for our State except in the deserts of Sind, it would still be better for us than being submerged in a single Indian State."

TWO DIFFERENT NATIONS

But what has actually caused the differences between the Muslims and the Hindus? If Imperialism was responsible for this wide gulf between the two communities, then it has fully succeeded in its machinations. Every Muslim I spoke to, especially the leaders, says: "People think that India is a single nation and a single country. They commit a serious mistake! We and the Hindus are two different nations and India is not a country; it is a subcontinent—two different nations. This to-day has become reality because one hundred million homogeneous people living in India insist on considering themselves a nation different from the Hindus. In the face of this reality, how could the arguments and objections raised against it be relevant? How different they are! Yes, they are different from each other in many respects: socially and culturally. When a Muslim greets you, he raises his right hand to his head, while a Hindu puts together his two palms in front of his face. Their dresses are different and distinguish one from the other. Both have their particular dietary and drinking habits. Whereas a Hindu worships the cow, a Muslim eats it. The Hindus have extreme aversion to Muslims so much so that they avoid eating and drinking with the Muslims. I have seen on some railway stations two water taps close to each other, one with the words "For Muslims" and the other "For Hindus." In India there are hundreds of languages, but Urdu is the common language of all the Muslims while Hindi is the language of the Hindus. The former is written in the Arabic script while the latter is written in the Sanskrit one.

INFLUENCE OF RELIGION

Religion generally continues, till to-day, to be the most effective element in the formation of human society because religious teachings are most common and practised widely. They influence all sectors of society without exception. Religion knows no limits. It reaches the rich and the poor, the ignorant and the literate alike without any barrier.

Islam, which does not at all recognize Hinduism, has created a society of its followers in India which is quite distinct from the Hindu society. The rift that exists between Islam and Christianity and Judaism seems to be nothing compared to the gulf between Islam and other Indian religions. Islam essentially recognises the two religions—Christianity and Judaism—and their holy books and many of their teachings. Islam, Christianity and Judaism, the three Divine religions, may well be three branches emanating from a single root that is monotheism. Islam recognizes no other religions than these two. This is why the relationship between the Muslims and the Christians differs from that between the Muslims and the Hindus.

There is a difference in the relationship between the Muslims and the Christians and that between the Muslims and the Hindus.

But these differences have existed for a very long time. How is it that they have now grown to such an extent as to warrant the creation of a separate State for the Muslims and another for the Hindus? In the circumstances, how was it possible for the Muslims and Hindus to co-operate in their struggle against the British Imperialism? Maulana Muhammad Ali and Maulana Shaukat Ali worked during the Civil Disobedience Movement⁵ side by side with Gandhi. Why is co-operation no longer possible in the last phase of the [British] occupation and before the dawn of Independence?

THE DISPUTE BETWEEN MUSLIMS AND HINDUS

Many Muslims have narrated to me the story of their common struggle. Indeed, Muslims were the first to rise against the British because the country had been wrested from them when they were the rulers of India. The Hindus, on the other hand, co-operated with the foreign rule, thereby gaining knowledge, wealth and strength. After they became strong they also turned against the foreigners. They turned out to be far better equipped than the Muslims. This, coupled with the spirit Gandhi had infused, the spirit of pride in their ancient history and old religions, encouraged them to boast of superiority over the Muslims.

At this Muslims began to realise that if they did not take immediate steps to change their condition, they would continue to grow weaker and weaker not only after the departure of the British but even before it.

Muslims in India were never ruled by Hindus. As a matter of fact, both were subjugated by the British. Was this fact responsible, if indirectly, for the aversion of the Muslims to being ruled by the Hindus?

MUSLIMS AND THE UNTOUCHABLES

Abdur Rab Nishtar, Muslim Member for Communications in the present Interim Government of India, told me about a dialogue that took place between him and an important Hindu leader who was trying to convince him to give up the idea of Pakistan. After a prolonged discussion, the Hindu leader said, "You Muslims have ruled India for ages, why don't you now try our rule?" The Minister replied, "We ruled India for centuries when you were in great majority as you are at present. Before we took over, you ruled India, with the result that one hundred million of your co-religionists were turned into untouchables. How can we expect a better fate than theirs?" I also told Mohammad Ali Jinnah that Liaquat Ali Khan thinks that if Pakistan was not created, the fate of the Muslims in India would be that of the Arabs in Spain. "No, worse than that!" Jinnah observed. "The question of Pakistan is a matter of life and death for the Muslims," he added.

But the Hindus are also apprehensive about the fate of their co-religionists who would constitute a 40 per cent. minority in certain areas of Pakistan. They fear that they may have to forsake their religion and may be treated like untouchables. This apprehension was expressed to me by a highly educated and cultured Hindu lady. She said that the Muslims and the Christians were carrying on a vigorous missionary campaign among the Hindus. The Muslims' answer to this apprehension is that even after partition, millions of them would still remain in Hindustan (non-Muslim State of India). The guarantees being given to the Hindus of Pakistan are similar to, rather far better than, the guarantees promised to the Muslims of India.

APPREHENSIONS ABOUT THE ISLAMIC STATE

Similarly, the Hindus apprehend that after the establishment of Pakistan, it would enter into alliances with the neighbouring Muslim States like Afghanistan, Iran, etc. Thus, Pakistan would become strong and would pose a danger to Hindustan. They also apprehend that it would develop contacts with the Muslims of Russia or with Russia in general. Britain also seems to share this apprehension.

THE QUAID-I-AZAM

Iqbal, the proponent of the idea of Pakistan, passed away in April 1938. But the translation of the idea into a reality required a leader who could transform it into an effective movement. It found that

leader in Mohammad Ali Jinnah (not "Janna" as mentioned by our friend in *Akhbar al-Yaum* the other day. I have myself seen this name printed in Arabic script like that in one of the bulletins of the Muslim League itself).

Jinnah was one of the most prominent leaders who had been associated with the Congress movement—a movement of the whole of India—in its drive against British Imperialism. He espoused the cause of those who suffered persecution, were incarcerated or condemned to the gallows for the liberation of India—the whole of India. He had enjoyed Gandhi's admiration and confidence. Mohammad Ali Jinnah was once engaged in one of the most sensitive political battles which even threatened the very existence of the Congress. But he emerged triumphant and saved the Congress which became ever more strong and victorious. Thereupon Gandhi conferred on him the title of "al-Quaid al-Azam" (the Greatest Leader⁶). Eventually, the title virtually replaced his name and the people now call him only Quaid-i-Azam.

THE TWO GREAT ENEMIES

Differences developed between him and Gandhi and between him and the Congress over a number of issues. Gandhi asked the Congressmen to rise in revolt [against the British⁷]. But Jinnah rejected even civil disobedience as a proper means of struggle against the British. Instead he advocated the adoption of constitutional and legal means. Both dislike violence and abhor it. Gandhi and Jinnah used to express their differences in their correspondence.

They also used to meet each other, but now they neither correspond with nor meet each other. When I was in New Delhi I heard that the Viceroy tried in vain to patch up their differences. A few days ago the newspapers published an appeal by the two leaders urging Hindus and Muslims to remain peaceful and discard violence⁸ and thus resolve their problems. When good-hearted people read the appeal signed by the two leaders, they were pleased.

But one day Jinnah stopped asking those killing each other not to do so.⁹

When we went to the house of the leader, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Saeed, a noted newspaperman and supporter of Pakistan, said to me, "the Quaid-i-Azam knows no bigotry and he hates discrimination based on religion. He belongs to the Aga Khan [Ismaili] group,¹⁰ but he stands for all the Muslims, without any distinction. Once a dispute arose, in some part of India [probably Lucknow], between *Sunnis* and *Shias*, causing great trouble. The people approached him to settle the dispute. Do you know what he said? He told them: "There are amongst

you those who are killing and destroying each other because of sectarian differences—evil and corrupt elements who do not deserve to live. It is better for the nation to get rid of them.”

Jinnah is one of the richest persons in India but his riches have not come easily, nor are they due to any lucky inheritance. But it is the fruit of the work and toil he had undertaken as a lawyer. He graduated from Oxford¹¹ and returned to Bombay where he became the greatest lawyer of India from among its population of four hundred million people. I have been told that the fee he charged for advocating some of the cases amounted to one million rupees, equivalent to 80,000 Egyptian pounds.

THE TWO LEADERS AND THEIR CONTRASTS

When I reached his grand house [10 Aurangzeb Road] in New Delhi, he was bidding farewell to the Chief Minister of one of the Muslim provinces. He was tall and grey-haired with a very lean body. He was wearing a white European dress fully compatible with the elegance he was known for. I had seen his face before in the newspapers and magazines. At first sight he appeared to me to be dry, pompous and grim. But he received me, amid the flowers of the garden of his palace, with a bewitching smile and cordial gestures. He took me into his superbly furnished office, equipped with fine furniture and cooled with an air-conditioner. He sank deep in a big fine leather chair while I sank deep in another.

At that moment I remembered my meeting with Gandhi because everything here was in contrast with everything there, in the hut of the Untouchables, with Gandhi living among and like them in a bid to achieve equality between them and the other classes of Hindus. As for Jinnah, he had been spared such exercise by Islam which envisages no class distinction. Do you think he would have agreed to live with the Untouchables in those huts and made sacrifices for them and helped them to the extent Gandhi had done, if Islam had not saved him this trouble? Indeed he had other ways to attract them. Five Ministries were reserved for the Muslim League in the present Interim Government of India. Mr. Jinnah selected four Muslim Ministers. For the fifth one he selected one Minister from among the Untouchables.

When I started expressing to him the gratitude of all the Arabs for the support the Indian Muslims had always lent them in respect of their various problems, especially the Palestine issue, the Quaid-i-Azam turned away his strong bright eyes from me out of bashfulness. I mentioned to him the speech of Bevin¹² in which he had said that if America supported the Jews, then the Arabs would be supported by one hundred million Indian Muslims.

VOICE OF ONE HUNDRED MILLION

Then our talk turned to Pakistan and I noticed a strange power surging through his body. It emanated from the faith in his ability to solve the problem and full confidence in his faculties for achieving his goal. He said: "Behind me, there are one hundred million Muslims who want to achieve it and their will must materialize." I heard the voice of one million Muslims in his calm and faint voice. But Jinnah reverted to his gentle manner, apologising for this expression of brash confidence by saying, "How can I express to you this reality in words simpler than these?"

BUT THE EXIT OF THE BRITISH FIRST!

I said to the Quaid-i-Azam that Arabs wished that India should achieve independence and freedom as soon as possible but they are apprehensive that the Imperialists might take undue advantage of your differences, and that is why they desire to see you, Muslims and Hindus, in agreement and united. We are not concerned with the basis of your mutual agreement. All that we want is that there should be an agreement between you, no matter on what basis. When he told me that there was no possibility of an agreement except over division, I asked him whether it was not possible to put it off till the departure of the British for which the month of June 1948 had been fixed. Here Jinnah sat straight in his seat and said: "Indeed the Congress suggested that to me. But I replied that I consider the departure of the British an unavoidable matter and am confident that it will take place on the date they have fixed for it and that is why you find me dealing with the issue of Pakistan despite the presence of the British. If I had any doubt about the British leaving the country, or I thought that the demand for Pakistan would delay their departure, I would have been the first to put off the demand." Then I said, "My Lord, it pains the Muslims living outside India that Indian Muslims are accused of collaborating with the foreigners and obstructing the national movement." Thereupon he said very angrily that the Muslims were the first to struggle against the foreigners. His anger cooled down slowly when he started narrating the history of his struggle and related the story of the battle he waged along with the members of the Muslim League for India's freedom. I asked the leader to be patient. Then I suddenly said to him, "The people in the Middle East say about you that you are partial to the British and that you are their agent. The newspaper *Akhbar al-Yaum* has even published a cartoon showing you by the side of 'Al-Mahdi', who is their agent in Sudan." Having said this I was expecting an angry reaction from that man of weak constitution, but

he belied my expectations when he replied calmly and clearly, saying: "Supporters of Gandhi propagate against me what they like. But here is a piece of evidence illustrating Gandhi's duplicity, published in one of the newspapers today." And then Jinnah gave me an Indian paper in English containing a statement of Gandhi in which he said, "I will be very happy if I had an opportunity to see Jinnah as the first President of independent Republic of India." I said to him: "As for me, I have no doubt about your sincerity and for the last six months I have been saying so. And I have censured my friend, the Editor of the *Akhbar al-Yaum*, for publishing your cartoon with a sinister suggestion. But people there do not hold the same view as I do and those who so believe lack evidence."

OBSTACLES IN THE WAY OF PAKISTAN

We returned to the subject of Pakistan. Jinnah talked to me about its constitution which he wanted to be on the lines of any of the most modern constitutions with a democratic system, based on progressive social and economic ideas. Then he talked about Pakistan's relations with the neighbouring as well as other countries, starting with Hindustan. He said: "We had almost agreed with the Congress on establishing a Federation between Pakistan and Hindustan with common defence, communications and foreign affairs.¹³ But the Congress people wanted to deprive us of our due share concerning communications, defence and foreign affairs. However, presently we want that our relations should be on the basis of mutual agreement. We are ready to organise our political, economic and military affairs in accordance with our common interests. We are also prepared to reduce customs barriers between us. As for Pakistan's relations with Britain, these would be based on equality, friendship and goodwill. We also like to have relationship on the same basis with all other nations.

PARTITION OF INDIA AND PALESTINE

I explained to Jinnah the difficulties for the Arabs if they approved Indian Muslims' stand on the partition because their approval of this principle would provide justification to the Zionists for partitioning Palestine, besides the other dangers and harmful effects that the approval of this principle would entail. But Jinnah was surprised at this comparison and said: "The case is very different. We are here ever since the existence of the country [*sic*] and we have been its rulers; no one has ever denied our rights therein. We did not come to the country merely a quarter of a century ago to banish its owners from it with force and aggression." Jinnah dwelt at length on Palestine and expressed to me Indian Muslims' support in conjunction with Hindus

for Palestine's Arab inhabitants. He also spoke about the Arabs' firm resolve to defend Palestine with all possible ways and means so that its Arab character is saved and its independence regained.

Then he started talking about Sudan, saying: "Egypt must not budge an inch from its rights and demands. We support it with all the power we have. Nay, we are with the Arabs in every respect without hesitation."

LEADER OF THE MINORITY

My observation about Mohammad Ali Jinnah is that during my one month of stay in India, I never heard any Hindu or Muslim questioning his nationalistic views, nor did I hear any of his antagonists saying that he was friendly towards the British; nor did I hear anyone accusing the Muslim League Movement of serving British interests. There is no doubt that today Jinnah is merely a leader of a minority—a minority of one hundred million Muslims. Yet in the near future, when his dream and the dream of the one hundred million people materialises he would be the founder of the largest Muslim State in the world and the President of one of its biggest Republics.

¹Published in the Egyptian newspaper *Akhbar al-Yaum*, 7 June 1947.

²The proposal for a separate Muslim State in the North-West of India was put forward by Dr Muhammad Iqbal in his presidential address at the twenty-first session of the AIML held at Allahabad on 29-30 December 1930. Iqbal died on 21 April 1938. The twenty-seventh session of the League, held at Lahore on 22-24 March 1940, passed a resolution, on 23 March, demanding "independent States" based on contiguous Muslim-majority areas, in the North-West and the North-East of India. The resolution came to be known later as the Pakistan Resolution.

³Choudhary Rahmat Ali, a student at Cambridge, drafted a Declaration, *Now or Never*, issued on 28 January 1933, in which he used, for the first time, the name Pakistan for a Muslim homeland in the subcontinent.

⁴According to Choudhary Rahmat Ali, Pakistan denoted "the five Northern units of India, viz. Punjab, North-West Frontier Province (Afghan Province), Kashmir, Sind and Baluchistan."

⁵Presumably, Non-Cooperation Movement of the early twenties.

⁶Factually incorrect. This honorific was conferred on Jinnah by the Muslims of India.

⁷Apparently refers to the Quit India Movement launched by the Congress in 1942.

⁸Annex II to No. 376, Vol. I, Part I, 677.

⁹Factually incorrect. Jinnah repeatedly issued statements against communal violence and killings.

¹⁰He had dissociated himself from the Ismaili sect.

¹¹Jinnah was not a graduate from Oxford, but was called to the Bar by Lincoln's Inn, London, in 1896.

¹²Ernest Bevin was Foreign Secretary in the British Labour Government, 1945-51. Also see Enclosure to No. 116, Vol. I, Part I, 224-6.

¹³Presumably refers to the Cabinet Mission Plan of 16 May 1946. See Appendix III. 1, Vol. I, Part II, 32-42.

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*Habib Bank Ltd., Delhi, to M. A. Jinnah**F.682/277*

CHANDNI CHOWK, DELHI,
10 June 1947

Dear Sir,

Re[garding] Audit of Bihar Relief Fund

We acknowledge your letter of the 7th instant¹ with thanks, and
shall afford every facility to the Auditor appointed by you.

Yours faithfully,
M.A. SIDDIQUI
Agent

¹No. 44.

67

*Habib Bank Ltd., Delhi, to M. A. Jinnah**F.89/26*

CHANDNI CHOWK, DELHI,
10 June 1947

Dear Sir,

We thankfully acknowledge receipt of your letter dated 6 June 1947¹
together with a Draft and Cheque for Rs. 2,250 which have been sent
for realization. As per your instructions the receipts will be issued on
supply of the addresses.

Yours faithfully,
M.A. SIDDIQUI
Agent

¹No. 33.

68

M. A. Jinnah to King Ibn Saud

Telegram, F.483/7

[10 June 1947]¹

His Majesty King Ibn Saud, Ryad (Arabia)

Extremely grateful your good wishes and greetings² to Muslim India on historical [sic] occasion of establishment of Pakistan. I join you in your prayer that Almighty may guide our steps in the cause of peace and help us to cement bonds of Muslim brotherhood and we may stand united on solid rock of Islam.

JINNAH

¹Jinnah had sent an identical telegram to King Abdullah Ibn El Housain of Transjordan on 10 June 1947. See No. 69.

²Nos. 50 and 63.

69

M. A. Jinnah to King Abdullah Ibn El Housain

Telegram, F.480/6

NEW DELHI,
10 June 1947

His Majesty King Abdullah Ibn El Housain, Amman, Transjordan

Extremely grateful your good wishes and greetings¹ to Muslim India on historical [sic] occasion of establishment of Pakistan. I join you in your prayer that Almighty may guide our steps in the cause of peace and help us to cement bonds of Muslim brotherhood and we may stand united on the solid rock of Islam.

JINNAH

¹No. 48.

70

*M. Ahad Khan to M. A. Jinnah**F.87/13*

CONFIDENTIAL

H. B. CHINA ASTER NO. 354,
SRINAGAR,
10 June 1947

Dear Sir,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I understand you like to purchase a house-boat in Kashmir for your own use and [that] you are therefore having correspondent [sic] with an English lady in regard [to] her house-boat, which is a small and old-fashion[ed] boat with 4 rooms [and] which I think would not be useful to you at all. Did you ever seen [sic] this boat? That is one thing.

As being a Muslim, I have awared [sic] you with her boat's condition.

I have 2 house-boats, large once [sic for ones] each consists [sic for consisting of] 5 rooms, i.e. 3 bed rooms, and baths, sitting room, dining room and pantry, fully furnished up [sic]. I heard you will be here; if so, you kindly look over to [sic] my boats. Possibly you may select one on [sic for of] your own choice and you will yourself know the boat what like [sic]. Regarding price, we will settle [it] when you like the boat. Expecting an early reply, [which] would oblige me.

Praying to Almighty and wishing you to succeed in every way you go and through you to all Muslims of India etc.

Ever your obedient servant,

M. A. KHAN
Proprietor

71

*E. M. Nosarka to M. A. Jinnah**F.682/278-9*P.O. BOX NO. 9, BANK TRANSVAAL [SOUTH AFRICA],
10 June 1947The Rt. Hon. Mohammad Ali Jinnah,
Dear President,

We Muslims in far-away South Africa wish you all the goodness of

a long life; and [as] adviser of the Muslim people of the globe, on this occasion on the National Day of Pakistan, we send you all the greetings through [sic] our hearts. We hope you will accept [this] message of good-will from us.

We like to let you know our troubles in South Africa. All the people watch your steps with great interest; so do we. As far as we can judge the affairs of the Muslim Indians, we like to suggest the following:

We shall be very pleased if your Government of Greater Pakistan will send a good-will delegation to South Africa and find out the ways and means to settle separately our problems with the White Rulers in this country who I think are quite willing to have the Muslim people with [sic for on] the same footing with [sic for as] the white men in S. A. I hope you will do the best in our interest. Matter of interest is that we small Muslim traders in the Transvaal are the victims of the Boycott Movement. This came about through the Movement of the Communist Muslim leader, Dr. Dadoo,¹ and his Hindu-dominated Congress of Transvaal and Natal. Please act immediately. The best Muslim leader is Mr. A. I. Kajee of Natal, who still tries to help the Muslim people of S. A. I enclose herewith a cheque for 25 rupees for your national newspaper, the *Dawn*. Please post me every week or daily one copy.

Thanking you,

Your faithful,

I. M. NOSARKA
for I. M. NOSARKA

¹See Nos. 110 & 115, Vol. I, Part I, 214 & 221-2 respectively.

72

I. H. Qureshi to M. A. Jinnah

F.416/2

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY,
UNIVERSITY OF DELHI,
10 June 1947

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

A little while ago I wrote a letter to you suggesting the appointment of a personnel committee.¹

May I further encroach upon your time to suggest the appointment

of a small committee to study and prepare the Muslim case for increased territories in Eastern Punjab and Western Bengal. I understand that a band of workers under Mr. Abdur Rahim, I.C.S., has been working on the ethnological aspect of the problem. I venture to send a few figures in this connection.² These figures are, in all probability, in the possession of those workers, but still I felt that as I had independently worked at these figures I might put them at your disposal. These figures will show that Tehsil of Dasuya in the District of Hoshiarpur has a strategic importance and if we win over the Indian Christians we shall be able to lay a strong claim to it.

You have perhaps read a news item in today's paper saying that the Hindus and Sikhs will advance considerations other than population for demanding certain areas. I think that we should also prepare a case on the basis of history, strategic considerations, irrigation and a feasible customs barrier. These aspects come under the head "Other considerations", and we should have our case absolutely ready so that it may be argued by our political and constitutional experts.

I am fully aware of the fact that what I write is so obvious that perhaps it is impertinent on my part to draw your attention to these facts but I hope you will understand that I am led by my anxiety to put any ideas that come to my mind at the service of the nation.

Yours sincerely,
I. H. QURESHI
Dean, Faculty of Arts

¹Not available in QAP.

²Enclosures 1&2.

Enclosure 1 to No. 72

F. 416/3-4

Tehsils—Contiguous to the tentative districts of Pakistan in which Muslims are in *absolute majority*¹

	Hindu Sub-Caste other than Ad Dharmis		Ad Dharmis		Total 1 to 4	Indian Christians	Sikhs	Others	Muslims	Total 5 to 9	Remarks
	1	2	3	4							
1. Gurdaspur District											
i. Shakargarh	28,475	88,078	Nil	Nil	116,553	4,779	10,573	Nil	149,600	281,505	
ii. Batala	4,061	29,372	177	Nil	33,610	20,670	116,413	83	209,277	380,053	
iii. Pathankot	2,684	73,343	7,103	3	83,333	2,307	6,580	366	59,548	153,134	
iv. Gurdaspur	2,637	54,142	302	22	57,303	22,506	76,695	817	171,498	328,819	Predominantly Hindu

2. Lahore District

i. Lahore	5,546	187,992	176	1,095	194,809	37,442	103,312	2,458	552,907	890,928
ii. Kasur	6,624	27,967	91	809	35,491	18,514	123,446	8	237,036	414,495
iii. Chunian	20,177	36,045	71	47	56,340	11,730	83,888	165	237,829	389,952

3. Amritsar District

i. Ajnala	2,200	13,215	-	-	15,415	12,708	67,986	1	140,939	237,049
ii. Amritsar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

4. Ferozepur District

iii. Tarn Taran	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
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Muslims in simple majority but less than Hindus + Sikhs
Predominantly Sikh

ii. Zira	3,506	11,662	3,695	349	19,212	3,801	50,209	11	137,586	210,819
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iii. Muktsar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
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iv. Moga	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
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v. Ferozepur	10,392	42,357	771	745	54,265	3,847	70,782	1,021	160,371	290,286
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5. Jullundur District	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
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i. Nakodar	12,898	20,269	6,599	124	39,890	929	52,037	9	135,918	228,783
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ii. Jullundur	16,959	64,121	42,638	768	124,486	4,656	86,996	249	226,623	443,010
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iii. Philaur	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
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iv. Nawashahr	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
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Predominantly Sikh
Predominantly Hindu

[Note]: On page 61 (Table No. II) of the *Census of India 1941*, Punjab, Vol. VI, Muslim male population of Tehsil Jullundur should be 121, 648 instead of 21, 648. This is clear by totalling the male Muslim population of the District under the same columns.

¹Underlined in the original.

Enclosure 2 to No. 72

F. 416/5

Tehsils—Contiguous to the tentative districts of Pakistan in which Muslims are in *simple majority*¹

	Hindu Sub-Caste other than Ad Dharmis	Hindus	Ad Dharmis	Jains	Total 1 to 4	Indian Christians	Sikhs	Others	Muslims	Total 5 to 9	Remarks
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. Amritsar District											
i. Amritsar	13,741	161,377	653	1,901	177,672	8,968	243,297	197	359,025	789,159	Muslims are less than combined population of Hindus and Sikhs
ii. Ajnala	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Absolute majority of Muslims
iii. Tarn Taran	6,110	20,135	-	10	26,255	3,654	199,562	466	157,731	387,668	Predominantly Sikh
2. Ferozepur District											
i. Fazilka	30,040	104,106	3,504	235	137,885	1,612	70,771	75	161,286	371,629	Predominantly Sikh
ii. Zira	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Absolute majority of Muslims
iii. Muktsar	13,166	32,583	420	313	46,482	948	106,270	529	115,350	269,579	Predominantly Sikh
iv. Moga	5,927	24,521	83	32	30,563	823	181,454	68	66,855	279,763	Predominantly Hindu
v. Ferozepur	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Absolute majority of Muslims

3. Hoshiarpur District

i. Dasuya	7,158	65,684	22,730	328	95,400	4,729	40,509	3	132,105	273,246	Muslims are less than combined Hindus and Sikhs. But if Indian Christians are combined with Muslims, we get bare majority. This will also immensely affect the position of Amritsar District
ii. Hoshiarpur	9,333	61,443	42,904	510	114,190	953	62,517	95	145,985	323,740	Muslims are less than combined Hindu and Sikh population
iii. Garhsenker	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Predominantly Hindu and Sikh
iv. Una	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Predominantly Hindu

¹Underlined in the original.

73

Farooqui to M. A. Jinnah

F.682/284

137 GREY STREET, DURBAN,

11 June 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Allow me to congratulate you for the decision of the Muslim League Council to accept the new British proposal¹ which recognises the principle of the partition of India.

I am enclosing another draft for the sum of Rs. 660-14-0 for the League Relief Fund. Will you please acknowledge on receipt and oblige?

Sincerely yours,
FAROOQUI

¹No. 1.

74

Elizabeth Gilliatt to K. H. Khurshid

F.783/21

28 HYDE PARK GATE, LONDON, S.W. 7,

11 June 1947

Dear Private Secretary,

Thank you for your letter of the 14th May,¹ which I am exceedingly sorry not to have acknowledged earlier.

Will you please convey Mr. Churchill's thanks to Mr. Jinnah for

sending the full text of his press statement which was issued on the 11th May.² Mr. Churchill was very glad to have this.

Yours very truly,
ELIZABETH GILLIATT
Private Secretary

Mr. K. H. Khurshid,
Private Secretary to Mr. M. A. Jinnah

¹Enclosure to No. 420, Vol. I, Part I, 749-52.

²*Ibid.*

75

M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

F.309/338-9

DELHI,
11 June 1947

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Here are three names for your consideration (publicity section—foreign or home): Mr. K. Sarwar Hasan,¹ M. A., LL.B. (Cantab), Bar-at-Law of Cavalry Lines, Delhi; Mr. Ali Jawad, at present Director of Publicity, Chamber of Princes; Ziaul Islam, Deputy Collector, Allahabad, son-in-law of Mr. Wasim of Lucknow.

With kind regards,

Very sincerely yours,
HASSAN

¹Secretary, Indian Institute of International Affairs, Delhi. Also see No. 484, Vol. I, Part I, 878.

76

M. A. Jinnah to Ghulam Mohammed

Telegram, F.264/8

Ghulam Mohammed, Bombay House, Fort, Bombay,

11 June 1947

Many thanks your letter fifth¹ your good wishes kind personal references. Wish you safe voyage² and return home completely cured.

JINNAH

¹No. 23.

²Ghulam Mohammed intended to leave for the United States for medical treatment.

77

*M. A. Jinnah to H. L. Ismay**F.2/47*

11 June 1947

Dear Lord Ismay,

Thank you for your letter of 8th June 1947,¹ and the enclosures. There are just a few mistakes and I have drawn the attention of Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan to them who will discuss the matter with you.

As regards the terms of reference of the proposed Boundary Commission, we have taken the matter in hand already. May I know [on] what date the Viceroy will put up the draft which may meet the wishes of both the parties?

According to my commitments it is very difficult for me to attend any meeting before Saturday, the 14th of June.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Gen. Lord Ismay,
Viceroy's House,
New Delhi

¹No.53.

78

*M. A. Jinnah to Secretary, Sind Madressah
Girls High School, Karachi*

F.89/27

11 June 1947

Dear Sir,

I am sending you herewith [a] draft for Rs.5,000 (Rupees five thousand only) which is a donation from the Habib Bank Ltd., Bombay,¹ for the [Sind Girls] Madressah building.

I understand that a separate account for this fund is kept and it is controlled and managed by the Standing Committee; and the account

is operated with the sanction of the Standing Committee over the signatures of the Secretary and the Treasurer.

Please acknowledge receipt and confirm.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

The Secretary,
Sind Madressah Girls High School,
Karachi

¹No. 260, Vol. I, Part I, 453. Also see No. 282.

79

M. A. Jinnah to Louis Mountbatten

F.2/49

11 June 1947

Dear Lord Mountbatten,

I am in receipt of your letter of 9th of June, 1947,¹ and I am very thankful to you indeed for drawing my attention to what is ahead of us. I am thinking it out with regard to the persons suitable for high appointments such as Governors and diplomatic representatives abroad. Please don't think that I shall look upon any friendly suggestions or advice that you may be pleased to give me any time, as an intervention in what is my concern. As a matter of fact I would like to have ■ talk with you about this matter before I finally make up my mind.

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

¹No. 62.

80

Eric Mievill to M. A. Jinnah

F.1/1

NO.1446/12

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE, NEW DELHI,
11 June 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I enclose a copy of the Agenda for the Viceroy's meeting with the seven Indian leaders¹ on Friday, 13th June, at 10 a.m.

I will send Annexes "A" and "B"² as soon as they are ready.

Yours sincerely,
ERIC C. MIEVILLE

¹Jinnah, Liaquat, Nishtar, Nehru, Patel, Kripalani and Baldev Singh.

²No. 83.

Enclosure to No. 80

F.1/2

SECRET

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S MEETING WITH THE SEVEN
INDIAN LEADERS AT 10.00 A.M. ON FRIDAY, 13TH JUNE, 1947
AGENDA

Item 1. THE STATES

Sir Conrad Corfield will be present for the discussion on this subject. Notes are attached at Annexes "A" and "B" (to follow).

Item 2. THE BOUNDARY COMMISSIONS

a. Composition

A note is attached as Annex "C".¹

A draft telegram for discussion is attached at Annex "D".²

b. Terms of Reference

It is hoped that the views of the major parties will have been received before the meeting, and that the Viceroy will be able to circulate, at the meeting, a draft acceptable to all.

Item 3. ARBITRAL TRIBUNAL

A note is attached as Annex "E".³

Item 4. THE REFERENDUM IN THE N.W.F.P.

A note is attached as Annex "F".⁴

¹Annexure I.

²Annexure II.

³Annexure III.

⁴Annexure IV.

Annexure I to Enclosure to No. 80

F.1/3

THE COMPOSITION OF THE BOUNDARY COMMISSIONS

1. Two suggestions have been put forward for the Composition of the Boundary Commissions.

These are:

- A. That each Commission should consist of three persons obtained through U.N.O., plus three expert assessors from each side of each Partitioned Province;¹ and
- B. That each Commission should consist of an independent Chairman and four other persons, of whom two should be nominated by [the] Congress and two by the Muslim League.²

2. It has been pointed out that suggestion A above would involve considerable delay. The U.N.O. Headquarters would probably have to communicate with each member Government, and a long time would elapse before a choice could be made. Furthermore, it is possible that the ultimate choice might not be a very suitable one.³

3. With regard to suggestion B above, it has been proposed that the four persons nominated, two each by the Congress and the Muslim League, should be of high judicial standing. Possibly these four might elect their own Chairman for each Commission. If there was any difficulty about this, the two parties could perhaps themselves suggest names for the appointments of Chairman.⁴

^{1,2,3,4}The idea of obtaining members for the Boundary Commissions through UNO was mooted by Mountbatten in response to Jinnah's suggestion that the Chairmen of the Boundary Commissions should be persons with experience of the broad principles of boundary demarcation. Nehru, however, did not countenance the idea. See Appendix IX.1. Also see TP, XI, No. 124, 232-5, and No. 128, 241-2.

Annexure II to Enclosure to No. 80

Draft Telegram, F.1/4

SECRET

10 June 1947

VICEROY TO GOVERNORS OF THE PUNJAB AND BENGAL

1. At a meeting of the seven Indian Leaders today it was agreed that each Boundary Commission should consist of:

(to be filled in as result of decision reached at meeting).

2. Once the issue of Partition is decided on, the next really serious issue we have got to face is the work of the Boundary Commissions.

3. The trouble is likely to come at two stages:

- a. When the terms of reference are published, and
- b. When the decisions of the Commissions are made known.

4. It is apparent that the risk of really serious trouble would diminish if we could get some sort of prior agreement between the political leaders on the spot. This would also diminish the task of the Commissions themselves.

5. Will you, therefore, please bring together representatives of the various interests concerned, and initiate discussions on this question. It would be ideal, of course, if complete agreement on the whole boundary could be reached between them. But if this could not be managed, they might at least restrict the area of dispute.

6. Any recommendations agreed between the provincial leaders would be subject to ratification by the top-ranking political leaders here because the boundaries between the two new States are involved. But they have told me that they would not lightly reject such recommendations.

Annexure III to Enclosure to No. 80

F.1/5

ARBITRAL TRIBUNAL

It was agreed by the seven Indian Leaders at the last meeting that an Arbitral Tribunal should be set up at the same time as the Partition Council, and that it should consist of three members, all men of great judicial experience. It is now suggested that the Chairman of this body should be a member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. The names of the other two members might be a matter for discussion between the Indian Leaders—or recommendations for these names might be left to the Committee of members of the Interim Government which is being set up forthwith.

Annexure IV to Enclosure to No. 80

F.1/6

THE REFERENDUM IN THE N.W.F.P.

1. It is desirable that, in this referendum,
 - a. electioneering speeches, which can only lead to bloodshed, should as far as possible be avoided;
 - b. the issue should be clearly put before the voters.
2. To achieve these objects, it has been suggested:
 - a. that electioneering speeches should, by agreement between the parties, be banned; and

- b. that election posters¹ should be prepared containing side-by-side and in very simple, unprovocative and agreed language, the issue—what the two future Dominions will be and the respective advantages they have to offer to the N.W.F.P. A map would be printed showing the areas of the two Dominions.

3. The comments of the Indian leaders on this suggestion are invited. It is suggested that Congress and the Muslim League should each draft their election manifesto, in as simple and unprovocative a manner as possible; and that, if the reactions of the Indian leaders are favourable, reference should be made to the political leaders in the N.W.F.P.

¹Annex.

Annex to Annexure IV to Enclosure to No. 80

CHOICE BEFORE FRONTIER PATHANS¹

Pakistan or Hindustan: no other issue

PESHAWAR, July 1: A poster issued by the Referendum Commissioner, Brig. J. R. Booth, on the forthcoming referendum in the Frontier Province states: 1. Whether they wish to join Pakistan Constituent Assembly, 2. Whether they wish to join the Indian Constituent Assembly; this, in effect, is to vote whether the North-West Frontier Province is to form part of India or part of Pakistan. There is no other issue whatsoever.

The Referendum Commissioner points out that voters will find at the polling booths two boxes, one red and one green. Those who wish the N.W.F.P. to join the Indian Constituent Assembly should drop their ballot papers into red boxes and those who wish the Province to join Pakistan Constituent Assembly into green boxes.

The Associated Press of India was officially informed this evening that the referendum in the Frontier Province would start on July 6 and continue till July 17.

Nawab Siddiq Ali Khan, Commander-in-Chief of the Green Shirts,² arrived in Peshawar to supervise the forthcoming referendum.

Batches of Muslim League workers from various provinces are arriving here to work for the Muslim League. A number of Muslim League leaders are touring various parts of the Province and are holding propaganda meetings in villages.—API.

¹*Pakistan Times*, 3 July 1947.

²He was Commander of the Muslim League National Guards.

81

Mrs K. L. Rallia Ram to M. A. Jinnah

F.487/65-6

ELYSIUM HOTEL, SIMLA,
11 June 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am enclosing some cuttings from yesterday's press.¹ One of the cuttings regarding the resolution of Nankana Sahib's Akali Jatha demand needs urgent attention. The Sikhs there mean to create mischief and trouble. The Hindus go on goading them to go on extending their demands. A League friend has told me just now that the League is going to support the demand of the Sikhs for Lahore Division with Nankana Sahib territory. The spiteful spirit of the *Congresswalas* does not seem to end anywhere. They are bent upon making Pakistan area a place not worth having, so that they (Muslims) may ultimately begin to want a united India. The Mahasabha spirit and mentality leak out at every step. I read that the Boundary Commission personnel are all non-Muslims.² How have you agreed to this decision? The Hindus will try their level best, utilizing the Birla-Tata Funds, to injure the Muslims in every possible manner. The Britishers are going and may succumb to these temptations. I have heard that these tactics are going to be used by the Congress in the Frontier Referendum as well. What precaution is the League going to take against it?

You have been working incessantly at a stretch now without a break! I hope this will not tell on your health; you should take a brief period of rest before you start the next round of heavy work of Constitution making.

May God help and protect and keep you under His safe guidance and protection.

Long may you live.

Sincerely yours,
MRS. K. L. RALLIA RAM

¹Not available in QAP.

²See No. 111, note 2.

82

Sheik Abdul Ghafur to M. A. Jinnah

F.162/5-6

6 NEW SQUARE, LINCOLN'S INN,
LONDON, W. C. 2.,

12 June 1947

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am very grateful and at the same time immensely happy to know that in spite of the hard pressure of your great work for the noble cause of Pakistan on the one hand, and shortness of your precious time on the other, you made it possible, of course with great effort, not only to see my friend Mr. Chapman-Walker but also entertained him as a guest giving him full opportunity to fulfil his mission. I can only say how very kind it was of you. We could not do much to show our real appreciation when you came to London as a guest of H.M. Government. However, perhaps you felt a little of the devotion and esteem we have for you and the cause during the very little time we had with you.

In [*sic* for By] a separate mail, I am forwarding you a synopsis of my treatise on Constitutional Laws of all great nations along with the Memorandum on Pakistan (why without a corridor no division of Bengal or the Punjab is possible as we must reserve space for transfer or transferring of Muslim population scattered in Hindustan) with alternative suggestions for your perusal, which may enable you to find out if my experience and knowledge can be of any use to serve the noble cause of our great country Pakistan.

I understand that envoys [will] now be selected to represent Pakistan, especially in England and America—apart from other countries. I humbly request you to consider me favourably for some post of this sort as you know I was the originator of the Muslim League in Great Britain and was elected London President twice and Honorary General Secretary of All Britain [Muslim League] this year. I have been practising here for some time, especially with Privy Council cases—no doubt Mr. Chapman-Walker has mentioned this to you. Apart from my considerable stay in this country, I have lived for some years in America where I was elected Honorary General Secretary of the India League of America.

I have as already mentioned established myself here in a family

way [sic]. My wife is an English *Muslima* of good upper middle class family, of good education and appearance, etc. If you consider it advisable [for me] to come to India first, we could do so but the purpose of writing about this was to advise you that I can certainly serve well the Pakistan cause in the way [sic] of Foreign Representative if you so wish or in any other capacity where you consider a qualified legal person could be most useful.

As a matter of fact, it was I who, with great encouragement from you, decided to open up branches of the Muslim League in Great Britain. Now we have 16 branches here through great work of Ali Muhammad Khan, myself and others.

Please kindly [sic] let me know how I can best submit myself for one of the new posts under your disposal.

Waiting for your command,

Sincerely yours,

S. A. GHAFUR

Barrister-at-Law,

Honorary General Secretary,

The Muslim League,

Great Britain (Branch)

PS. May I beg you to have a few capable bodyguards to protect your person from enemies of Pakistan. I had a dream that was [sic] when you arrived in London [you] found yourself among hundreds of policemen and Muslims around you. May Allah guard you always.

S. A. G.

83

Eric Mieville to M. A. Jinnah

F.1/8

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE, NEW DELHI,

12 June 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

With reference to my letter of June 11th¹ attaching the agenda for the Viceroy's meeting with the seven Indian leaders at 10 a.m. on Friday, 13th June, I now attach² Annexes "A" and "B" to the agenda

and a further annex, Annex "G," which was not mentioned on the agenda but which will be considered under Item 1.

Yours sincerely,
ERIC C. MIEVILLE

¹No. 80.

²Enclosure.

Enclosure to No.83

F.1/9

SECRET

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S MEETING WITH THE SEVEN
INDIAN LEADERS AT 10.00 A.M. ON FRIDAY, 13TH JUNE, 1947

1. With reference to the Agenda for this meeting (already issued), attached hereto are Annexes "A"¹ and "B"² to be considered under Item 1, The States.

2. These Annexes are entitled:

"A" Machinery for dealing with questions of common concern between States and the Successor Governments in British India

"B" Formula for interim arrangements on a standstill basis.

3. Attached as Appendix I to Annex "B" is a Draft Standstill Formula.

4. Also attached, and for consideration under Item 1 of the Agenda but *not*³ mentioned on that Agenda, is Annex "G",⁴ a note entitled "Disposal of Crown Representative's Records."

¹Annexure I.

²Annexure II.

³Underlined in the original.

⁴Annexure III.

Annexure 1 to Enclosure to No. 83

F.1/10-1

MACHINERY FOR DEALING WITH QUESTIONS OF COMMON CONCERN BETWEEN STATES AND THE SUCCESSOR GOVERNMENTS IN
BRITISH INDIA

1. The Cabinet Mission Memorandum of 12th May 1946¹ stated that "the British Government could not and will not in any circumstances transfer paramountcy to an Indian Government".

2. As soon therefore as fully self-governing Governments are set up in British India, paramountcy will lapse, the Crown Representative

will disappear and the machinery which he controls (Political Department, Residents and Political Agents) will disappear with him.

3. Paramountcy functions, which are the main duty and preoccupation of this machinery, can no longer be exercised. This machinery however has been used as a convenient means of dealing with certain matters of common concern, and for this purpose alternative machinery is required.

4. This alternative machinery has already begun to function by means of direct correspondence between the appropriate Departments of the Central Government and States, especially the Food Department. The appropriate Department for any State which may opt for independence would presumably be the External Affairs Department of the Government concerned.

5. The Memo. of 12th May [1946] stated that the alternative machinery "would have to be provided either by the States entering into a federal relationship with the successor Government or Governments or failing this entering into particular political arrangements with it or them".

6. Direct correspondence is a normal federal relationship. It has worked perfectly smoothly with the Food Department for a number of years and with other Departments who have started it. It is the procedure which States are likely to accept. The only problem arises out of the large number of States which require to be addressed. This problem is being solved by the grouping of States, e.g. the Eastern States which have established a joint agency to handle direct correspondence with 39 States. Similar steps are being taken elsewhere.

7. If the Successor Governments set up Political (or States) Departments of their own, they will raise grave suspicion in States and as no machinery will work without the States' cooperation, this would be an unwise step, though the question is of course one for the Successor Governments to decide.

8. If the existing machinery of the Crown Representative was handed over to the Successor Governments for this purpose, the States would interpret this action as a transfer of paramountcy in practice. This interpretation would have less justification if the appropriate Departments of the Successor Governments took over the staff at present employed by the Crown Representative in order to deal with direct correspondence together with the relevant records, provided no Political Officers² were taken over, though of course there is nothing to prevent these Departments from employing Political Officers on new contracts for this purpose after the lapse of paramountcy.

9. The proposal therefore is that the States should be given the option of

- a. dealing with *local* representatives of the Successor Governments or
- b. appointing their *own* representatives to the headquarters of the Successor Governments.

Whatever the choice, these representatives should under a federal system deal with the appropriate Department of the Successor Government with which it is likely to have matters of *common concern*.³

¹Appendix X, Vol. I, Part II, 479-81.

²Underlined here and hereafter in the original, probably by Jinnah.

³The following note probably in Jinnah's handwriting appears at the end of the document:

- a. All rights surrendered by the States to the paramount power will return to States.
- b. Jurisdiction.
- c. Property.

Annexure II to Enclosure to No. 83

F.1/12

FORMULA FOR INTERIM ARRANGEMENTS ON A STANDSTILL BASIS

1. The Cabinet Mission Memorandum of 12th May (para. 4)¹ stated that "in regard to the future regulation of matters of common concern, especially in the economic and financial field" it will, in order to avoid administrative difficulties, be necessary to arrive at an understanding between the States and those likely to control the Successor Government or Governments, that for a period of time the then existing arrangements as to those matters of common concern should continue until new agreements are completed. It was added that "in this matter the British Government and the Crown Representative will lend such assistance as they can, should it be so desired."

2. A draft agreement² has been produced, which may serve as a basis for negotiation, and it is proposed to circulate this to States for their comments. The views of the successor authorities upon it are also required. A forum for arriving at an agreed formula by direct negotiation must then be established if any agreement is to be reached in time.

3. It has to be borne in mind that these interim arrangements cannot all be on a purely standstill basis. With the lapse of paramountcy "*all the rights surrendered by the States to the paramount power will return to the States.*"³ This means that all jurisdiction in State territory⁴ (e.g. over Railways, Cantonments and other administered areas) will revert to the States. Interim arrangements can therefore only be made on this

basis. This is recognised by the provisions of proviso (c) of Article 3 of the draft standstill agreement.

4. The Political Department have been trying for some months to secure the cooperation of the Central Government Departments concerned for negotiating interim arrangements with the States concerned in this sphere, so that the automatic reversion of jurisdiction to States on the lapse of paramountcy will not endanger *all-India* Defence and Communications. This cooperation has not yet been secured though much inter-departmental work has already been done to clarify the issues.

5. Where Defence and Communications are not involved the reversion of jurisdiction offers few problems. One however is the disposal of property. Lists of property belonging to the Crown Representative have been prepared and are being forwarded to the Works, Mines and Power Department. But the reversion of jurisdiction does not affect rights of property, and detailed consideration of the disposal of property can be dealt with by the Successor Governments after the lapse of paramountcy, provided that all property belonging to a State is handed back and direct negotiations between Successor Governments and the States concerned are initiated forthwith regarding other property, so that suitable arrangements are made for looking after the property and its contents when the agents of the Crown Representative will have disappeared.

6. Even if States decline to entertain local representatives of the Successor Governments, it is possible that States would agree to some clerical staff of the Crown Representative staying on in the employ of the Successor Governments for a period, in order to assist in the disposal of assets and settlement of liabilities. If desired, the Political Department will be glad to suggest this course to States, since the skeleton staff thus retained for a period would be useful for dealing with the leave and pension claims of clerical and inferior staff, the settlement of which during the next two months presents a formidable problem.

¹Appendix X, Vol. I, Part II, 479-481.

²Appendix to Annexure II.

³Underlined here and hereafter in the original, probably by Jinnah.

⁴Underlined in the original.

*Appendix to Annexure II to No. 83**F.1/13-4*

DRAFT STANDSTILL FORMULA

Whereas it is expedient that, without prejudice to the rights of any State or of the Successor Governments in British India, existing administrative arrangements of mutual benefit to the people of the States and to the people of the rest of India should continue in force while negotiations for new or modified arrangements are in progress between the authorities respectively concerned:

Now, therefore, the parties jointly and severally agree that:

1. No State shall be liable to pay any cash contribution falling due for payment after.... 1947¹ otherwise than on terms to be mutually agreed upon between the parties to this Agreement.

Note. In this Article the term "cash contribution" has the meaning assigned to it in sub-section (5) of Section 147 of the Government of India Act, 1935.

2. For a period of two years, but subject to denouncement by any party concerned on giving six months' notice and subject always to earlier modification by mutual agreement of the parties concerned, a State shall be entitled to continuance of any privilege or immunity which it enjoyed immediately prior to.... 1947² provided that it continues duly to fulfil all conditions or reciprocal obligations attached to each such privilege or immunity.

Note. In this Article the term "privilege or immunity" has the meaning assigned to it in sub-section (6) of Section 147 of the Government of India Act, 1935.

3. In respect of all matters of common concern relating to the subjects specified in the attached Schedule existing administrative arrangements shall continue in force for a period of two years from.... 1947³ and shall not be modified otherwise than by mutual agreement of the parties concerned; provided that

a. Nothing contained in this Agreement, and nothing done in pursuance thereof, shall be deemed to create in favour of any party any right continuing after the date of termination of the Agreement.

b. Nothing contained in this Agreement, and nothing done in pursuance thereof, shall be deemed to derogate from any right which, but for this Agreement, would have been exercisable by any party to it, and

c. Nothing contained in this Agreement shall affect the liberty of any party to it to exercise within its own territory all rights of

jurisdiction which it may be entitled to exercise whether by reversion on the lapse of paramountcy or by transfer from His Majesty's Government or otherwise.

SCHEDULE

1. Air Communications
2. Arms and Equipment
3. Control of Commodities
4. Currency and Coinage
5. Customs
6. Import and Export Control
7. Irrigation and Electric Power
8. Motor Vehicles⁴
9. National Highways
10. Opium
11. Posts, Telegraphs and Telephones
12. Railways
13. Salt
14. Taxation
15. Wireless

^{1, 2 & 3} The following words are noted in the margin in the original "Insert date of lapse of paramountcy."

⁴This was tick-marked in the original, probably by Jinnah.

Annexure III to Enclosure to No. 83

F.1/15

DISPOSAL OF CROWN REPRESENTATIVE'S RECORDS

1. Since the last Residents' Conference, an Officer on Special Duty has made a detailed examination of this problem so far as the records at Political Department headquarters are concerned. Nawabzada Saeed Alam Khan (a senior officer with long judicial experience) is now on special duty (assisted by a junior political officer) to examine this report and apply its recommendations.

2. Nawabzada Saeed Alam has consulted the Education Department of the Central Government and has discussed the question with the Hon'ble Member of that Department, in order to arrange suitable liaison with the Imperial Record Department which is controlled by the Education Department.

3. It is understood that the Hon'ble Member approves of the policy laid down and the practical steps being taken and has

given his assurance of full cooperation. The Nawabzada has also established contact with the Director of Archives.

4. Records of the Crown Representative prior to 1880 are already stored in the Imperial Record Department. Records of later years, when sorted, will be transferred to that Department.

5. Weeding of records is a continuous process, and has to be undertaken at regular intervals in the ordinary course of administration. During the period 1913 to 1921 all records of the Government of India were weeded. As a result the Central Government destroyed 92% of their records of that period.

6. If weeding and destruction of records, belonging to a Department and its subordinate offices which are to cease functioning after the lapse of paramountcy, is not pursued vigorously, there will remain a mass of useless records for which there will be no use, no custody and no accommodation.

7. The records which the Crown Representative cannot hand over to a Successor Government are those which either (a) contain information regarding the private lives of Rulers and the internal affairs of States or (b) have not been weeded to see whether they contain such information.

8. The information at (a) came into the possession of the Crown Representative because of the Crown's special relations with Rulers based on treaties and agreements and was relevant only to the functions of paramountcy in connection with successions and intervention in the internal affairs of a State. These functions lapse and cannot be inherited. It would therefore be a grave breach of confidence to transfer records containing such information to Successor Governments.

9. It was hoped that weeding would have been largely completed by June 1948. It cannot be completed by the 15th August, 1947. An interim arrangement is therefore required to avoid a breach of confidence. The only feasible arrangement is to entrust the records which have not been weeded by the 15th August to the U.K. High Commissioner, lending him the necessary staff for continuing the work. Unless preliminary destruction of valueless and ephemeral records is continued at once, the mass of records still to be weeded on the 15th August will be unmanageable.

10. A stage may come in history when the disclosure of these confidential records will be justified, as in the case of similar records prior to 1880 which are already in the Imperial Records Office. When this stage is reached and no breach of confidence is involved, appropriate arrangements can be made between His Majesty's Government and the Successor Governments concerned.

84

Louis Mountbatten to M. K. Gandhi
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F.2/53

1446/3

12 June 1947

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

I spoke to Mr. Jinnah along the lines that you asked me and he has authorised me to reply to you as follows.

2. Mr. Jinnah will gladly accept your suggestion that he should visit the Frontier and put the case of Pakistan to the leaders and people up there, provided you can obtain an undertaking from the Congress that they will not interfere.

3. He agrees with your view that by this means a referendum can be avoided and with it the risk of bloodshed removed.

4. I suggest that you should now communicate directly with him in this matter, as I am leaving for Simla to-morrow.

5. I am sending a copy of this letter to Mr. Jinnah.

Yours sincerely,
MOUNTBATTEN OF BURMA

PS. I note that you did not obtain the support of the Congress leaders to your proposal, but I did promise you that whatever happened I would convey your personal views to Mr. Jinnah, and he will quite understand if you are unable to get the Congress leaders to support you.

85

Louis Mountbatten to J. B. Kripalani
(Copy to M.A.Jinnah)

F.2/57

12 June 1947

Dear Mr. Kripalani,¹

I am writing to inform you that Mr. Jinnah came to see me this evening to inform me officially as President of the All India Muslim League that the Council of the All India Muslim League had empowered him to accept the plan contained in His Majesty's Government's announcement of the 3rd June² as a compromise.

2. Subject to the All India Congress Committee accepting this plan, he has given me his word that he will sign ■ joint document on behalf of the All India Muslim League with such representative as the All India Congress Committee may appoint, accepting this plan as a settlement.

3. I am sending ■ copy of this letter to Mr. Jinnah.

Yours sincerely,
MOUNTBATTEN OF BURMA

¹In the copy sent to Jinnah, Kripalani's name was substituted, probably by Mountbatten, for Nehru's after "Dear Mr." and in the address at the bottom of the d.o. letter.

²No. 1.

86

Jawaharlal Nehru to Louis Mountbatten

F.2/60

SECRET

17 YORK ROAD, NEW DELHI,
12 June 1947

Dear Lord Mountbatten,

In some of the papers sent to me by Sir Eric Mievill¹ there is ■ proposal about the Arbitral Tribunal which is meant to decide on matters referred to it by the Partition Council. It is suggested in this note that the Tribunal should consist of three men of great judicial experience and that the Chairman of this body should be a member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

2. My colleagues and I think that the simplest and most effective procedure would be to request the three judges of the Federal Court to function as the Arbitral Tribunal for this purpose. They are all here and are easily accessible and are men of great judicial experience. They would, of course, not function as the Federal Court in this matter. We do not see any particular advantage in asking for ■ member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council to come to India for this purpose.

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

¹Annexure III to Enclosure to No.80.

87

Abdur Rab Nishtar to M. A. Jinnah

F.394/22-3

26 FEROZESHAH ROAD, NEW DELHI,
12 June 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I would request you kindly to urge upon the Viceroy the following two matters also when you meet him today:

1. A large number of our good workers and leaders are still in jail in connection with a case arising out of the demonstration made in front of the house of the [N. W. F. P.] Chief Minister in February last.¹ They have not been released so far. Some of them have been let off on bail but the dates of hearing in their case are fixed at such short intervals that it is not possible for them to go out for the Referendum work.² Others have refused to go out on bail because they feel that consequent upon the calling off of the Civil Disobedience Movement, they ought to be unconditionally released. This matter was represented to you by the Frontier deputation yesterday and you were good enough to promise that you will take it up with the Viceroy.

2. There are certain facilities which only the Government can give in connection with the Referendum; for instance, the availability of sufficient petrol for propaganda work. Unless the Provincial Governor receives special instructions from the Viceroy that full facilities should be given, the Ministry may create trouble and by the time representations are made to the Central Government and a redress sought, valuable time will be lost.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,
A. R. NISHTAR

¹The demonstration was part of the Civil Disobedience Movement in the NWFP. See Appendix VIII.7, Vol.I, Part II, 332-4.

²The Referendum, envisaged by the 3 June Plan, was scheduled for 6 to 17 July. See Annex to Annexure IV to Enclosure to No. 80.

88

Sajedul Bar to M. A. Jinnah

F.162/7-9

C/O LT. A. LAIS, O.B.E.,
 AMBARKHANA, P.O. SYLHET, ASSAM,
 12 June 1947

Revered Quaid-i-Azam,

At the very outset, I must send to you, the father of the Muslim nation, our sincerest congratulations for the splendid triumph won over the political chessboard, associated [*sic* for along] with our apology for the audacity in encroaching upon your valuable time. May *Allah* grant you long life to lead the nation further.

Sir, last year, I wrote to you a letter regarding myself [*sic* for me] and you had the kindness to reply to it. I approached the *Dawn* authorities but to no effect. Be that as it may, I have now been invigorated with a new life and a new hope on the achievement of Pakistan. I again place myself and my career at [*sic* for in] your hands. I am sure that if you so [*sic* for will] kindly give me a lift, I shall be able to rise to the occasion and play my part well. Now that the octopus of *Hindudom* has been removed, the Muslims are sure to get fresh avenues. I am sure that in the near future, there will be a "Pakistan Foreign Service". I feel an urge that I shall be able to acquit myself [well] in Pakistani missions in foreign countries. As I am a middle class man, I cannot exhibit my genius [due to] various obstacles. Hence I place myself completely at your disposal. I am confident that the saviour of the Muslim nation will shape my career and grant me the boon. Poor as I am, I have got nothing more to offer than to assure him [*sic*] that I shall not fail an inch to discharge any responsibility that may be thrown upon me in respect of foreign mission and that my whole life will be devoted to the service of the Muslim nation.

I am sure Sylhet will triumph over [*sic* for in] the Referendum and we shall be a part of Pakistan. So [are] my hopes and aspirations.

I do not like to prolong this letter and thus waste your time. I only want ■ lift. ■ have indicated my choice. Please accept my best regards. May *Allah* grant you long life.

Yours in the pursuit of the ideal,

SAJEDUL BAR
 M.A.

89

Wilayat Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F.356/5-6

12 June 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I hope you will excuse me for giving you the trouble of going through this letter and for wasting your precious time.

Please accept my heartiest congratulations on the grand success. It is really on account of your untiring efforts, statesmanship, sincerity and sacrifices that we have achieved our goal. May you live long to guide us at this critical moment and may the Almighty lead us on the right path. *Aameen*. My prayer is that Pakistan may prove to be an advanced and democratic state and not a reactionary state as people think it will be. This is the time to show to the world that we are an advanced and democratic nation and are not reactionaries. Our success lies in pleasing the minorities and safeguarding their interests and I am sure that under your able leadership we will succeed.

Quaid-i-Azam, it has been an old desire of mine to stand on my own feet and probably you remember that once when I talked to you about this desire of mine, you were very kind to ask me to think over and let you know what I wanted to do. I have tried my level best to fulfil this desire of mine but in vain. I have no one in this dark world to guide me. Now you are in a position to take me out of the darkness and I am sure you will help me to come out into the light. You would probably like to know what I want to do. I leave this to you. Whatever you think is good for me. I know you are extremely busy and it is practically impossible for you to help individuals but I am troubling you because I think I have a right to do so.

I would have liked to come to you personally and talk to you but I did not like wasting your time. I am sure you will not disappoint me and will help me in making my life worth living for [*sic*].

With affectionate regards to Miss Jinnah and yourself.

Hoping to hear from you soon,

Your affectionate nephew,
WILAYAT [ALI KHAN]

90

Desmond Young to M. A. Jinnah

F.1058/34-5

HAROON SONS LIMITED,
CHAMBER OF COMMERCE BUILDING,
WOOD STREET, KARACHI,
12 June 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

It is a long time since we met (at the Raja of Mahmudabad's house in Lucknow in September 1939) and I must apologise for troubling you about ■ comparatively minor matter when there are so many more important calls upon you.

Mr. Yusuf Haroon tells me that you wish him to change the name of the *Herald* to *Torchlight* and, although I am merely advising him on technical matters connected with the production of the paper, I hope you will permit me to make one or two observations before a final decision is taken, as it must be within the next few days.

I am not enthusiastic about the name *Herald* myself, since it is already used by ■ number of newspapers in various parts of the world.

On the other hand, it has received ■ considerable amount of advance publicity here in Sind and many people are talking about it and seem to like it. Moreover, I have discussed the paper under this name with all the principal British and Indian advertising agencies and they are already familiar with it.

This apart, I must say that I am not very enthusiastic about *Torchlight* either.

For one thing, there are rather too many letters in it to make a bold and effective heading in large type and I am very anxious to get away from the conventional Gothic or black letter which seems to me quite out of place in a modern newspaper.

Secondly, there is already ■ weekly newspaper *Searchlight* in Patna and, of the two, *Searchlight* is the better name because it suggests something modern whereas *Torchlight* suggests, to me at least, something mediaeval. To challenge comparison with a Hindu weekly seems to me undesirable.

Lastly, *Torchlight* suggests to me and would, I think, suggest to British and American advertisers, on whom the paper will depend for much of its support, a weekly publication of opinion, probably religious, rather than a daily newspaper.

These are my personal views. I hesitate to disagree with you but I feel sure you will allow some weight to the fact that I have been more than 20 years in the newspaper business in different countries.

If you feel that the change from the *Herald* is absolutely essential, might I suggest as an alternative the name *Contact*, which has the merits of being short, striking and not used by any other daily newspaper in the world, so far as I am aware. It also conveys the idea of maintaining contact with your supporters in Pakistan and outside and with the rest of the Muslim world.

Since all our printing and advance publicity, appointment of agents, etc., is held up, and there is very little time left, might I ask you to be so good as to send me a telegram on receipt of this letter?

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
DESMOND YOUNG

91

C. Corfield to M. A. Jinnah

F.1025/163

POLITICAL DEPARTMENT,
NEW DELHI,
13 June 1947

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

As requested by His Excellency at this morning's meeting I enclose herewith a copy of the report of the Indian States Enquiry Committee (Financial), 1932, commonly known as the Davidson Committee Report.¹

Yours sincerely,
C. CORFIELD

¹Printed Material No. 836, QAP Accession List, Part IV, 21 (not printed).

92

Hossain Imam to M. A. Jinnah

F.296/55

24 HARDINGE AVENUE, NEW DELHI,¹

13 June 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I enclose herewith extracts from a letter from Mr. A. F. M. Abdur Rahman, Relief Minister of Bengal. The Bihar people wanted to see you in this connection but could not get an interview due to your pressing engagements. Unfortunately Kh. Nazimuddin is ill, Firoz Khan Noon has gone back to Lahore and Jafar Imam, the President of Bihar Muslim League, is leaving tonight. I am unable to decide the matter or to suggest any remedy. I had heard about this matter from several people and rang up your Secretary for an appointment but as you had no time and this matter is also urgent, I, therefore, leave it in your hands for final disposal.

Yours sincerely,
HOSSAIN IMAM

¹The letter was typed on the letterhead of the President, Council of State.

*Enclosure to No. 92**A.F.M. Abdur Rahman to Hossain Imam**[Extract]*

F.296/56

11 June 1947

You know there are nearly 1,35,000 Bihar refugees in Bengal at the present moment. I wanted to have a discussion with the leaders of the Bihar Provincial Muslim League in the presence of the Honourable Chief Minister, Bengal, regarding the future of these unfortunate refugees, almost all of whom are now housed in West Bengal. I cannot visualize what the new Government of Eastern Pakistan will be able to do with regard to maintenance of these refugees. It is extremely doubtful if the Ministry of Pakistan Zone will be able to absorb any substantial number of these refugees in the Eastern Pakistan State. It appears that *I would be forced to close down the Relief Centres within about a fortnight.*¹ In my opinion, there will be a chaos if we fail to chalk out a line of planned action immediately.

Muslims of Bengal and I feel extremely sorry for the present unexpected plight of the Bihar refugees, but we are at the present moment almost helpless. I would, therefore, request you kindly to consider the question in the light of above observations, give your immediate thought to the problem, decide upon a course of action and *inform me immediately* as the relief establishment will have to be closed within about a fortnight.

¹Underlined here and hereafter in the original, probably by Jinnah.

93

Mohammad Inamur Rahim to M. A. Jinnah

F.10/73-5

SECRET

NEW DELHI,
13 June 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

When you addressed the Muslim officers recently you were kind enough to ask us to suggest a high-powered committee of five who in your opinion would be qualified to advise you about high matters, for instance, selection for the posts of Governor. In my opinion the best procedure is for a few senior officers to submit to you their humble opinion and leave it to you to make a selection from the list given by them as this is a matter on which there is likely to be a good deal of difference of opinion.

2. I venture to submit to you a list of 2 non-officials and 6 officials from which it may be possible to make a selection:

Non-officials

- i. H. H. Nawab Hamidullah Khan Bahadur of Bhopal
- ii. Mr. Ahmad Ispahani

Officials

As regards officials I venture to submit that those selected should have the following qualifications:

- a. Maturity of judgement and wide experience

No officer who has not put in at least 25 years' service is likely to express a useful opinion on such weighty matters.

- b. Sympathy with the League ideals

In the past, several Muslim officers have been tempted to earn promotion by sacrificing the interests of Muslims while some others have suffered persecution because they stuck to their principles and tried to safeguard the interests of Muslims. I venture to submit that it is very necessary to make sure that the Muslim officers selected are those who are inspired by the right ideals.

c. Variety of experience

Only one man of each service may be selected so that we may be able to draw upon as wide a field as possible. The branches of administration that are likely to provide officers of the requisite standing and qualifications are enumerated below:

A. High Court Judges

I suggest the name of Hon'ble Mr. Justice Ghulam Hassan, Chief Judge, Lucknow.

B. Members of Services other than the I.C.S.

The following officers may be considered:

1. Mr. Zahid Hussain
2. Sir Ghulam Mohammed

C. Members of the I.C.S.

If it is decided to include in the committee a senior member of the I.C.S., I suggest that selection may be made from amongst those who, after acquiring wide experience as Secretary to Government or as Head of the Department, have held important territorial charges. There are at present only four Muslim I.C.S. officers who have risen to the rank of Commissioner in the provinces:

1. Mr. Inamul Majid, Chief Commissioner, Andamans
2. Mr. S. Khurshid, Commissioner, U.P.
3. Nawabzada Said-Ullah Khan, former Commissioner, Lahore
4. Myself

I have not met some of these officers for some time. I, therefore, do not know whether they have been supporting the League cause. Enquiries on the subject are, however, easy to make.

3. There is one other matter about which I crave your indulgence to make a humble suggestion. Now that Pakistan is definitely coming it is certain that extremely heavy work is bound to fall on your shoulders. Might I suggest that a small secretariat may be created for you, and that a service man, to be selected by you, may be placed at your whole-time disposal. Perhaps he could also act as Secretary to the committee mentioned above. This suggestion I beg you to consider very carefully as it is in the best interests of our nation that you should be persuaded not to subject yourself to any avoidable strain, so that by God's Grace Pakistan

may continue to have the blessing of your guidance for ■ long time to come. *Aameen!*

4. I also beg to suggest the creation of this committee and this secretariat without any delay as there are several pressing matters which require immediate consideration. For instance it is obvious that the entire future of Pakistan depends on the personnel selected for the main committees that are being set up. Your guidance and control in this important matter will be ■ great blessing to us.

Yours sincerely,
M. INAMUR RAHIM
I.C.S.

Director-General of Civil Aviation in India

Annex to No. 93

F.4/62-6

LIST OF MUSLIM OFFICERS FOR SENIOR APPOINTMENTS

1. PRIME MINISTER'S DEPARTMENT

- i. Joint Secretary (Cabinet and Co-ordination): Until ■ Joint Secretary is found the post should not be filled. Mr. Osman Ali to continue as Deputy Secretary (Cabinet and Co-ordination).
- ii. Establishment Officer: Sir H. Shoobert.
He is on leave. Until his return Mr. Llewellyn should hold the temporary charge of this post with the rank and pay of a Joint Secretary. Mr. Llewellyn is at present a Joint Secretary to the Government of India. He has good reputation and record.
- iii. Development Secretary: Dr. Nazir Ahmad (with the rank and pay of Joint Secretary). Dr. Nazir Ahmad is ■ member of the Tariff Board. He is a scientist of standing and has been a member of numerous scientific and industrial bodies, official and non-official. He has visited Europe and America as a member of industrial and scientific missions. Present pay Rs. 3,000.

2. DEFENCE

Joint Secretary: Lt. Col. Syed Iskander Ali Mirza of the Political Department and in case he is selected for some other post later, Mr. A. T. Naqvi, I.C.S. who is at present under training in U.K. for ■ similar position in India.

3. FINANCE

Financial Adviser (Defence): Mr. W. G. Alexander, I.C.S.

Deputy Secretary (Budget): Mr. Anwar Ali

Joint Secretary (Establishment): Mr. M. Hashim

Joint Secretary (Budget, Currency and Exchange), [and] Joint Secretary (Development): Mr. M. Shoaib

We are on the look out for a Joint Secretary (Budget, Currency and Exchange) who would have to be trained in the Reserve Bank. Meanwhile Mr. Shoaib will hold the double charge.

Chief Commissioner, Central Revenues: Mr. J. B. Shearer (if available). Mr. Innes, who was earmarked for this post, is not likely to be available. Mr. Shearer is being sounded.

Financial Adviser, Communications: Mr. K. Ubaidullah

We recommend for this post the rank of Joint Secretary. In Delhi there is a Financial Commissioner for Railways and a Financial Adviser for Communications. We propose to combine these two functions in one officer of the rank of Joint Secretary. Mr. Ubaidullah is a very competent officer and has had wide experience in the Railway Board and later in the Supply Department as well as in the Industries and Supplies Department.

4. COMMERCE, INDUSTRIES, SUPPLIES, WORKS,
MINES AND POWER

Joint Secretary, Commerce: Mr. S. A. Hasnie (already holding the post)

Joint Secretary, Industries: Mr. Abbas Khalilee (if available). He is an I.C.S. officer with considerable experience of Industries and Labour.

Director-General of Industries, Supplies and Disposals, ex-officio Additional Secretary: Mr. A. G. Khan

Deputy Secretary, Commerce: Mr. A. A. Said (already holding the post)

We find ourselves unable to make any recommendations for filling the post of Economic Adviser. This matter should be considered and the desirability of importing a suitable officer from outside should be investigated.

Deputy Secretary, Industries: Mr. R. A. Mahmadi (already holding the post)

5. COMMUNICATIONS

Director-General, Railways: (to follow)

Deputy Secretary, Civil Aviation, Posts and Telegraphs etc., Mr. M. H. Zuberi

6. AGRICULTURE, FOOD AND HEALTH

We are awaiting the option of Mr. Inamul Majid, a senior Muslim officer, at present Chief Commissioner, Andaman Islands.

Deputy Secretary: Mr. G. A. Madani

Joint Secretary: Mr. Mohammad Ishaq, I.C.S. Born 1906; joined the service 1931. Joint Magistrate. Has served as Director, Rural Reconstruction; Controller of Jute and Special Officer, Department of Civil Supplies.

7. LEGISLATIVE AND LABOUR

There is always a shortage of men with talent for the special type of work done in the Legislative Department. We suggest, therefore, that Mr. Bashir Ahmed, I.C.S., who is now Secretary, Constituent Assembly, should be considered for the post of Secretary, Legislative Department after he is free from the work of the Constituent Assembly. It would of course be necessary to consider the claims of other officers who might by that time appear to be suitable.

8. HOME, EDUCATION, INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING

Secretary: Mr. J. B. Irwin, C.I.E., D.S.O., I.C.S., formerly Additional Secretary, War Department, Government of India. He is a very senior I.C.S. officer.

Joint Secretary, Home: Mr. G. Burgess, C.I.E., O.B.E., I.C.S., (not available just now, having gone to U.K.). He was Governor's Secretary for many years and has good record.

Joint Secretary, Information and Broadcasting: Vacant.

Education Adviser: Dr. Omar Hayat Malik: Pay Rs.2,000 fixed. Period of appointment 3 years

9. FOREIGN, COMMONWEALTH AND STATES DEPARTMENT

Joint Secretary: Major A.S.B. Shah, O.B.E. At present Deputy Commissioner, Peshawar. Was recently Counsellor to the British Embassy at Kabul. Was formerly Deputy Secretary in the External Affairs Department, Government of India.

Joint Secretary, Commonwealth and States: Mr. T. B. Creagh Coen, C.I.E., I.C.S. (1927). A senior officer, at present Deputy Secretary (Political Department)

Deputy Secretary, Foreign: Captain Dixon (already Deputy Secretary) Under-Secretary, Foreign: Mr. Oliver (already Under-Secretary)

Deputy Secretary, States: Mr. Akhtar Husain, I.C.S., (already holding the post)

Deputy Secretary, Commonwealth: Syed Itaat Husain. He is a

P.C.S. officer whose services will have to be obtained from C.P.
Already holding the post

10. PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION

Chairman: Mr. Justice M. Ismail (Retired): Pay Rs. 3,500

94

M. A. Jinnah to Louis Mountbatten

F.2/65

13 June 1947

Dear Lord Mountbatten,

I am enclosing herewith Mr. Gandhi's letter¹ received by me to-day
and the reply I have sent to him immediately.²

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

¹Enclosure 1.

²Enclosure 2.

Enclosure 1 to No. 94

M. K. Gandhi to M. A. Jinnah

F.2/67

NEW DELHI,
13 June 1947

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

His Excellency the Viceroy writes¹ saying that you "will gladly
accept" my "suggestion" "and put the case of Pakistan to the leaders
and the people [up] there, provided" I "can obtain an undertaking
from the Congress that they will not interfere".

I do not know what you mean by the undertaking from the Congress
that they will not interfere.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

¹No. 84.

*Enclosure 2 to No. 94
M. A. Jinnah to M. K. Gandhi*

F.2/66

13 June 1947

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

I am in receipt of your letter of 13 June¹ and I thought it was quite clear what I meant that the Congress should undertake that they will not interfere with the people of the Frontier in any way whatsoever.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

M. K. Gandhi, Esq.,
Bhangi Colony,
New Delhi

¹Enclosure 1.

95

Louis Mountbatten to Francis Mudie

IOR, MSS Eur, F.200/138

[NEW DELHI],
13 June 1947

Dear Mudie,

Thank you for your letter of the 7th June, 1947.¹ We are getting along quite well so far, although there are almost daily differences to be ironed out with the various leaders. However, I hope to get through ■ committee tomorrow the plan for carrying out the partition of the Government of India, and if that is so, the various expert committees will start work next week. Your province is fortunate in being able to sit back and watch events developing without having to go through the troubles of dividing itself, or holding a referendum.

2. By the 26th June, when the Sind Assembly meets, the position in Bengal and the Punjab should be clear. You state that the British members are going to attend; this, however, will be contrary to para. 10 of H.M.G.'s announcement,² and I should like you to send for them, and ask them not to take any part in the proceedings. If they insist on attending of course, they have the right to do so, since it is ■ meeting of the Assembly, but they

should be dissuaded from any attempt at exercising their vote. In fact, if they do vote, they may invalidate the whole procedure and I as well as H.M.G. would take such a flouting of their plan very seriously amiss.

I rely on you to see this through and if you fail or look like failing apply to us for further instructions in good time before the vote.

3. Departmental examination of the Sind Mortgage Bill³ is not yet complete, and there is not such likelihood of my decision being communicated to you before the meeting of the Assembly.

4. Hydari⁴ and his Ministers are anxious that the Assam administrative cadre, which has never been strongly manned, should be strengthened now, in view of the special importance in future of administration in the Tribal Areas, and in connection with development schemes projected, not only [in] the Tribal Areas, but in the valleys,—for example, a Brahmaputra multipurpose development scheme in the Assam Valley.

The Assam Ministry are ready to offer contracts, for five years in the first instance, to officers, whether European or Indian, whose suitability is vouched for by Hydari. Senior officers would be eligible, but younger officers would be preferable.

This offer might provide attractive openings for valuable work, to I.C.S. and I.P. officers who have not yet made up their minds about their future employment. If you know of any such, I should be grateful if you would advise them to get in touch with Hydari direct, or alternatively suggest to Hydari yourself the names of officers whom he might usefully contact.

5. I am going to Simla for the week-end, and then to Kashmir for four days next week.

With best wishes,

MOUNTBATTEN OF BURMA

H.E. Sir Francis Mudie, K.C.S.I.,
K.C.I.E., O.B.E.,
Governor of Sind

³Francis Mudie indicated the general reaction of Sindis and others to the 3 June Plan. See *TP*, XI, No. 104, 193-4.

⁴No.1.

⁵The Sind Mortgage Bill was introduced on 24 March 1947 in the Sind Legislative Assembly by the Sind Revenue Minister. This Bill was hotly debated in the press and in the Assembly. Also see *TP*, X, No. 161, 284.

⁶Sir Muhammad Saleh Akbar Hydari, Governor of Assam from 4 May 1947.

96

Mrs K. L. Rallia Ram to M. A. Jinnah

F.487/67-8

ELYSIUM HOTEL, SIMLA,
13 June 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I was horrified to read that the Khaksars again made an attempt to foil not only your plans but also perhaps had other heinous plans.¹ I thanked God Almighty that He not only saved you but did not allow them to foil your great plans. I do hope that you will take every possible precaution to protect yourself from the schemes of your enemies; although God alone is the safest Protector of all and we have to pray to Him for your safety and protection. Now you are going to the Frontier for the Referendum. Please take precaution for your safety throughout the journey as well as for the entire stay there.

I hope you are getting all my letters from here. Today I am enclosing several very interesting cuttings² about the Sikhs. Tara Singh is still hoping that Lahore, Montgomery,³ Lyallpur⁴ and Sheikhpura should go to him. Look at the absurdity of his demands! And it is the Hindus who are goading them into further and further demands.

The cutting on Indian Christians is rather interesting. The Hindus take it for granted that all the minorities must go with them. Their arguments are so absurd. I am an Indian Christian and I know that most of them will want to go with Muslims and never with Hindus. S. P. Singha has again been to see you in this connection. His turning over to the League is not from any conviction or principle. He is a man who goes for his personal interests. Now he has seen that Pakistan has come and so has come over to its side. He is the fellow whose turning over [to Congress] prevented the coming in [power] of the League.⁵ He has always been bargaining on both sides and therefore is an undependable fellow. Anyway, if he has now come to his senses, it is all right.

Look what the Hindus write about you. They will not stop their nonsense even now. Perhaps they still think that Lahore will go to them!

Long may you live. *Pakistan Zindabad.*

Sincerely yours,
MRS. K. L. RALLIA RAM

¹This refers to the attack by Khaksars on the Imperial Hotel, Delhi, where a meeting of the Council of the AIML was in progress, under the presidentship of Jinnah, on 9 June 1947. See

Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, ed., *Foundations of Pakistan*, III, Karachi, 1990, 429-30. Also see No. 180, note 3.

²Not available in *QAP*.

³Now called Sahiwal and Faisalabad respectively.

⁵Also see No. 243, Vol. I, Part I, 419-20.

97

Abdul Latif to M. A. Jinnah

F.369/7

67 THE MALL, PESHAWAR,
14 June 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Ever since I heard of your intended visit to this Province in this torrid weather, my first impulse was to think out a plan by which I could lessen out [*sic*], as far as possible, an otherwise gruelling programme, since now-a-days most of your energy is devoted to give shape to the ideal—Pakistan.

Keeping in view the above facts, I came to the conclusion that Peshawar would be better suited as your Headquarters rather than Abbottabad, since most of the areas which require strengthening in favour of the League are situated round about [*sic* for around] Peshawar. Moreover, what little difference is made by the varying temperatures of these two places will be counterbalanced by the 120-miles of motoring, which, no doubt, will be held up by various League processions on the road and will prove too much of a strain on your health in this hot season.

I discussed this matter with Mr. Qaiyum, and he agreed with me, also agreeing that I should put my house at your service. To this I agreed happily, since by now I am a little acquainted with your requirements.

This house, which will easily accommodate yourself, Miss Jinnah if she is coming, and your staff, is situated in a quiet and open locality in the Cantonment, also possessing spacious lawns, in which you will be able to see a great number of people at a time.

It will, no doubt, honour me to have you as my guest, but my main theme in this letter is to decrease as far as possible the physical and mental strain which this busy programme will cause you.

I hope you will answer in the affirmative in the near future, so that I can make the necessary arrangements.

I congratulate you on achieving your object—Pakistan.

Yours sincerely,
ABDUL LATIF

98

*I. A. Chishti to M. A. Jinnah**F.886/230*

MAYMOON MANZIL, 3RD FLOOR,
SHEPHERD ROAD, BYCULLA, BOMBAY,
14 June 1947

Revered Quaid-i-Azam,

I despatched on the 2nd instant by air under registered cover (Acknowledgement Due) a letter together with several enclosures including the tables A, B, C, and D.¹ The tables give all the facts and figures regarding the proposed demarcation of the provincial boundaries etc., in divided India.

As I have not yet received its postal acknowledgement, which is now overdue, I am afraid it has been lost in transit.

I could have since drawn up some other material, too, in that connection and could have forwarded it to you for your perusal, if only I could hear that the one already submitted proved to be of any practical use.

Waiting humbly for ■ reply to my original submission,

Respectfully yours,
I. A. CHISHTI

¹No. 522, Vol. I, Part I, 980-2.

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*M. K. Gandhi to M. A. Jinnah**F.2/64*

BHANGI COLONY, NEW DELHI,
14 June 1947

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Yours of the 13th instant¹ was received when I was at a meeting.

I had hoped that H. E. [Mountbatten] had not clearly understood

your meaning. I now see that I was mistaken. I cannot ask the Congress to commit *hara-kiri*.²

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

¹Enclosure 2 to No. 94.

²Gandhi thought that an undertaking by the Congress not to interfere, while Jinnah visited the Frontier to put the case of Pakistan to the people up there, would be tantamount to committing suicide.

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H. L. Ismay to M.A. Jinnah

F.1/26

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE, NEW DELHI,
14 June 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

It may be helpful if I send you the conclusions of the meeting held yesterday morning, Friday, 13th June, as we understood them.

If you should desire to make any corrections, I should be grateful if you would let me have them as soon as possible.

Yours sincerely,
ISMAY

Enclosure to No. 100

F.1/27-32

SECRET

ITEM 1. THE STATES

It was Agreed:

- i. that the draft letter to Residents (circulated at the meeting), under the heading "Direct correspondence between States and the Central Government", should be amended by the Political Adviser as indicated by the Viceroy during the meeting, and despatched;
- ii. that it would be advantageous if the Government of India were to set up a new Department, possibly called the "*States Department*" to¹ deal with matters of common concern with

- the States; that, if this were done, the new Department should be divided into two sections, ready for the partition of the country; and that the existing Political Department and the Political Adviser should give all possible assistance and advice in the formation of this new Department;
- iii. that the draft letter to Residents (circulated at the meeting), under the heading "Formula for Standstill Arrangements on the lapse of Paramountcy", should be amended by the Political Adviser as indicated by the Viceroy during the meeting, and despatched;
 - iv. that the "Draft Standstill Formula" (circulated before the meeting) should be amended by the inclusion, in the Schedule, of a provision to include matters of common concern not specifically mentioned;
 - v. that the Indian Leaders should give further consideration to this "Draft Standstill Formula", and inform the Viceroy of any suggestions they might have in regard to it;
 - vi. that there should be a meeting between the *Indian Leaders and representatives of the States (possibly the States Negotiating Committee)* to consider this "Draft Standstill Formula" and any other matters of common concern, on a date to be decided, probably in July;
 - vii. that it would be necessary for all States to send fully accredited representatives to sign this Standstill Formula, when it was finally agreed;
 - viii. that the Political Adviser should empower Residents to continue with the destruction of ephemeral records and of documents, copies of which are held in the Political Department;
 - ix. that the Political Adviser should apply to the Honourable Member for Education for the services of experts to assist in the weeding and sorting of the Crown Representative's Records; but that there should be no more destruction of these records until after the transfer of power;
 - x. that records which
 - i. contained information regarding the private lives of Rulers and the internal affairs of States, or
 - ii. had not been weeded to see whether they contained such information
 should be handed over, on the transfer of power, to the United Kingdom High Commissioner;
 - xi. that the Political Adviser should circulate to Pandit Nehru

and Mr. Jinnah copies of the report of the Indian States Enquiry Committee (Financial), 1932, commonly known as the Davidson Committee Report.²

ITEM 2. THE BOUNDARY COMMISSIONS

It was agreed:

- i. that each Boundary Commission should consist of an independent chairman and four other persons, of whom two should be nominated by Congress and two by the Muslim League;
- ii. that all these persons should, if possible, be of high judicial standing;
- iii. that Congress would include a Sikh in the two persons nominated by them for the Punjab Boundary Commission;
- iv. that Pandit Nehru and Mr. Jinnah should send to the Viceroy their nominees for both Boundary Commissions, as soon as possible;
- v. that the members of each Boundary Commission, when nominated, should meet together to choose an independent chairman; and that, if they did not succeed in coming to a decision on this, the choice of chairmen would be made at a meeting of the Indian Leaders;
- vi. that the following draft Terms of Reference for the Boundary Commissions should be considered further by the Indian Leaders, and that they should send in their comments thereon to the Viceroy.³

For the Punjab

The Boundary Commission is instructed to demarcate the boundaries of the two parts of the Bengal on the basis of ascertaining the contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims. In doing so it will also take into account other factors.

For Bengal

The Boundary Commission is instructed to demarcate the boundaries of the two parts of Punjab on the basis of ascertaining the contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims. In doing so it will also take into account other factors.

2. In the event of the referendum in Sylhet District of Assam resulting in favour of amalgamation with Eastern Bengal, the Boundary Commission for Bengal will also demarcate the Muslim-majority areas of Sylhet District and contiguous Muslim-majority areas of adjoining districts.

ITEM 3. THE ARBITRAL TRIBUNAL

It was Agreed:

that Sardar Patel and Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan should further consider together the composition of the Arbitral Tribunal, and send in their agreed recommendations to the Viceroy.

ITEM 4. THE CALCUTTA ENQUIRY¹

It was Agreed:

that the Viceroy should obtain from Sir Patrick Spens his full views concerning the suggestion that the Calcutta Enquiry should now be wound up, and a report obtained concerning the work it had so far completed.

ITEM 5. THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE

It was Agreed:

that Sir Eric Mievill should further consult the leaders of Congress and the Muslim League concerning the preparation of election posters for the N.W.F.P. referendum.

¹Underlined here and hereafter in the original, probably by Jinnah.

²See No.91, note.

³Also see No. 312.

⁴The Calcutta Riots Enquiry Commission was established on 11 September 1946 by the Government of Bengal to enquire into the causes of the disturbances which erupted in Calcutta between 16 and 20 August 1946 and the measures taken to deal with them. The Commission was chaired by Sir Patrick Spens; other members of the Commission were: Sir Saiyid Fazl-Ali, Chief Justice of the Patna High Court and Mr. B. Somayya, formerly Puisne Judge of the Madras High Court. See *TP*, VIII, No. 223, note 2, 347-8.

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*Ithna 'Ashari Volunteer Corps, Tanganyika, to
Habib Bank Ltd., Delhi
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)*

F.156/146

P. O. BOX NO.24,
LINDI, TANGANYIKA TERRITORY,
14 June 1947

Dear Sir,

I enclose herewith a Draft for Rs. 693-5-4 for credit to Muslim League's Bihar Relief Fund, which please acknowledge.

A Draft for Rs. 2,500 was sent to you by this Corps for the

same purpose on 28 January last.¹ We have had no acknowledgement from you. Kindly confirm receipt.

Yours faithfully,
Honorary Secretary

The Manager,
Habib Bank Ltd.,
Delhi

¹F.156/33, QAP.

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*A. M. Jafferbhoy to Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah
(Copy to M.A. Jinnah)*

F.886/231

URGENT

REAY ROAD, BOMBAY,
14 June 1947

Dear Sir,

We beg to inform you that we are landlords and the directors of the following private limited concerns in Bombay:

- i. Jafferbhoy Limited
- ii. Hyder-i-Ally Manufacturing & Pressing Factory Limited
- iii. Parel Cotton Press Factory Limited

We are doing extensive business all over India, Europe, America, Canada, Australia, Middle East and Far East, and are regular contractors and suppliers of Cotton Waste to the Government of India, and Indian Railways.

We are holding the monopoly for Cotton Press Factories in Bombay and suburbs for the last 60 years and we have also permitted a few Hindus to function [*sic* for operate] Cotton Press Factories in Bombay under our own terms and have formed a Press Pool in Bombay which we command to our advantage.

In view of the present political changes, we are desirous of shifting our head office and the working capital to Pakistan, particularly to Karachi, and wish to open a few Cotton Press Factories in the proposed Industrial Area of Karachi. Therefore, we shall thank you to kindly furnish us with all the necessary information to this effect [*sic*] and

also of the facilities that may be afforded by your Government to us.

Thanking you in anticipation and awaiting the favour of your esteemed reply with prompt attention and oblige,

Yours faithfully,
FOR JAFFERBHAI KANJI,
A.M. JAFFERBHOY
Partner

Hon'ble Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah,
Prime Minister, Sind, Karachi

103

M. A. Jinnah to Hossain Imam

F.296/57

14 June 1947

Dear Mr. Hossain Imam,

I have received your letter of 13th June.¹ It is very sad indeed that the Central Bihar Relief Committee appointed by me has done nothing to face the situation and handle the matter as they should have done.

I told you long ago when we met that you must get that Committee together and it should lay down the line of action, but you have failed, as I see from your letter, and you have not been able to arrange a meeting of the members. What do you expect me to do now if responsible men appointed to the Committee do not do their duty and have so far failed to attend to the matter which is of such great importance? It is impossible for me to take up this matter at the present moment, as you know I have not a moment's time when matters of great importance from day to day are engaging my attention.

Therefore, once more, I ask you to get together the members of this Committee, as many as you can, and lay down the line of action with a view to tackling the question of the refugees in Bengal and Bihar.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

The Hon'ble Mr. Hossain Imam,
24 Hardinge Avenue,
New Delhi

104

M. A. Jinnah to Khan of Kalat

F.699/12

14 June 1947

My dear Khan Sahib,

Many thanks for your letter of 9th of June.¹ I was extremely sorry to hear that you were laid up but your letter shows that you are much better now and I was very pleased to read this good news from your letter under reply which was delivered to me by your trustworthy men.

I want you to realize that things are moving very fast now and there is no time for correspondence; and your presence was necessary at the time I wired to you. I shall let you know later when your presence is required here again.

I thank you very much for your kind offer of hospitality and your invitation to me to go to Baluchistan and I would have readily agreed to go to Baluchistan as nothing is more desirable from the point of view of health and climate, but it is not possible for me to leave Delhi for a single moment at present. The gravity, importance and the rapidity with which things are moving are not realized by many people.

I do hope that you are fully recovered now and this is just the time to be active and vigilant. The question now is not what is the true and what is not the true state of affairs in Baluchistan. The grave question now is that on or before the 15th of August two independent Governments are going to be established in Pakistan and Hindustan.

I am very grateful to you indeed for your personal references to me in our friendly relations and your offer of service.

With kind regards from Miss Jinnah and me to Begum Sahiba and yourself and our love to children and I sincerely hope you will be quite fit very soon and I shall let you know by telegram if your presence is required here.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

His Highness the Khan of Kalat,
The Palace,
Kalat

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*M. A. Jinnah to I. M. Stephens**F.503/10*

14 June 1947

My dear Mr. Stephens,

With regard to the matter you mentioned to me in our last interview, I have consulted my friends and the only name I can recommend is that of Mr. K. Sarwar Hasan, Secretary, Indian Institute of International Affairs, New Delhi. But it must be strictly understood that his identity is not to be disclosed, at any rate at present.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

I. M. Stephens, Esq.,
Editor, *The Statesman*, Statesman House, Chowringhee,
Calcutta

106

*Nawab of Kurwai to M. A. Jinnah**F.702/1-2*

KURWAI STATE, CENTRAL INDIA,
14 June 1947

My Quaid-i-Azam,
Assalaamo 'Alaikum

Every Muslim honours you and I honour you no less than anyone of them. I and my Muslim public not only congratulate you but pray every day to *Allah* to bless you with His choicest blessing, which will make you greater than the Greatest-Man-in-the-World, which you undoubtedly are.

I am temporarily unwell, otherwise I would have presented myself personally to seek your orders. Therefore, I have had to ask my Personal Adviser, Professor Salim Chistie, to request you for an audience to seek your advice and orders for me. I rely on your graciousness to give him an audience and, as soon as I am better, I will personally call on you.

With respects,

Yours devoted[ly],
SARWAR ELI KHAN

107

Sheikh Manzoor Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

F.162/10

PORT SAID,
14 June 1947

Sir,

I am just coming back from London, having completed my legal studies. Having been called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn, I intended originally to practise in East Africa where my parents have settled down. But on learning about Pakistan's coming into existence, I decided to join its diplomatic service, if my services are required.

Please let me know at my Bombay address whether I can be of use in the administrative side of the new Dominion: Pakistan.

Thanking you, Sir,

I beg to remain,
Your obedient servant,
S. MANZOOR AHMAD
c/o Sheikh I. Fatheh
Allana Mansions,
Jacob Circle, Bombay

108

Sahibzada Muhammad Khurshid to M. A. Jinnah

F.886/232-3

PRIVATE

KHYBER HOUSE, PESHAWAR,
14 June 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I need no introduction to you. I am not a stranger. Among Musalmans there is no stranger. I have met you more than once, though it is a long time, over eleven years, since I met you last. That you may have forgotten me is not unnatural. Time makes one forget.

My object in writing this letter is not personal. Of anything personal you will hardly ever hear from me. Of this you may rest assured.

Before I say what I want to say, I would like to congratulate you, if I

may, on what you have done for the Musalmans of India. By giving them those wonderful injections of your patent "Determination and Unity", followed invariably by a wholesome dose of "Perseverance, Steadfastness, Courage and Fortitude", from time to time, at appropriate moments, you have brought into life a virtually dead people, now so full of vigour and hope. Dead people do not as a rule come back to life but you have done it. It is no exaggeration, but it is indeed a marvellous achievement and a miraculous escape from sure and certain destruction, ruination, degradation and unthinkable calamity at the hands of most unscrupulous, cunning and ruthless enemies. Difficulties have been many and great in your way. Forces working against you were numerous and powerful, but the Merciful God has been merciful in saving the *Millat* of the Prophet from utter annihilation which was visible on the horizon. The Musalmans of India owe you an everlasting debt of gratitude for your services to them and for their salvation. The Musalmans of the world would indeed be indebted for providing them with a strong moral and political support of one hundred million people.

Now the real object of this letter. I shall try to be brief. I have served in Baluchistan for twelve years running. I know every part of it, from one end to the other, and all its people. I have served in this Province for about eight years and I am a permanent resident of it. Most of my time I have spent among tribesmen. I consider myself, therefore, qualified for offering suggestions when necessary about the administration of the Tribal Areas of the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan. I do not propose to bother you with anything lengthy at present. I may shortly be writing a brief note on the future of the Tribal Areas of both the N.W.F.P. and Baluchistan which I shall give to Sir Olaf Caroe who, unlike some of his countrymen, is, in my opinion, straight, sympathetic, fair-minded and a good friend. All that I want to say at present is that among the Tribes, the Afridis of the Khyber Agency are not only numerically the biggest but they are the most powerful and important of all and more clever than others. Their lead is very likely to be followed by other Tribes as has invariably been the case in the past. The Afridis have, as you may know, refused to negotiate with the present Tribal Advisory Committee¹ of the existing Constituent Assembly. People, responsible politically at least, if not so much otherwise, not only here but also down there, accuse me for it. Perhaps I do not deserve all this misplaced compliment though I am not unwilling to welcome it. However, the point is that sooner the Pakistan Constituent Assembly is formed and the sooner that Assembly sets up a Tribal Advisory Committee and the sooner that committee begins its work, the better it would be. I know that careful selection of its members will take some time and that time would not be wasted.

Another point is that the Tribal Areas of the North-West Frontier Province should be completely, in every respect, separated from the rest of the Province, namely the Settled Districts. It should have its own separate officials and staff, completely severed from the Provincial Government irrespective of who runs that Government. Keep the Tribal Affairs Portfolio in the Pakistan Cabinet and not here. This is most important indeed. Whatever politicians may otherwise say, one of the main considerations which should be allowed to guide in the future efficient administration of Tribal Areas is the selection of those who should be fully qualified for service in those areas. These qualifications being (1) honesty of purpose and in one's dealings with all concerned, (2) impartiality and, what is much more, (3) knowledge and experience of the people.

It should be remembered that though this land frontier has so far been the land frontier of India, from now onwards it may likely become international frontier. As such, it will, I feel, be necessary to make sure that all sorts of people do not have a chance of meddling with its affairs. There should be no opportunity for intrigues with Tribesmen.

The sooner you arrange to bring the Tribal Areas in association with Pakistan, the better, I am sure, it will be. The economic side of the question alone is likely to take some time. *Pakistan Zindabad.*

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
SAHIBZADA MOHD. KHURSHID,
Major, I.P.S.,
Political Agent, Khyber

¹See No. 99, note, Vol. I, Part I, 195; No. 175, 345-6.

109

Nizam of Hyderabad to M. A. Jinnah

F.696/125

CONFIDENTIAL

HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
14 June 1947

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I received your letter of 6th June.¹ Will you please inform me which date will suit you for your visit to Hyderabad, however short it may be, either by the end of this month or failing that, in the first week of July; as we must meet together to discuss certain things without further

delay as fresh developments are constantly arising from day to day: so this is not the time to sit quiet and do nothing since our enemies are bent on making all kinds of mischief. So we must be ready to cope with the situation in a just and proper manner.

2. I enclose copy of my *Firman* issued recently for your perusal.

Yours sincerely,
MIR OSMAN ALI KHAN

'No.34.

Enclosure to No. 109

F.1263/1-2

FIRMAN

11 June 1947

At the time when the Cabinet Mission issued the Statement of May 16, 1946,¹ the States were invited to join one representative Constituent Assembly for the whole of India. I thought it wise then to wait before making my decision till I saw how the political situation would develop. His Excellency the Viceroy's recent Announcement of 3rd June 1947² makes it clear that in all probability British India will now be divided into two parts and there will accordingly be not one Constituent Assembly but two. I have now, therefore, to consider whether my State should send representatives to one or other of these Assemblies.

2. The basis of the division of British India is communal. In my State, however, the two major communities live side by side and I have sought, since I became Ruler, to promote by every means good and friendly relations between them. My ancestors and I have always regarded the Muslims and the Hindus as two eyes of the State and the State itself to be *the indivisible asset of all*³ the communities inhabiting it. I am happy to say that there has not been in my State the same acute cleavage as has led to the recent events in British India. The subjects of my State have affinities and common interest with both the contemplated new Unions. By sending representatives to either of the Constituent Assemblies, Hyderabad would seem to be taking one side or the other.

I am sure I am consulting the best interests of my subjects by declining to take such a course. I have, therefore, decided not to send representatives to either of the Constituent Assemblies.

3. The result in law of the departure of the Paramount Power in the near future will be that I shall become entitled to resume the status of an independent Sovereign. But the question of the nature and extent of

the association or relationship between my State and the units in British India remains for decision at a later stage, when their constitution and powers have been determined. Whatever form of constitution they ultimately adopt, it will be the desire of Hyderabad to live in the closest friendship and amity with both. Meantime, I and my Government will lose no opportunity of reaching, by active negotiation, working agreements on matters of common interest for the mutual benefit of all. When the time comes to decide on the nature of the State's association or relationship with the new Units, after they have settled their constitutions, I shall continue to be guided by a consideration of the best interests both of Hyderabad and of India as a whole.

4. The political and constitutional picture in India has in the past few years been changing rapidly and who can say whether the two Units now contemplated for British India represent the final solution, or whether there will be still further divisions, or whether, after all, unity may eventually be achieved by mutual agreement? In these rapid changes, I am satisfied that the course of political wisdom lies in not taking sides, in concentrating on the maintenance of the integrity of my Dominions and in fostering the welfare of my people. The achievement of that object depends upon the continuance of mutual goodwill between the two communities in my State and, in the unsettled conditions all around, upon ensuring for all my subjects the benefits of peace and security.

5. Before making this declaration I have taken into consideration the divergent views of local political opinion and I feel confident that the best solution is to follow the policy which I have adopted in this *Firman*.

¹Appendix III, Vol. I, Part II, 32-44.

²No.2.

³Underlined in the original.

110

M. A. Rahman to M. A. Jinnah

F.162/35

DILKUSHA, KHAIRATABAD,
HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
14 June 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

May I send you my heartiest congratulations on your grand success.

God has given you this success after very strenuous work for the last so many years. My wife also joins me in the prayers that God may give you all health and long life to see the Muslims well settled. It is the mysterious work of God that He created a person in you for the sole purpose of guiding the destinies of Muslims.

I know there are many obstacles to overcome yet. Having full trust in Him, we are hopeful that in the end all your efforts will be crowned with success. The day is soon to come when you will be held [sic] not only by the Muslims of India but also by all the Muslims of the world as a grand saviour.

I have taken up the Chairmanship of Public Service Commission of Hyderabad. So, I am serving a Muslim State since the 11th of March this year after finishing the tenure of 5 years service as Member of the Federal Public Service Commission.

In our own ways, we are helping the sacred cause of the Muslims as we have always been. You know my wife did her bit when she was in Delhi and Simla. At any time if my services are required in organising public services, I shall be at your service.

We again offer you our sincerest congratulations. With our kindest regards to you and Miss Jinnah,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. RAHMAN

111

Mrs K. L. Rallia Ram to M.-A. Jinnah

F.487/69-72

ELYSIUM HOTEL, SIMLA,
14 June 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Here are some Hindu Press reactions¹ to the partition plan of the Punjab. Just look how much they demand. Now leaving aside the territorial boundaries they are jumping to financial considerations. They say because the Hindus and Sikhs have contributed more finances, therefore on that basis they can demand all the fat prizes in the Punjab. But the question is how has the Hindu become rich? The Muslim was the ruler only 175 years ago[?] and was the richer of the two communities. The Hindu by his cunning and subtle ways has reduced the Muslim to the position of the hewers of wood and drawers of water, and

has monopolized all the gifts of God and sits tight on it now, refusing to share it or believe in the socialist way of life, which would help to bring about a fair distribution of wealth. Since he is the Mammon-worshipper and a capitalist by nature and by creed, therefore, the only salvation of the Muslim, Christian and the depressed classes was to take shelter under a leader whose way of thinking and planning was such that would and could bring relief to these suffering classes and masses, and this great historical and noble personality was nobody else's but Mr. M. A. Jinnah who had succeeded in creating such portions of land as would be haven not only for Muslims but all other suppressed and oppressed people of this heathen land where idol worship and all other horrible things would now reign supreme. May God give [you] health and strength and a long life to complete this great work of liberation for the millions of hewers of wood and drawers of water. The Hindu is never satisfied with what he gets. The personnel of the Boundary Commission appointed by Governor Jenkins is most unfair to the Muslims. There are only two Muslims on it.² I am glad Nawab Mamdot has complained against it. Now the Hindu complains against the allocation of seats in the proposed division of the Assembly. If a little favour is seen anywhere, the Hindu at once jumps against it. His greed for everything favourable never ends. Look how the Hindu hates the Muslim! He can't even stand the holding of [the meeting] of Pakistan Constituent Assembly in Delhi.³ The presence of Muslims annoys him so much. One gets amazed at their feeling. It is the caste spirit working under a different guise. He shuns the presence of non-Hindus!

Here is a cutting⁴ that would be useful to those working on the Boundary Commission. It is amazing to read the demands of the Hindus and Sikhs in the Lahore Division.⁵ They are bent upon driving the Muslims beyond Jhelum! Look at the absurdity of it all.

When will you be going to the Frontier? And what will your address be there?

I do hope you are keeping fit and up to the mark. Please beware of the Khaksars. There may be enemies in the Frontier as well.

Look how the *Hindu*⁶ writes about the League Resolution.

Long live Quaid-i-Azam.

Sincerely yours,
MRS. K. L. RALLIA RAM

¹Not available in QAP.

²Mian Muhammad Sadullah, Superintendent and Khawaja Abdul Rahim, Secretary.

³Enclosure 1.

⁴Enclosure 2. Also see No. 72.

⁵Not available in QAP.

⁶Enclosure 3 and Enclosure to Annex to No. 41.

*Enclosure 1 to No.111**F.487/71*

PAKISTAN CONSTITUENT BODY MEETING IN NEW DELHI?

It will be constitutionally improper, Says Saxena
 NEW DELHI, 10 June: Mr. Mohanlal Saxena, Secretary, Congress Party in the Central Assembly in a statement says:

I am really surprised at the press report that the Pakistan Constituent Assembly is going to meet in New Delhi. I think it will be constitutionally improper and politically unwise that the Pakistan Constituent Assembly should meet outside the country for which it is constituted. I hope the news is incorrect. But even if Mr. Jinnah so desires, Lord Mountbatten should not permit to avoid further complications. It is obvious there cannot be two sovereign Constituent Assemblies functioning at one and the same time in one country.—API.

*Enclosure 2 to No.111**F. 487/71*

FACTS ABOUT TEHSIL DASUYA

Sir,

Tehsil Dasuya in Hoshiarpur District is situated on the western side of river Beas which separates it from Gurdaspur, the Pakistan area. Some portion of this tehsil is on the eastern side of the river also. The Muslim population of the tehsil is 70 per cent. If the hill-side area of Hajipur (?) in this tehsil, where Hindus are 90 per cent, is excluded, the Muslim population in the tehsil comes to nearly 85 per cent. As this tehsil is situated on the eastern boundary of Pakistan and is adjoining to Gurdaspur, it must be included in Pakistan. Moreover, it also links Gurdaspur and Jullundur Tehsil, which will surely come in Pakistan.

Yours, etc.,

M. SHAFI
 Ambala

*Enclosure 3 to No.111**F.487/72*

LEAGUE RESOLUTION: QUEER QUIBBLING

No Clear Acceptance of H.M.G.'s Plan¹

NEW DELHI, 11 June: "Queer quibbling" that is the general comment

on the terms of the resolution passed by the Council of the All India Muslim League. Observers point out that the resolution does not show clearly that the plan has been accepted by the Council. It authorises Mr. Jinnah to accept the fundamental principles of the plan as a compromise. Earlier, it swallows a partition of the Punjab and Bengal as it has "to consider the plan for transfer of power as a whole." Observers point out that the resolution lays unnecessary emphasis on giving authority to Mr. Jinnah for negotiation and settlement. That authority Mr. Jinnah always had and exercised it but it is said that double emphasis on this resolution is mainly intended to underline his triumph in getting the May 16 scheme² completely scrapped. Further the resolution leaves no choice for Mr. Jinnah—again as he wished it—that the division of India must be complete and Defence, Finance, Communications, etc., must be divided.

For the present and until the partition of the provinces is decided upon and a second Constituent Assembly is created, Mr. Jinnah would not be in the Cabinet Committee to divide national assets and liabilities. This resolution makes it obligatory on League nominees, Mr. Liaquat Ali and Mr. Nishtar not to accept anything without the full approval of Mr. Jinnah. That caution seemed necessary in view of the exclusion of Mr. Jinnah from the Cabinet Committee and he does not these days trust all League members of the Interim Cabinet.

¹No. 1.

²Appendix III, Vol. I, Part II, 32-44.

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Syedna Taher Saifuddin to M. A. Jinnah

F.433/1

SAIFY MAHAL, BOMBAY 6,

14 June 1947

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I send herewith a draft of Rs. 15,000 on Habib Bank Ltd., Delhi, which I hope you will use for present affairs and hope it may not be announced. Some time ago I had written to you a letter¹ which I hope you must have received.

Wishing you best of health,

With benedictions and kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

SYEDNA TAHER SAIFUDDIN

¹ Annex.

Annex to No. 112
Syedna Taher Saifuddin to M. A. Jinnah

F.672/10-11

SAIFY MAHAL,
MALABAR HILL, BOMBAY,
6 June 1947

My dear Mr. Jinnah,
Assalaamo 'Alaikum

An inconceivably long but anxious period, so vehemently supported by your unflinching and sincere efforts, has to-day brought a most glorious and memorable victory to the Muslim League. Although short of many vital and important things, the achievement of Pakistan in the teeth of such gigantic opposition is indeed unique. It has undoubtedly enhanced the glory of Islam and has become an epoch-making event in the annals of Muslim nation of India. I hasten to offer you my sincerest and warmest congratulations on this momentous occasion. Much has still to be done for the noble cause of Islam and I firmly believe we shall together *Insha' Allah Ta'ala* spare no efforts in accomplishing our task which would enlighten the beauties of the principles and traditions of the Holy Faith, like the rays of the sun, in the whole universe. I pray God Almighty grant you more wisdom and succour to render such dignified services to Islam and keep you quite hale and hearty.

With kindest regards and benedictions,

Yours sincerely,
SYEDNA TAHER SAIFUDDIN

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Mohammad Ameen Khan Tareen to M. A. Jinnah

F.1108/39

177 COLLEGE STREET, TORONTO, CANADA,
14 June 1947

My Revered Quaid-i-Azam,

I take this opportunity of congratulating you on behalf of the AMSA on the achievement that has been made by the Muslims of India under your leadership. Our hearts are filled with joy. Although this is not full

Pakistan, it surely does give us a basis on which to struggle further for the fuller realization of our goal.

I am herewith sending you the May-June issue of the *Muslim News Bulletin* which is circulated by our Association. The aim of this Bulletin is to acquaint the American people with the Muslim viewpoint and to present and interpret before them the Muslim problems with their true significance. The Bulletin has almost become a wall newspaper of the student movement in this country.

As would appear from the account given in the Bulletin, last month we organized a meeting of the Muslims in Detroit under the auspices of the Afghan Social Club. The meeting was aimed at the collection of money for Bihar Relief Fund. I have been informed from Detroit that a draft of Rs. 1,650-1-0 was sent to you in this connection through the American Express Company. This should be considered a contribution from dependent students and other Muslims in Detroit who work in the plants for their living. We assure you that the AMSA would be ready to do whatever it can towards the strengthening of the Muslim world.

Yours sincerely,
 MOHAMMAD AMEEN KHAN TAREEN
General Secretary,
Association of Muslim Students in America

Enclosure to No. 113

F.1108/31-4

Muslim News Bulletin No. 7 & 8 (May-June 1947)

CIRCULATED BY
 ASSOCIATION OF MUSLIM STUDENTS IN AMERICA

177 COLLEGE STREET, TORONTO, CANADA,

Editor: Mohammad Ameen K. Tareen

Editorial Board:

1. Miss Cenani Pamir (Turkey)	4. Mohammad Fahmy (Egypt)
2. Abdullah Faryar (Iran)	5. M. C. Das
3. Shamim A. Mian (India)	6. Azid Bakhsh

WHAT WE STAND FOR

The Association of Muslim Students in America is an organization of Muslim students from various parts of the world. Realizing the urgency for the promotion of understanding between various nations of the world as a necessary step towards the achievement of peace and harmony among the warring elements of the universe, the Muslim

students in this country felt the necessity of an organization which could authoritatively explain the Muslim viewpoint before other nations. The AMSA is essentially a religious and social organization, keeping aloof from the controversial politics of the world. Its only object is to understand the non-Muslims and present the Muslim point of view on various world problems to facilitate a better understanding between the nations of the world.

THE HISTORIC FORTY WEEKS

The AMSA made a beginning,¹ although it could not properly be put into shape until the end of October last; in September, 1946, when a batch of enthusiastic Muslim students reached San Francisco from India. Since then the student movement started by these handful of Muslim young men, has progressed at a very rapid rate. It is thus necessary to take stock of the situation and to see whether the AMSA has really lived up to its noble aim and whether, on the basis of achievements it has to its credit and the work it has done, it justifies its existence. Basing our answer on the opinions and comments by its members and various other elements connected with it, we can safely state that the AMSA has really done the job in this country. In the same issue we are publishing, as a sample from a multitude of such letters, a few comments that have been made about the Association and the MNB (*Muslim News Bulletin*).

The basic aim for which AMSA was started was to fulfil the need of promoting an understanding between the Muslim world and the people of America. A short while after reaching America we had fully realised that our doubts were quite correct and well-founded. Many Americans, due to a lack of information and knowledge about the fundamentals of Islam, considered Muslims as heathens. Other problems were also quite misunderstood and the result was that the Muslims and their ideas and problems were not taken at their face value. The prejudice played its part.

We do not at all claim that during the last ten months we have been able to absolutely remove such a state. That is a far bigger problem than an organisation like ours can competently and fully tackle. But we are satisfied that we have and we would contribute our honest share towards the solution of the problem. And also we have been successful—very successful, if we may say so—in laying down the foundations for an attack on this problem and from there others construct and develop their solutions.

The members of the AMSA have worked both individually and as the parts of the organisation. They availed of every opportunity afforded

them, to acquaint the people here with the real problems of the Muslim world. Radio, newspaper, platform and pulpit—every method was utilized to do the job. The task and the responsibility was heavy but the young men, with their inherent zeal and capacity to overcome the hurdles, did a fine job. Various interested elements, who were afraid of the rising movement, tried to stop and hinder our activities but we “marched forward” with trust in God and confidence in ourselves.

But these achievements should not dazzle us. They are but a small fraction of the huge task that still lies ahead. We must proceed, like an ambitious army which though pleased with the smaller victories is never satisfied until the final success, towards our final goal. We have still to do the task.

We would take this opportunity to appeal to all the Muslim students in this country to get together and organise themselves. Organisation, on a smaller-scale though it may be, gives you strength. Wherever there are a group of Muslims they should open a branch of the AMSA. For it is through this that we can be sure of our strength. Cooperation and coordination of our efforts would lead us towards the achievement of our final goal. Through organisation we would be able to promote a better understanding between the American people and ourselves. And promotion of understanding is the only sure way of establishing peace in the world.

OUR REGRETS TO OUR READERS

We express our deepest regrets on our inability to bring out the May issue of the Bulletin in time. Certain unavoidable circumstances stood in the way. At this time of the month when we should be preparing for the June issue, we don't think of bringing out a separate May issue. We are thus putting out May and June issues together. Our patrons shall have at least one compensation in that they would receive the June issue earlier than usual. We acknowledge the receipt of a large number of letters from our readers enquiring as to why the May issue was not circulated. We could not reply to all the enquiries individually. This may be considered an acknowledgement to all of them and an expression of our regrets.

Another point: Through an omission some of the members did not receive Bulletin No.6. This was not done intentionally. However, when a few complaints were received, the mistake was realized and the Bulletin was despatched to all those readers who, we thought, hadn't received it before.

ISPAHANI CRITICISES ASAF ALI

During the U.N. debate on Palestine, Mr. Asaf Ali, India's Ambassador in U.S., sided with the Jews. Such an attitude might have created a misunderstanding in the minds of the Arabs about the Muslims of India. Mirza Abol Hassan Ispahani wrote in a letter to the Arab Higher Committee that he had been pained to read press reports of the speech of Asaf Ali. He further said that the speech gave unwarranted importance to Jewish claims and "runs contrary to the feelings and sentiments of 100,000,000 Muslims of India who will always stand by their Arab brethren on the Palestine issue".²

ARABS BOYCOTTING THE PALESTINE INQUIRY COMMISSION?

The U.N. 11-member Commission for inquiry into Palestine problem has got into trouble before it started its deliberations. The possibility that the Arabs may boycott the U.N. Commission was voiced by Mr. Faris el-Khoury of Syria, chief spokesman of the Arab bloc, who served notice that the Arab states might boycott the inquiry if the Commission visited the Jewish displaced persons' camps in Europe. There was no link or connection, he said, between displaced persons in Europe and the Palestine problem. If the Committee members decided to inspect the camps it would probably be the cause of cutting [*sic* for severing] the relations of the Arab countries with the Committee.

The first batch of the Committee members, who are at present holding secret meetings at Lake Success, would take off by air to Palestine where they would interview the representatives of various interested groups. But if the Arabs boycott the deliberations, the inquiry would be nothing but a farce.

The report will probably be written in Geneva, in accord with the example set by the Balkan Investigation Commission, and will be submitted by September.

EGYPT TO GO TO THE U.N.

Every day there is a greater possibility of Egypt taking her case to the U.N. for final decision. Although unconfirmed, it had been declared some time ago, that the Premier, Mahmood Fahmy Nokrashi Pasha, would himself lead the Egyptian delegation to the U.N.

The point of conflict between Egypt and Britain does not appear to be capable of an easy decision. The Egyptians want complete evacuation of the British troops from Egypt as well as the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. When the case is brought to the U.N., it would make, after Palestine, another test case for the U.N.O. to justify its existence.

REMOVAL OF UNTOUCHABILITY—A MYTH

By M. C. Das

Much publicity has been given to the steps recently taken by the Indian Constituent Assembly in banning untouchability. Here is how an untouchable looks at it. Mr. Das, an intelligent and highly educated member of the untouchable class in India, is a member of our editorial staff. Here he analyses the credentials of the Hindu move.—Editor.

Scenes are fast changing on the Indian political stage. The Hindu-dominated Congress Interim Government recently passed a resolution condemning discrimination in whatever form it existed in society. To a foreigner it looks to be a sincere move. The practicability of this initiative is worth considering in the light of the existing caste divisions in the Hindu society. The foreigner acquainted with the Hindu system of society does not hesitate to stop for a while and ask: "Is this a sincere move on the part of the Congress party?"

The answer to this question is plain. Untouchability is only the worst form of distinction that is observed between different castes and sub-castes in the Hindu society. The Aryans who entered India after the Scythians, formed the caste system compromising [*sic* for comprising] the four main castes and a legion of their sub-castes depending upon the occupations. The aborigines of India, having been already subdued by the Scythians, were given the position of subservience to the other four castes. The aborigines having been deprived of the landed property on which they lived, could not but accept the menial work to keep their bodies and souls together. As they were doing the menial work, they were treated as untouchables, unapproachables, unseeables, and unspeakables, and thus were not allowed to mix with the higher castes.

From this, one can easily judge how the practice of untouchability is closely related to the caste system. The passing of a resolution, only a theoretical and dishonest step, in the Constituent Assembly does not help the situation and elevate the position of the fifth caste (untouchable) people in society, as under the Hindu caste system of graded inequality, the fifth caste man stands last and so an object of contempt to all the higher castes.

The only intention of the Congress Interim Government in announcing the removal of untouchability at this transition period seems to be to appease the untouchables and "kill them by kindness and sweet words", as they were successfully managing here before [*sic*]. The Congress tries to see that their movement towards self-improvement organized by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar is cut at the root thereby side-tracking a

righteous cause. This manoeuvre would, no doubt, result in the continuance of the subservience of the untouchables.

BIHAR RELIEF FUND

Some more contributions have been coming in for the Bihar Relief. Here is the present total:

Previous collection	\$241.22
Mohammad Altaf Qureshi and Sultan Ali Chowdhry	Purdue University 13.25
Abdul Latif (Louisiana)	<u>1.00</u>
	\$255.47
	Detroit collection <u>502.00</u>
	Total \$757.47

MUSLIM MEETING IN DETROIT

But the biggest collection of a little over five hundred dollars comes from the Muslims of Detroit. A meeting of the Detroit Muslims was organised on 11 May, in the Muslim Mosque at Dearborne. Muslims from all the countries had gathered at this meeting and the speakers included representatives from various countries. The contributions came from Muslims from India, Egypt, Syria, Turkey and other countries. The meeting was a fine specimen of the Muslim brotherhood when Muslims from all the countries had joined together to express their sentiments. The following AMSA members attended the meeting: Z. A. Hashmi, G. S. Khan, Rana M. Jamil, and M. S. Riaz from East Lansing, M. Islam and M. Ali from Ann Arbor, Azid Bakhsh from Detroit and Irshad Ahmad and M. Ameen Tareen from Toronto.

This collection brings the total AMSA Bihar Fund collection to \$757.47. The remaining amount will be sent to India shortly after full information and money is received from Detroit.

The following is a list of those who contributed:

Attycullah Khan	\$50.00	Khalil Mohammad Zahidi	\$25.00
Nabiullah Khan	15.00	Ali Salih	5.00
Ahmad Gee	60.00	Majlis Nahwal Arabiul Hashmi	25.00
Syed Amir Shah	15.00	Salim Hussain	10.00
Taoos Khan	20.00	Mohammad Munir Khan	100.00
Raymon Khan	3.00	Mohammad Latif	5.00
Syed Mohammad Khan	13.00	Ibrahim Ali Wali	5.00
Hamid Gul Khan	5.00	Gulbazz Khan	5.00
Hussan Khan	5.00	A Muslim	2.00
Raj Mohammad Khan	20.00	Rashid Mohammad Kazboo	5.00
Hussan Din	20.00	Mahmud Ahmad Awad	5.00

Wali Mohammad Khan	5.00	Nawab Khan	2.00
Najim Khan	10.00	M. A. Khan	10.00
Mahboob Ali	4.00	Akbar Khan	2.00
Aziz Khan	5.00	Thack Ali	1.00
Irshad Ahmad	5.00	Jameel Akhtar	10.00
Saiden Shah	25.00	Tobarah Ali	2.00
Mohammad Ahmad Dahr	5.00	Johar Ali	2.00
Mohammad Hussan	5.00	S. Shah Hussain	<u>5.00</u>
Total			\$516.00

Out of this sum, \$14.00 was spent on publicity for the meeting, giving [*sic* for leaving] a balance of \$502.00.

We are grateful to the Muslims from various countries, and specially to the *Majlis Arabiul Hashmi*, who gave us permission to hold the meeting in their mosque and who also contributed \$25.00 to the fund, and its organisers for the cooperation.

The meeting was held under the auspices of the Afghan Social Club of Detroit and we are thankful to its President, Ahmad Gee, and other members, with whom we spent a fine week, for their cooperation and help.

AMSA DELEGATION TO PRAGUE

The World Federation of Democratic Youth is holding its Conference in Prague, Czechoslovakia, towards the third week of July. We think it would be a good idea to send one or more than one representative of the AMSA to this Conference, for this would afford us an opportunity to present our voice and solution to the problems that face the world. The Conference would end towards the second week of August.

We would be glad to have suggestions about the representatives to be sent as also the names of those who would like to go. The delegation, if the suggestion is approved by the AMSA members, shall have to leave by the second week of July. It has not been possible to establish any definite idea about the expenses but one-way fare might be \$175.00. Details would be furnished later when they are received.

MR. JINNAH ON INDIA'S FUTURE

In an interview to Reuters,³ Mr. Jinnah said that the relationship between Pakistan and Hindustan would be "friendly and reciprocal in the mutual interest of both". All armed forces, he said, "must be divided completely, but I do envisage an alliance, pact or treaty between Pakistan and Hindustan, again in the mutual interest of both and against any aggressive outsider".

Mr. Jinnah said he was deadly against the partition of Bengal and the Punjab, and added: "We shall fight every inch against it".

Question: "Will you demand a corridor through Hindustan, connecting the eastern and western Pakistan states?"

Mr. Jinnah replied: "Yes".

The Government of Pakistan, said Mr. Jinnah, could only be of a popular, representative and democratic character. As paramountcy was going to terminate, Mr. Jinnah said that Indian States were completely independent and free and "it is open to them to decide whether to join the Pakistan or Hindustan Constituent Assemblies".

Pakistan's foreign policy, Mr. Jinnah said, could only be for peace and friendly relations with all other nations, and Pakistan would play its part in membership [sic] of the United Nations.

Minorities in Pakistan, Mr. Jinnah declared, replying to another question, must be protected and safeguarded.

OPINIONS ABOUT US

The following are some of a multitude of opinions and favourable comments about the AMSA and MNB.

I have always felt like congratulating you on the nice production (MNB).

Abdul Latif (Guelph)

I may say that it is most interesting.

Abdul Rashid Ismail (New York)

(The reader is a High School student.—Ed.)

Congratulations on the wonderful development and surprising improvement that has taken place in such a short time.

M. S. H. Siddiqi (Chicago)

Congratulations on the most excellent production.

A. F. M. S. Huda (Toronto)

I am inexpressibly glad to see the splendid work in advancing the Muslim cause. The formation of AMSA will remain as a golden mark in the history of the Muslim Students movement in America.

M. Islam (Michigan)

Just what I wanted to read.

Joseph A. Saloom (Illinois)

Please accept my heartiest congratulations on the excellent bulletin that you have produced. I am sure you will maintain the high standard that has been achieved.

S. Babar Ali (Ann Arbor)

This issue of the Bulletin (No.6) is really interesting.

S. A. Hussain, Madison (Wisconsin)

TO THE MEMBERS

Some members have been kind enough to send us contributions to meet the Bulletin expenses. It is not possible, with our limited secretarial facilities, to acknowledge the individual receipts. Our thanks are due to all those who have sent the money. And we hope that many others who like the Bulletin would make some contributions to save the Bulletin from discontinuing. The Bulletin is really doing a worthy service and we appeal that it should be maintained. Send your share of \$2.00 in the name of M. A. Tareen.

¹Annex.

²See Enclosure to No. 400, Vol. I, Part I, 720.

³See No. 464, *ibid.*, 842-5.

Annex to Enclosure to No. 113

A REPORT TO THE NATION

MUSLIM STUDENTS' WORK IN AMERICA¹

BY MOHAMMAD AMEEN KHAN TAREEN

The first meeting of the Muslim students was held on the American soil in Berkeley (California) on the 27th of August 1946, where they gathered for their Eid prayers. The gathering was a fine scene of young Muslims all together performing their religious duty in a land where the passers-by were laughing at the queer and strange looking movement of their bodies. But one thing they commended, in spite of all the fun that they apparently got out of it, was the strict discipline that we had.

After the prayers the students stayed to discuss the organization of the Association [of Muslim students in America]. Abdur Rehman Lutz, an American Muslim, was one of those who favoured and spoke about the idea of Association. But the handicap at this moment was that we were absolutely unaware of the conditions in America. Having arrived a couple of days back everyone of us was a complete stranger. Thus it was decided to lay down the basis and fundamentals of the Association and then to elect a General Secretary who could be entrusted the duty of preliminary organization according to the prevalent circumstances. The writer was unanimously elected as the General Secretary with instructions to make enquiries and to report the finding about the membership, constitution, etc.

From such a modest beginning about eight months ago, the Association has now become an established organization with great achievements to its credit. It originated with the exclusive initiative of the Indian students but it has among its members now Muslim students from various countries like Egypt, Iraq, Iran, Turkey, Syria, India and others. The members of the Association have both individuals as well as collective achievements to their credit.

MISUNDERSTANDING IN U.S.A.

Muslims of India have never realized the amount of misunderstanding that prevails in America about the Muslim religion and the present problems of the Muslims of the world. In case of India the channels of information have all along been monopolized by the Hindus and the interpretations and explanations have been only one-sided. So much so that an overwhelming majority of the Americans are unaware of the existence of Muslims in India. They think all the Indians are Hindus.

In face of such adverse conditions the Muslim students, to make themselves fully understood, or even to make themselves heard, had an uphill task. But they have done it successfully. They are spread at present in almost all the parts of North America. In places like New York, Chicago, Detroit, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Ohio, Madison, Pittsburg, Arizona, Indiana, Toronto, Philadelphia, and all other places of importance, there some members present. And everywhere they considered it their duty to explain the Muslim viewpoint to the people here. They went to churches to perform this duty; they were invited by various clubs and associations to speak on India; they met some American friends and their families. And all these opportunities they utilized to nation ■ best advantage [sic]. One credit must be given to the American people. Although not well informed about certain facts they are very keen to learn about them and this is the basis on which thousands of clubs prosper in this country. This keenness for information was helpful to the AMSA and its members who wanted to lay before them the true facts.

THE NEWS BULLETIN

The biggest weapon, however, through which the AMSA is achieving its object is the Muslim News Bulletin that it publishes. Like the AMSA this bulletin also had ■ very modest beginning. Originally it was started, not as a bulletin but as a means of information for the four regional secretaries from the Central Office in Toronto. Certain important news were typed out and sent to these Regional Secretaries

to be communicated to members in their areas. Only five copies were typed then. But the idea was liked so much by the members that next time a full-fledged bulletin of two foolscap pages had to be put through the mimeograph machine. But only 200 copies were run. The idea, however, developed and the demand increased, until now it has become a regular monthly feature and has been termed by many members as the Students Wall Paper. More than a thousand copies of the Bulletin would be published next week when the seventh issue comes out. The pages have now been increased to six instead of two. The Bulletin is being sent to all the notable individuals, churches and social associations, newspapers and the AMSA members. The popularity of the publication among the members can be judged from the fact that when last issue was delayed due to certain unavoidable circumstances, the Editorial Office was literally stormed with letters of complaints from the members. The Editorial Board of the Bulletin consists of Indian, Turkish, Egyptian and Iranian representatives and the material usually covers various news and views on incidents concerning the Muslim world.

The Indian members of the Association have been indifferent to the calamities which their brethren have been suffering back in India. Mention has already been made of the collection for the Muslims of Calcutta. Three months ago the AMSA requested its members to give contributions for the Bihar Relief Fund. The members contributed liberally, considering their financial means and resources. Two hundred dollars out of this fund have already been sent to the Habib Bank, through Mr. Jinnah. Another sum of about \$ 550.00 has been collected in this connection which would be sent to Mr. Jinnah. This sum includes contributions collected in Detroit (Michigan) from the Muslims, representing not only India but various countries.

INFLUENCE OF AMSA

The influence of the AMSA is not confined to the students alone. There are quite a number of Muslims in Detroit and California and the activities of the AMSA have been followed with great interest by those people. A contribution of \$ 26.00 that thirteen Indian Muslims made from Lode (California) as a contribution for the Bulletin in response to an appeal, is typical of the position of the AMSA and the popularity of the Bulletin. These thirteen Muslims were evidently uneducated simple folks who cannot even read English. But they sent the money and asked for the Bulletin depending upon any acquaintance who might read it to them.

The AMSA is thus a real force. It has awakened the American mind to the Muslim problem more than anything else. One of the leading articles on Palestine published in a recent issue of the Bulletin was commended and liked even by the Americans.

The Indian members of the Association constitute the most active group. They have absolutely nullified the chances of Hindu students doing any propaganda work in this country. The logic of Muslim case, because of the justness of it, becomes readily acceptable when it is explained to the Americans. This has evidently annoyed the Hindu colleagues. This writer had to tour in various parts of the country in connection with the organizational work of the Association and it was found out that at every place the relations between Hindus and Muslims have been far from friendly. Such a state of affairs makes an American to stop and think about the why and how of the matters. And that is in the Muslim interests. At Michigan State College in East Lansing, both Congress and League flags had to be put on a celebration of Indian Night.

In Michigan University in Ann Arbor, the Muslim and Hindu students go to the dining halls at different times. In Toronto the Hindus have declared that they would not go to a place or a function where the Muslims are invited. In New York and Chicago the International Houses and other University residences have become debating places. Almost everywhere such a state of affairs prevails. At one of the University residences in Princeton, I came across an interesting case of an American student who was living with a Muslim student in the same room. At the breakfast table where both the Hindu and Muslim students were sitting, I was amused to see him come along to Hindu student and shout *Pakistan Zindabad, Gandhiji Kuchh Nahin*. This although apparently a humorous incident—was a sure index of the work that the Muslim students have been doing here. Mr. Ispahani and Begum Shah Nawaz when they came to America last October did pay a compliment to the work of the Association, although it was a newly started organization at that time, in the letters that they sent to the Secretary of the AMSA thanking the Muslim students, through him, for the assistance they had rendered them. Mr. Ispahani was particularly pleased and said that he would report their work to the Quaid-i-Azam.

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Altaf Husain to K. H. Khurshid

F. 10/82

15 June 1947

Mr. Khurshid,

Herewith the six questions which Mr. Jalal Hussein¹ would like to ask Quaid-i-Azam, and my draft answers for his consideration.

Yours sincerely,
ALTAf HUSAIN

¹The name has been spelt as Gelal Husain in No. 307 where he has been identified as member of Egyptian Parliament who visited Delhi with Egyptian Jute Mission.

Enclosure to No. 114

F. 10/83-7

QUESTIONS (FROM) JALAL HUSSEINI OF THE EGYPTIAN TRADE DELEGATION AND DRAFT ANSWERS

Question 1: It is being suggested by certain quarters that the Muslim League is pro-British. What will be Pakistan's relations with Britain?

Answer: This is the usual propaganda which our political enemies have always carried on in foreign countries and particularly in other Muslim countries in order to misrepresent us and deprive us of world sympathy. We are no more pro-British than the Congress is. The Cabinet Mission betrayed us and placated the Congress, which led to a grave situation last year, causing widespread disturbances and bloodshed. It was only after thousands of Muslims had been butchered and massacred that the British gradually came to their senses. And even then the British have announced their plan of June 3¹ which is partial to the Hindus and the Congress because they have mutilated Pakistan and given away to the Hindus considerable parts of the Muslim homelands. We have accepted this only as a compromise and because we want peace and also to get rid of British domination as soon as possible. These facts speak for themselves.

As regards Pakistan's relations with Britain, this will depend on the attitude which Britain adopts towards Pakistan. We want to develop friendly relations with everybody.

Question 2: Do you look forward to a completely independent Pakistan or to remaining in the British Commonwealth?

Answer: We are for complete independence and we shall not tolerate any interference with the sovereignty of Pakistan and any attempt to exploit Pakistan to the disadvantage of the people. Whether continuation as a member of the British Commonwealth will militate against these ideals will have to be decided at the proper time by the proper body, namely the Pakistan Constituent Assembly.

Question 3: Are you going to make Pakistan a monarchy? You know that considerable publicity has been given abroad to the fact that you are generally greeted by your followers with the slogan *Shahinshahi-Pakistan*.

Answer: I am surprised that such a question should be asked. The very idea is fantastic. I have always said that Pakistan will be a democracy in every sense of the term. There can be no question of a monarchy or anything like it. When the people cry that slogan they do not mean it literally. In fact, I have on several occasions reprimanded them for raising it.

Question 4: What are your ideas about the U.N.O. and will Pakistan join it?

Answer: The ideals on which the U.N.O. is based are undoubtedly exemplary, and in my opinion, the future good of the world and its peace will depend on the member-nations of the U.N.O. holding fast to these ideals. But the U.N.O. is still in its formative stage. It is for the Government of Pakistan, when it comes into being, to decide the question of its joining the U.N.O. If you want my personal view, I am of course in favour of it, because I believe that Pakistan will have much to contribute to the cause of better understanding among the nations of the world.

Question 5: What are your views on the conflicts that are going on between Egypt and Great Britain?

Answer: The Muslims of India have always actively sympathised with the aspirations and supported the just demands of all their brethren abroad. Egypt is no exception. Your people have not had a square deal from the British. So long, however, we have been unable to give any effective expression to our sympathy for you, for the Arabs of Palestine or for other Muslim countries, because we were not free. When Pakistan comes into existence, its voice and its vote will be exercised in support of legitimate Egyptian claims against Britain or any other power.

Question 6: Will Arab culture, which is the language of the *Qur'an*, be given some importance by Pakistan?

Answer: No Muslim can afford to neglect the language in which the *Qur'an* has been revealed. So long we were not masters of our own house and, therefore, we were not able to develop our culture and our educational system in our own way. One of the first tasks of the Pakistan Government will be to take up this matter and evolve a synthesis between the material needs of our people and their cultural requirements. Arabic will certainly play an important part.

¹No. 1.

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Bahram Ali Mirza to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1203/5¹

GOLAGUNJ, LUCKNOW,
15 June 1947

LONG LIVE THE QUAID-I-AZAM, LEADER OF THE MUSLIMS AND
BENEFACITOR OF ISLAM!

Sir,

We hope to be excused for an intrusion upon your valuable time. But the nature of our mission which relates to the restoration of Oude² is such that it cannot be deferred and compels us to bring the matter to your notice before it is too late.

Since your good self is the supreme commander of the Muslims of India, we implore you to intervene on our behalf and see that our wrongs are redressed and for this the present is the most opportune moment.

The Oude State was never conquered by the British and it can be proved on unimpeachable authority that the British took over the management of the Kingdom of Oude by assuming the role of a curator. They had also taken huge sums of money on loan from the Kings of Oude and interest on some of those securities is being paid by them monthly to the descendants of the Kings of Oude even to this day.

We are in possession of all relevant papers³ justifying our claim for the retrocession of Oude and we shall feel highly obliged if your good

self condescends to grant us an opportunity of placing those facts before you for consideration.

In this connection, we further request you to go through a small book entitled *Dacoity in Excelsis* or *The Spoliation of Oude*, written by Major R. W. Bird, the last Assistant Resident of Oude, which will give you a clear insight into the pitiable case of the Oude State.

It must have also come to your knowledge through the papers and other channels that we have been demanding from time to time the restoration of Oude to its rightful claimants as an essential obligation long overdue. But it has proved a cry in the wilderness for want of influential support and powerful backing. Now that a statesman of your calibre has unfurled the banner of Islam and is at the helm of its affairs by the grace of God, our waning hopes have been revived and our energies have received ■ fresh stimulus.

The papers have hinted upon [*sic* for at] the determination of some members of the League High Command to demand the establishment of Oude as a separate province and the eviction or migration of its non-Muslim population. Politically it is an admirable counter-move to the agitation for the partition of the Punjab and Bengal besides its being otherwise a sound and sensible proposition.

We are ready to place all necessary documents in your hand, as stated before, so that you may be able to examine [them] in the light of law, equity and justice. Apart from the need for the emancipation of Oude on political grounds, it is imperative that Oude should constitute a separate and independent unit in accordance with treaty obligations and other commitments made by the British.

Again from Pakistan's point of view, it is expedient to secure Oude to serve as a corridor between the Punjab on the west and Bengal in the east. A reference to the map of Oude will make it abundantly clear that Oude affords the main coign for such enterprise. Nay, it is not only essential to aid in the establishment and linking up of Pakistan territories but is replete with opportunities for developing ultimately into a Pakistan province.

In any case the restoration of the erstwhile Muslim State of Oude will be a priceless acquisition conducive to the fulfilment of the aims and objects of Pakistan—a valuable asset for our creed and our nation.

Your good self has condescended to advocate the cause of the Kalat State in Baluchistan and we are confident that the case of Oude will be found equally strong and just if handled by you. Perhaps the time has come for the resuscitation of the once fertile and vast Kingdom of Oude.

We pray to God Almighty for your long life and prosperity so that the prestige, lives and properties of the Muslims of India may be preserved.

We are anxiously waiting for a favourable reply from you.

We beg to remain,

Sir,

Your devoted servants and ardent admirers,

(PRINCE) BAHRAM ALI MIRZA

Secretary,

Oude Restoration Mission

¹Part of this letter is in F. 710/1-2, QAP.

²In this letter as well as in most of its Annexures, Awadh has been variously spelt as Oude or Oudh. We have retained the spelling.

³This document has one Enclosure and 13 Annexures.

Enclosure to No. 115

F. 710/3-15

LOUDH MUST BECOME A SELF-SUPPORTING AND INDEPENDENT STATE

LEGAL ASPECTS OF THE CASE

Before the negotiations of the Treaty of November 10, 1801 A.D.,¹ the districts of Allahabad, Cawnpore, Rohilkhand, Farrukhabad, Etawah, etc., yielding an annual revenue of one crore and thirty-five lakhs of rupees, formed part of the suzerainty of Oudh but were ceded to the East India Company to defray the expenses of the maintenance of an army for the defence and protection of the remaining portions of the Oudh State. Now that the British Government have decided to quit India the need for such defence has ceased to exist and is no longer capable of being exercised. It is therefore just and pertinent to ask for the surrender of those districts together with the present province of Oudh to their legitimate heirs and owners.

The Nawabs of Oudh reigned over Oudh from 1711² to 1856 A. D. During this period five Nawabs and five Kings succeeded one another.³ It was towards the end of 1760⁴ A.D. that Nawab Shuja-ud-daulah became the Prime Minister of the Mughul Empire. Political alliance with the East India Company commenced with the signing of the Treaty of Allahabad on 16 August 1765. Thenceforward the East India Company began to bring pressure to bear upon the Nawabs of Oudh to execute fresh treaties for the extension of the company's control.

Each treaty brought fresh measures of oppressions and iniquities in its train. The country was plundered and power passed gradually into the hands of the company as evidenced by the gloomy pages of history.

Of the different treaties referred to above two treaties and a draft of the third deserve special attention. One is dated 10 November 1801, the other is dated 11 September 1837 and the third, which is a draft, was presented to the King of Oudh for ratification in February 1856.⁵ Before further light is thrown on those documents it is necessary to reiterate that the question of the resumption of Oudh is quite distinct from the claim for the partition of the Punjab or the establishment of a free Sikh State. It is clearly mentioned in the *Blue Book of Oudh* published in 1856⁶ under the command of Queen Victoria and presented to both Houses of Parliament that the Punjab and Pegu were Her Majesty's possessions. The State of Nagpur was without an heir and therefore it was annexed by the Government. But it is stated about Oudh that its case was materially different.⁷ Under Clause 1 of the Treaty of the 10th November 1801, the East India Company took over the districts already named for the defence of the rest of the kingdom of Oudh which was guaranteed in Clause 6 as the heritage of the Nawabs of Oudh, their heirs and successors from generation to generation as potentates. In other words, Oudh was promised to remain an independent State to be governed by the family of the Kings of Oudh with full sovereign rights. The relevant passage is quoted below:

...the Honorable the East India Company hereby guarantee to His Excellency the Vizier and to his heirs and successors the possession of the territories which will remain to His Excellency after the territorial cession together with the exercise of his and their authority within the said dominions;....⁸

Be it noted that there is no mention in the Treaty that in the event of mismanagement the Government of Oudh would pass into the hands of the British officers either permanently or for the time being.

William P. Hale, Bar-at-Law of the Middle Temple, London, who gave his opinion on the Oudh question⁹ says that treaties which contain ■ guarantee for protection from generation to generation and in perpetuity cannot be nullified by the laws of nations or international law. His actual words are:

Likewise we should not forget that the proposition that a treaty made with the reigning sovereign guaranteeing specific rights to him and his heirs for ever is not usually considered, either by the law or comity of nations, to lapse and become void upon the death of the originally contracting party.

The viewpoint of the Company's Board of Directors is given in the Government's *Blue Book of Oudh*. It is stated therein that the Treaty, in the form in which it exists, does not allow such step (annexation of Oudh) to be taken. But, strangely enough, referring to the same Treaty and in spite of it, the annexation of Oudh was sanctioned as will be shown later. It will suffice here to give the following quotation from *Blue Book of Oudh*:

Treaty, as it now stands, wholly fails to confer the power required for carrying into effect a measure so large and so important.¹⁰

Lord Dalhousie¹¹ himself confessed that a kingdom could be managed without destroying that kingdom. His actual words are:

The reform of the administration of the province may be wrought, and the prosperity of the people may be secured, without resorting to so extreme a measure as the annexation of the territory, and the abolition of the throne.¹²

Lord Dalhousie further elucidates this point by saying that it is unjust to make the King abdicate without his consent by the use of coercion and threats, and adds that the Treaty of 1801 gave them no right to annex Oudh, however bad be its management. On the contrary a perpetual guarantee had been given; and if any reforms were to be carried out, the agency for their execution was the King through his own officials. To quote from the *Blue Book of Oudh*:

The Most Noble the Governor-General is of opinion that,—because the existing Treaty of 1801 gives the British Government no right to assume the administration of Oudh, however shocking may be the misgovernment of that country under native rule, and how flagrantly soever [*sic*] the native ruler may thereby have violated ■ fundamental condition of that Treaty, but, on the contrary, guarantees to him the possession of that country, with the exercise of his and the Honorable Company's authority therein, and contemplates the conduct of the administration only by the King's own officers—therefore, the British Government has no right now to assume the administration, unless the King shall choose to consent to make it over to them, and, therefore, that Government in justice must not, by force, or threat of force, compel the king to abdicate his power, or deprive him of his power.¹³

Eventually this Treaty of 1801 was presumed to be operative so far as it was advantageous to the British Government:

As our title to the Provinces ceded by the Treaty of 1801 depends upon that Treaty, I would rather uphold it than declare it to be annulled.¹⁴

It is hoped that the passages cited prove beyond all reasonable doubt that the Treaty of 1801 conferred no authority on the British Government to annex Oudh, and further by annulling this Treaty they were faced with the further difficulty of surrendering the districts

mentioned earlier before the Treaty could be set aside. In the light of this contention it was incumbent upon the British to respect the whole Treaty and carry out its provisions. How far is it just and lawful to accept part of the Treaty favourable to them and reject and ignore another part which was unpalatable, especially when this was done without the acquiescence of the other contracting party.

As mentioned before, Lord Dalhousie, while admitting that Oudh could not be annexed without the King's consent except by the use of coercion and high-handedness and that the Treaty of 1801 gave them no authority to act in this wise, still refers in the Proclamation of February 1856, annexing Oudh, to the Treaty of 1801 which runs as follows:

Wherefore, proclamation is hereby made that the government of the territories of Oude is henceforth vested, exclusively, and for ever, in the Honorable East India Company.¹⁵

Before the issue of this Proclamation the King was allowed three days' grace to say in writing that he was surrendering his dominion voluntarily retaining only Lucknow and its suburbs up to Dilkusha Park.¹⁶ But the King through sagacity and extreme forbearance and dignity preferred to expose himself to the wrath of the Empress of India and bear the disastrous consequences rather than sign the ignominious Treaty or launch upon a war. In the *Blue Book* is recorded the King's refusal to sign the new treaty. The relevant passage is:

"..., the king has declined to execute the Treaty."¹⁷

Enough has been said about the Treaty of 1801. Now take the Treaty of 11 September 1837. This is even more important and significant than the Treaty of 1801 and much depends on its interpretation for the justness of our claim to repossess Oudh. It has been proved that under the Treaty of 1801 the British Government had no authority to seize or annex Oudh or interfere with its internal administration and that whatever was done in defiance of the Treaty was barefaced injustice and oppression.

The Treaty of 11th September 1837 consists of nine clauses and bears the seal of Lord Auckland,¹⁸ Governor-General, and the signatures of three members of the Council.¹⁹ The Treaty was ratified at Fort William and was attested by W. H. Macnaghten, Secretary to the Government of India.²⁰ By the way, these treaties have been reprinted in the book published by the Government of India in 1909.²¹

As stated before, the Treaty of 1801 conferred no right of interference on the British Government on its own initiative and contained no provision for action in the event of maladministration of Oudh by its rulers. Therefore the Treaty of 1837 was devised to amend or extend

the provisions of the Treaty of 1801. Clauses 4, 7 and 8 of this Treaty are worth perusal. Clause 4 imposes an extra burden of 16 lakhs of rupees on the King; Clause 7 provided that the King of Oudh in consultation with the Resident would introduce measures for good administration and well-being of the people, and that in the event of an emergency arising in any part of the country or in the whole protectorate, the officers of the Company would have the right to take over the administration into their own hands for such time as the need for such transference of authority existed. In such circumstances all expenses of administration would be defrayed from the revenues of the country and the balance deposited into the King's treasury, and that a regular account of income and expenditure would be maintained. Clause 8 provides that so far as practicable the system of Government would be indigenous in character so that no difficulty may arise when the administration was to be retransferred to the King when circumstances warranted such transfer.

The *Blue Book* records that the Hon'ble Court of Directors rescinded this Treaty. The actual words are:

But the Treaty of 1837 is null and void. It was wholly disallowed by the Hon'ble Court of Directors as soon as they received it on the 10th April 1838.²²

Yet, at the same time, it is admitted by the British Government that the rejection of this Treaty was not communicated to the King of Oudh except that he was informed that he would not be saddled with the additional sum of 16 lakhs of rupees stipulated in Clause 4 of the Treaty. Nevertheless the legal implications of the omission to apprise the King of the turning down of the Treaty were obscured by an expression of regret at such failure.

Despite the fact that the *Blue Book* gives the date of cancellation of the Treaty as 10 April, 1838, the letters of Lord Auckland and Hardinge²³ written in 1839 and 1847²⁴ respectively to the King of Oudh attesting that the Treaty was not nugatory.

Before excerpts are given from those letters it is desirable to refer to documents establishing the fact that the King of Oudh was not informed of the cancellation of the Treaty by the Court of Directors. The following passage appears in the *Blue Book*:

The Resident is further aware that, although the King of Oude was informed, at that time, that certain provisions of the Treaty of 1837, respecting an increased military force, would not be carried into effect, the entire abrogation of the Treaty by the Court of Directors was never communicated to His Majesty.²⁵

Now we shall give extracts from the letters of Lord Auckland and

Lord Hardinge dated 8th July 1839 and 20th November 1847²⁶ respectively addressed to the King of Oudh respecting the non-cancellation of the Treaty of 1837. Lord Auckland writes that he had correspondence with the Court of Directors regarding the Treaty of 1837 and [that] they had agreed that His Majesty should be exempted from bearing the extra-military expenditure provided for in Clause 4 of the Treaty, but it was nowhere mentioned that the Treaty had been rescinded in its entirety by the Court of Directors. The relevant portion of the letter runs thus:

I have, in consequence, been authorised by the Court of Directors to inform you, that if I think it advisable for the present, I may relieve your Majesty from the part of [the Clause of the] Treaty alluded to, by which Clause expense is laid upon your Majesty.²⁷

Lord Hardinge improves upon this and alleges that the Treaty of 1837 was intact and operative and was a continuation of the Treaty of 1801. To quote para. 5 of the letter:

This Treaty of 1837 is in confirmation and extension of the Treaty of 1801. For it gives power of interference to the British Government when necessary for the proper Government of the kingdom.²⁸

Along with this an assurance was given that if the Kingdom of Oudh were taken over for management, it shall be restored as was done in the case of the Nagpur State which had been taken over owing to mismanagement but was returned when order had been restored:

The principality of Nagpoor, the administration of which was assumed by British officers, and then made over again to its former owners.²⁹

Surely, in the face of such declarations by responsible representatives of the British Government, it cannot be said that the Treaty of 1837 was annulled. Hence it was that when the operative character of these treaties was under discussion in the London Parliament and arguments were being advanced for and against them and the Parliament could not reach any definite conclusion and at the same time His Majesty Wajid Ali Shah's Memorial of the 9th December 1856 was under consideration,³⁰ therefore, to solve the legal tangle the question was referred under the orders of the Court of Directors to the famous Councillor Mr. Travers Twiss for opinion. His opinion³¹ is embodied in the records of the Government of India. This opinion was to the effect that the treaties were operative and the British Government under the International Law was bound to surrender Oudh.

N.B. Both the documents were existent.³² After the above decision it was likely that Oudh would have been restored but the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 turned everything topsy-turvy and the matter was put off.

Since it was legally essential that the consent of King Wajid Ali Shah to the occupation of Oudh should be obtained before Oudh could be swallowed up by the British Government, there is mention of such attempts in more documents than one.³³ He had not consented before and had spurned the draft of the Treaty alluded to before. After the lapse of several years Command No. 47 was received from the Secretary of State for India addressed to His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India. The date of this communique is 3rd June 1878 under the caption: "Political Secretary of State calling the India Government's report on the Oudh case, received through the Home Department dated 5th July 1878."³⁴ In this communique the Secretary of State had asked His Lordship what objection he had to the submission of ■ favourable report on the restoration of Oudh. The words "favourable report" are significant, denoting that the British Government was inclined to restore Oudh. Whether the report was favourable or otherwise is not known. But bearing in mind the policy of those times it is appropriate to quote from Mr. (afterwards, Sir) Edwin Arnold's book, *The Marquis of Dalhousie's Administration of British India*, Volume II, under the heading "Natural Character of Oude":³⁵

As a Province the prize was tempting enough to evade [*sic*] suspicion. Alexander's virtue would never have been historical if the daughter of Darius had not been fair and Lord Dalhousie would never have been attacked if Oudh had not been rich, well-peopled, prosperous and generally desirable. Oudh certainly broke the continuity of the map of British India with a blank that may have haunted the slumbers of Lord Dalhousie.

Now that the British Government are about to bid adieu to India and hundreds of estates have been taken under the Court of Wards and then released in the past and the process is likely to continue in future under some new mode or system, then why not restore Oudh to the heirs of the late King and why not acknowledge Oudh as a free and independent State?

The British Parliament sought many excuses for the usurpation of Oudh; plain meanings of words were turned and twisted; law and justice were sacrificed at the altar of casuistry. Is it not now the time to make amends? Nay, is it not ■ sacred duty to atone for pillaging the poor King of his millions, of his crown, of his territories, of his mantle of authority no less than of his jewels, palace, ornaments of his *Begums*, besides heaping insults upon them? And what was the award? A paltry pension. Should this be the culmination of all that, on the eve of their departure, the British should hand over Oudh to other persons than the heirs of the deceased King, the rightful claimants?

It is possible to resort again to the old quibbling of Mr. Grant³⁶ who declaimed before the Parliament in the following words:

...King of Oudh was no independent Sovereign but only a *Soobahdar*, whom the British Government, as Paramount Power in succession to the King of Delhi, was entitled to remove at its pleasure....³⁷

But the Parliament never accepted this line of argument because they themselves had conferred the title of King on the Nawabs of Oudh and thus ranked them with Kings and entered into treaties with them as independent Sovereigns. It is stated in the *Blue Book* :

The theory itself is, in my humble judgment, destroyed at once by the simple fact of the acknowledged existence of Treaties concluded between the British Government and the Rulers of Oude, for Treaties can be formed only between independent Powers. The apparent arguments in support of the theory, which have been drawn from the proceedings of Lord Wellesley, could, I affirm, be readily refuted from his Lordship's own despatches.³⁸

To conclude, it is now the duty of the British Government as well as the leaders of the different political parties to take cognizance of this question. It will not be out of place to assert that Mysore was snatched from Tipu Sultan and given to the Hindu Raja. The Raja of Benares gave battle but his status of a prince was preserved. Maharaja Malhar Rao of Baroda poisoned the Resident but was not dethroned. Hundreds of *Rajas and Taluqadars* committed misdeeds but were not deprived of their states in perpetuity. As a matter of fact the territories of His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad had very nearly met the fate of Oudh but the Mutiny of 1857 averted the catastrophe and the subsequent policy of the British Government left his dominion untouched.³⁹ Alas, what hung and still hangs in the balance is the fate of Oudh (in spite of the acknowledged gentlemanliness of the King of Oudh).

The British Government is indebted to Oudh to the tune of crores of rupees, the interest of a portion whereof is being paid even today.

The great Royal Family of Oudh always remained a staunch friend of the British and served them well in times of stress and adversity. The Kings of Oudh always treated Christians, Hindus and Muslims alike, endowing religious institutions without distinction of caste and creed, Hindus held high and responsible posts during the reign of the Kings of Oudh. It is thus the duty of Hindus, Muslims and Christians alike to work together for the achievement of our purpose—the recovery of Oudh and its restoration to the descendants of the late King Wajid Ali Shah.

¹Annexure 1.

²Saadat Khan Burhan-ul-Mulk was appointed *Subedar* of Awadh in September 1722 by Mughal

Emperor Muhammad Shah. See Mirza Ali Azhar, *King Wajid Ali Shah of Awadh*, I, Karachi, 1982, 79-80.

³The five Nawabs were: Saadat Khan Burhan-ul-Mulk; Abul Mansoor Khan Safdar Jung; Shuja-ud-Daulah; Asif-ud-Daulah; Saadat Ali Khan Yameen-ud-Daulah. The five Kings were: Ghazi-ud-Deen Haider; Naseer-ud-Deen Haider; Mohammad Ali Shah; Amjad Ali Shah; Sultan-i-Alam Wajid Ali Shah.

⁴In February 1762, Mughal King Shah Alam invested Shuja-ud-Daulah formally with the robe of the Prime Minister's office, Azhar, *King Wajid Ali Shah*, I, 97.

⁵See Annexures 1-3.

⁶*Oude: Papers Relating To*, Harrison and Sons, London, 1856, generally referred to as *Blue Book of Oude*.

⁷The actual words were: "The Punjab and Pegu were conquests of war. Nagpore was a lapse by reason of total failure of all heirs.

"The circumstances of Oude corresponded with none of these..." Ibid., para. 25, 301.

⁸Article 6 of the Treaty of 1801, C. U. Aitchison, Comp., *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads*, Government Printing Press, Calcutta, 1909, I, Part II, 125.

⁹William P. Hale, *The Oude Question Stated and Considered with Reference to Published Documents*, London, 1857, 11.

¹⁰The actual words were: "The Court has, on a former occasion, expressed an opinion, that the provisions of the Treaty of 1801 were sufficient to enable the Government of India to apply ■ adequate remedy to the disorders and abuses of the Administration of Oude. With deference to the opinion recorded upon that occasion, I must state my own conviction, that that Treaty, as it now stands, wholly fails to confer the power required for carrying into effect a measure so large and so important." *Oude: Papers Relating To*, para. 52, 182.

¹¹Governor-General of India, 1848-56.

¹²*Oude: Papers Relating To*, 184.

¹³Ibid., 214.

¹⁴Ibid., 232.

¹⁵Ibid., 256. Also see Annexure 9.

¹⁶Annexure 3.

¹⁷Major General Outram's report to the Secretary to the Government of India, 7 February 1856, *Oude: Papers Relating To*, 291.

¹⁸Governor-General, 1836-42.

¹⁹A. Ross, W. Morison and H. Shakespear.

²⁰Aitchison, *A Collection of Treaties*, I, Part II, 162-5. Also see Annexure 2.

²¹Ibid.

²²The actual words are: "A very general impression prevails that a subsequent readjustment of those relations was made by the Treaty concluded by Lord Auckland in 1837. But that Treaty is null and void. It was wholly disallowed by the Honourable Court of Directors so soon as they received it. On the 10th of April, 1838, the Secret Committee conveyed to the Governor-General-in-Council their 'directions for the abrogation of the Treaty' of September 18, 1837;..." *Oude: Papers Relating To*, para. 6, 149.

²³Governor-General, 1844-48.

²⁴Annexures 4 and 5.

²⁵*Oude: Papers Relating To*, 239.

²⁶For the dates, ■ Annexures 4 and 5.

²⁷Azhar, *King Wajid Ali Shah*, I, Appendix 8, 503. In the original, reference is given to *Oude: Its Princes and its Government Vindicated*, John Davy & Sons, London, 1857 later suppressed by the British Government. The book has been recently edited by Safi Ahmad with the title *British Aggression in Avadh Being the Treatise of M. Mohammad Masih Uddin Khan Bahadur Entitled Oude: Its Princes and Its Government Vindicated*.

²⁸Azhar, *King Wajid Ali Shah*, I, Appendix 9, 505.

²⁹Ibid., 507. Also see Annexure 5.

³⁰Reference is given in the original to Exhibit No. 163 of the Victoria Memorial, Calcutta, petition of Mohammad Wajid Ali Shah, King of Oudh, to the Court of Directors of the East

India Company and to the Governor-General of India, protesting against the policy pursued by the Government of India in connection with the annexation of Oudh, dated 9th December 1856.

³¹Annexure 6.

³²See *Proceedings of the Indian Historical Record Commission*, Calcutta, January 1923, V.

³³Annexures 3, 7 and 9.

³⁴Annexure 7.

³⁵Edwin Arnold, *The Marquis of Dalhousie's Administration of British India*, II, Saunders, Otlay and Co., London, 1862, 328-9.

³⁶J.P. Grant.

³⁷*Oude: Papers Relating To*, 298.

³⁸*Ibid.*

³⁹Annexure 8.

Annexure 1 to Enclosure to No. 115

F. 710/16-8

TREATY OF 1801¹

TREATY BETWEEN THE HONORABLE THE EAST INDIA COMPANY
AND HIS EXCELLENCY THE NABOB VIZIER-UL-MOMALIK,
YEMEEN-OO-DOWLA, NAZIM-UL-MOOLK,
SAADET ALI KHAN BEHAUDER, MOBAURIZ JUNG,
FOR CEDING TO THE COMPANY, IN PERPETUAL
SOVEREIGNTY, CERTAIN PORTIONS OF
HIS EXCELLENCY'S TERRITORIAL POSSESSIONS,
IN COMMUTATION OF THE SUBSIDY NOW
PAYABLE TO THE COMPANY BY THE
VIZIER,—10 NOVEMBER 1801.

[13 lines omitted in the original]

The following Treaty, consisting of ten Articles, is concluded on the one part by His Excellency the Most Noble Marquis Wellesley, K.P., Governor-General for all affairs, civil and military, of the British Nation in India, through the Honorable Henry Wellesley and Lieutenant-Colonel Scott, under full powers vested in them by the said Governor-General, for the purpose of concluding a Treaty with His Excellency the *Vizier*, in the name and on behalf of the Governor-General; and on the other part by His Excellency the Nabob Vizier-ul-Momalik, Yemeen-oo-Dowla, Nazim-ul-Moolk, Saadet Ali Khan Behauder, Mobauriz Jung, on behalf of himself and his heirs and successors, for ceding to the Honorable the English East India Company, in perpetual sovereignty, certain portions of His Excellency's territorial possessions in commutation of the former and augmented subsidy, and of all other sums of money now chargeable to His Excellency, on account of the Company's defensive Engagements with His Excellency.

ARTICLE I

His Excellency the Nabob Vizier hereby cedes to the Honorable the East India Company, in perpetual sovereignty, the undermentioned portions of his territorial possessions, amounting in the gross revenue to one crore and thirty-five lakhs of rupees, including expenses of collections, in commutation of the subsidy, of the expenses attendant on the additional troops, and of the Benares and Furruckabad pensions.

STATEMENT OF JUMMA

	Rs.	As.	Ps.
<i>Chuckla</i> Korah, Kurrah and <i>Chuckla</i> Etawah	55,48,577	11	9
Kehr and others	5,33,374	0	6
Farruckabad and others	4,50,001	0	0
Khairaghur and others	2,10,001	0	0
Azimghur and others	6,95,624	7	6
Azimghur, Mownaut Bhunjan			
Goruckpore and others and Butwal	5,09,853	8	0
Goruckpur etc.	40,001	0	0
Butwal	5,49,854	8	0
<i>Soubah</i> of Allahabad and others	9,34,963	1	3
<i>Chuckla</i> Bareilly	43,13,457	11	3
Asophabad and Kelpoory			
Nabob Gunge, Kehly and others	1,19,242	12	0
Mohoul and others, with the exception of <i>Talook</i> of Arwul	1,68,378	4	0
Total ² <i>Jumma</i> Lucknow [Sa.] ³	Rs. 1,35,23,474	8	3

The above-mentioned *Mahals* being ceded to the Honorable Company, as held by the *Aumils*, in the year 1206 *Fusslee*,⁴ no claims are to be hereafter made on account of villages or lands which in former years may have been added to or separated from the said *Mahals*.

[Articles 2-5 omitted in the original]

ARTICLE 6

The territories ceded to the Honorable Company by the first Article of this Treaty shall be subject to the exclusive management and control of the said Company and their officers, and the Honorable the East India Company hereby guarantee to His Excellency the *Vizier* and to his heirs and successors the possession of the territories which will remain to His Excellency after the territorial cession together with the exercise of his and their authority within the said dominions; His

Excellency engages that he will establish in his reserved dominions such a system of administration, to be carried into effect by his own officers, as shall be conducive to the prosperity of his subjects, and be calculated to secure the lives and property of the inhabitants; and His Excellency will always advise with, and act in conformity to, the counsel of officers of the said Honorable Company.

[Articles 7-9 omitted in the original]

ARTICLE 10

This Treaty, consisting of ten Articles, has been settled and concluded through the Honorable Henry Wellesley and Lieutenant-Colonel Scott, under the full powers vested in them by the Governor-General as aforesaid, with His Excellency the Vizier, in the city of Lucknow, on the 10th day of November, in the year of Our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and One, corresponding with the second of the month of *Rejib* of the year Twelve Hundred and Sixteen *Hegira*.

WELLESLEY⁵

Seal of Saadet Ali Khan

Ratified by His Excellency the Most Noble the Governor-General, on the Ganges near Benares on the Fourteenth day of November, 1801.

N. B. EDMONSTONE

*Secretary to the Government,
Sec[ret] and Pol[itical] Dep[artment]*

¹Aitchison, *A Collection of Treaties*, I, Part II, No. XLVII, 123-7, Vol. I contains the treaties etc. relating to the United Provinces, Awadh, Bengal, and the Central Provinces. In the original of this Annexure, reference is given to Vol. IV, No. I, 130.

²The total is incorrect.

³Lucknow *Sicca* (Awadh currency).

⁴The indigenous calendar then in vogue.

⁵Governor-General, 1798-1805.

Annexure 2 to Enclosure to No. 115

F. 710/19-22

TREATY OF 1837¹

TREATY BETWEEN THE HONORABLE EAST INDIA COMPANY AND
HIS MAJESTY ABOOL FUTTEH MOEEN-OD-DEEN
NOWSHEREWAN-I-AUDIL SULTAN-I-ZAMAN
MAHAMMUD ALLI SHAH, KING OF
OUDE—11 SEPTEMBER 1837.

Whereas by the subsisting alliance between the Honorable the East

India Company and the Oude States, the British Government is bound to defend the Oude Territories against foreign and domestic enemies, the Sovereign of Oude engaging to retain in his service only a small specified number of troops; and whereas, while the British Government has faithfully and scrupulously performed the obligations so imposed on it, the engagement on the part of the Oude State has been habitually infringed, there being now in the employment of His Majesty the King of Oude a large and expensive military force; and whereas experience has shown that the execution of all the provisions of the Treaty of 1801 is attended with serious difficulty, and it is desirable and proper that a modified arrangement, consistent with principles of that Treaty and conducing to the prosperity and advantage of both States, should be introduced; and whereas the restrictions as to the amount of military force to be employed by His Majesty the King of Oude may with propriety be relaxed, on condition that an adequate portion of the increased force shall be placed under the British discipline and control, so as at once to promote the general interests of the Indian Empire, and in particular the dignity and safety of the King, providing at a reduced cost for the efficiency of his national military establishment; and whereas Article 6th of the Treaty of 1801 requires that the Sovereign of Oude always advising with, and acting in conformity to, the counsel of the Officers of the Honorable Company, shall establish in his reserved dominions such a system of administration (to be carried into effect by his own officers) as shall be conducive to the prosperity of his subjects, and be calculated to secure the lives and property of the inhabitants, *but provides no remedy for the neglect of that solemn and paramount obligation;*² and whereas the infraction of this essential engagement of the Treaty, and inattention to the first duty of a Sovereign on the part of several successive Rulers of Oude have been continued and notorious and have ever exposed the British Government to the reproach of imperfectly fulfilling its obligation towards the Oude people, and it is therefore just and proper that the defect alluded to in Article 6th of the Treaty aforesaid should be rectified; the following provisions have accordingly been arranged and concluded on the one part by Lieutenant-Colonel John Low, Resident at the Court of Lucknow, in the name and on behalf of the Right Honorable Lord Auckland, Governor-General of India in Council, and on the other, by Abool Futteh Moeen-ood-Deen Sultan-i-Zaman Nowsherewan-i-Audil, Mohummad Alli Shah, King of Oude, for *himself and his heirs; and this agreement is to hold good from generation to generation to the end of time.*

[Articles 1-6 omitted in the original]

ARTICLE 7

In modification of Article 6th of the Treaty above referred to, it is hereby provided that the King of Oude will take into his immediate and earnest consideration, in concert with the British Resident, the best means of remedying the existing defects in the Police, and in the Judicial and Revenue Administrations of his dominions, and that if His Majesty should neglect to attend to the advice and counsel of the British Government or its local representative, and if (which God forbid) gross and systematic oppression, anarchy and misrule should hereafter at any time prevail within the Oude dominions, such as seriously to endanger the public tranquillity, the British Government reserves to itself the right of appointing its own officers to the management of whatsoever portions of the Oude territory, either to a small or to a great extent, in which such misrule as that above alluded to may have occurred, for so long a period as it may deem necessary, *the surplus receipts in such case, after defraying all charges, to be paid into the King's treasury, and a true and faithful account rendered to His Majesty of the receipts and expenditure of the territories so assumed.*

ARTICLE 8

And it is hereby further agreed that in case the Governor-General of India in Council should be compelled to resort to the exercise of the authority vested in him by Article 7th of this Treaty, he will endeavour, as far as possible, to maintain (with such improvements as they may admit of) the native institutions and forms of administration within the assumed territories, so as to facilitate the restoration of those territories to the Sovereign of Oude when the proper period for such restoration shall arrive.

ARTICLE 9

All the other provisions and conditions of former Treaties between the British Government and the Oude State, which are not affected by the above convention, are to remain in full force and effect.

The above Treaty, consisting of nine Articles, is executed at Lucknow, this Eleventh day of September, in the year of Our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred And Thirty-Seven, corresponding with the Tenth day of *Jamadosanee* Twelve Hundred and Fifty-Three *Hegira*.

AUCKLAND
A. ROSS
W. MORISON
H. SHAKESPEAR

Ratified by the Governor-General of India in Council, at Fort William in Bengal, this Eighteenth day of September, One Thousand Eight Hundred And Thirty-Seven.

W. H. MACNAGHTEN
Secretary to the Government of India

¹Aitchison, *A Collection of Treaties*, I, Part II, No. LVII, 162-5.

²Underlined here and hereafter in the original.

Annexure 3 to Enclosure to No. 115

F. 716/23-6

DRAFT OF THE UNSIGNED AND UNACCEPTED TREATY BY KING
WAJID ALI SHAH OFFERED BY THE BRITISH
GOVERNMENT IN 1856¹

Treaty between the Honorable East India Company and His Majesty Abdul Mansur, Nasir-ud-Din Sikandar Jah, Muhammad Wajid Ali Shah, King of Oudh, settled on the part of the Honorable Company by Major-General James Outram, C. B., Resident at Lucknow, in virtue of full powers granted to him by the Most Noble James Ramsay, Marquis of Dalhousie, Knight of the Most Ancient and Most Noble Order of the Thistle, one of Her Majesty's Most Honorable Privy Council, Governor-General in Council, appointed by the Honorable Company to direct and control all their affairs in the East Indies in and on the part of His Majesty the King of Oudh by—

Whereas in the year 1801 a Treaty was concluded between the Honorable East India Company and His Excellency the Nawab Wazir Saadat Ali Khan Bahadur;² and whereas the 6th Article of the said Treaty requires that the Ruler of Oudh, always advising with and acting in conformity to the counsel of the officers of the Honorable Company, shall "establish in his reserved dominions such a system of administration, to be carried into effect by his own officers, as shall be conducive to the prosperity of his subjects, and be calculated to secure the lives and property of the inhabitants;" and whereas the infraction of this essential engagement of the Treaty by successive Rulers of Oudh has been continued and notorious; and whereas its long toleration of such infraction of the Treaty on the part of the Rulers of Oudh has exposed the British Government to the reproach of having failed to fulfil the obligations it assumed towards the people of that country; and whereas it has now become the imperative duty of the British Government to take effectual measures for securing permanently to

the people of Oudh such a system of just and beneficent administration as the Treaty of 1801 was intended, but has failed, to provide; the following Treaty, consisting of seven Articles, is concluded, on the one part by the Most Noble the Marquis of Dalhousie, K. T., Governor-General in Council, appointed by the Honorable Company to direct and control all their affairs in the East Indies, through Major-General Outram, C. B., Resident at Lucknow, under full powers vested in him by the said Governor-General; and on the other part by His Majesty Abdul Mansur, Nasir-ud-Din, Sikander Jah, Muhammad Wajid Ali Shah, King of Oudh, for himself and his heirs, through

ARTICLE I

It is hereby stipulated and agreed that the sole and exclusive administration of the Civil and Military Government of the Territories of Oudh shall be henceforth vested for ever in the Honorable East India Company, together with the full and exclusive right to the revenues thereof, the said Company hereby engaging to make ample provision for the maintenance of the Royal dignity, as hereinafter mentioned, and for the due improvement of the said territories.

ARTICLE II

It is stipulated and agreed that the Sovereign title of King of Oudh shall be retained by His Majesty, and that it shall descend in continual succession to the heirs male of his body, born in lawful wedlock.

ARTICLE III

It is stipulated and agreed that His Majesty the King and his successors shall be treated upon all occasions with the attention, respect and honour which are due to a Sovereign Prince.

ARTICLE IV

It is further stipulated and agreed that, notwithstanding the provisions of the first Article of the present Treaty, His Majesty the King of Oudh and his successors shall retain full and exclusive jurisdiction within the precincts of the Palace at Lucknow, as well as within the Dilkusha and Bibiapur Parks, provided always that punishment of death shall not be inflicted by the order of the King or within the limits of the palace and garden parks aforesaid unless with the previous consent of the Governor-General-in-Council.

ARTICLE V

Whereas it is expedient and right that the Crown of His Majesty the King of Oudh should be upheld in fitting dignity and honour, it is hereby stipulated and agreed that the Honorable East India Company

shall pay to His Majesty the said Muhammad Wajid Ali Shah, from out of the revenues of Oudh, twelve lakhs of Company's Rupees per annum; and that the said Company shall further maintain for His Majesty a body of palace guards at a cost not exceeding three lakhs of Company's Rupees per annum.

To each of His Majesty's successors it is agreed that the said Company shall pay twelve lakhs of Company's Rupees per annum.

ARTICLE VI

In order that nothing may be wanting to the full measures of liberal endowment which the Honorable East India Company desires to secure to His Majesty the King of Oudh, it is hereby agreed that the said Company shall take upon itself the maintenance of all collateral members of the Royal family, for whom provision is now made by His Majesty the King.

ARTICLE VII

All former Treaties between the Honorable East India Company and the Rulers of Oudh which are now in force, and which are not contrary to the tenor of this engagement, are confirmed by it.

This Treaty, consisting of seven Articles, has been settled and concluded by Major-General James Outram, C. B., Resident at Lucknow, under the full powers vested in him by the Most Noble the Governor-General-in-Council as aforesaid, with His Majesty Abdul Mansur, Nasir-ud-Din, Sikandar Jah, Muhammad Wajid Ali Shah, King of Oudh, for himself and his heirs, in the city of Lucknow, on the _____ day of _____ in the year of Our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Fifty-Six, corresponding with.

¹Aitchison, *A Collection of Treaties*, I, Part II, notes, 85-7.

²Annexure I.

Annexure 4 to Enclosure to No. 115

F. 710/27-30

LETTER¹ OF LORD AUCKLAND² DATED
8TH JULY 1847 [SIC FOR 1839]

May the Omnipotent God keep the garden of wealth and fortune of your Royal Highness, the adorning of the throne of sovereignty and dignity and embellisher of the Royal seat of grandeur and magnificence, ever blooming, smiling, verdant and fertile with showers from the clouds of His own Grace.

Afterwards, let it not remain concealed and veiled from your illustrious mind, resembling a mirror, that some months ago there was a correspondence and some discussion in the way of consultation between me, your friend, and the Honorable Members of the Court of Directors, on the subject of the recent treaty under date 11th day of the month of September, of the Christian year 1837, which was concluded and executed between me, your friend, and your Royal Highness, the embellisher of the throne of sovereignty and magnificence; and although some portion of the military force stipulated in the aforesaid treaty has already been supplied and arranged, and for the necessary expenses thereof a sum of sixteen lakhs of rupees per annum was fixed to be paid by the Government of your Royal Highness, yet the Honorable Members of the aforesaid Court, with advertence to your Royal Highness's plea that some inquiry [*sic*] and detriment might in consequence of such arrangement happen to the territories of Oude, have, after due deliberation, suspended their decision on the point.

As from the very commencement of the period when the throne and the Crown of that dominion derived their elegance under the auspicious reign of Your Royal Highness, the adorning of the throne of sovereignty, magnificence, fortune and wealth, the British Government *has experienced and found upon examination the good management, justice and commiseration of your Royal Highness, by weighing and distinguishing them with reference to those of the past periods,*³ when, in consequence of the evils, mismanagements, prodigalities, and abuses of wealth which prevailed, there were causes for frequent and repeated censures and complaints; therefore it is said that I, your friend, am directed and authorised at present to relieve the kingdom and territories of Oude from That Burthen relative to the terms contained in the articles of the new treaty, in regard to the establishment of a military force, which they may be incapable to bear [*sic*], and to cause payment of the expenditure incurred on account of that portion of the military force which has now been supplied and arranged, to be made from the ever enduring treasury of the British Government.

Accordingly, I, your friend, am also desirous, with all my heart and soul, of carrying into effect and final execution the aforesaid orders which the said Honorable Members of the Court have, with great cordial liberality and natural generosity, issued to me.

I, Your Highness's friend, have occasionally been contemplating and reflecting upon this matter, that probably the heavy burden of

charges of the military force employed according to the treaty, might be cause of heaviness of the fixed and collectible revenue of the Kingdom, and in consequence thereof distressful hardship might happen to the subjects of the territories of Oude. Now, it is positively certain that this hardship being removed, a general satisfaction and reconciliation of the tenants, as well as the whole body of the subjects, will be effected; or, instead of that, with a view of a public benefit and general good, foundations for the erection and construction of everlasting edifices, such as sauyers [*sic*] and caravan serais, and so forth buildings, may be laid; as, by such acts also, the permanency of good name and memory, and likewise a hundred-fold comforts and ease for the whole body of the subjects and the people of the country are expected; and I am convinced in my own mind, that this general tranquillity of the subjects and the welfare of the whole body of the citizens depend on the collection of revenue with due moderation and justice (which is the cause of humanity, amity, and friendship) and the selection of well-qualified and faithful persons from among the functionaries and managers of business belonging to that Government, and the expulsion of malevolent persons, tyrants, and ruiners who are habituated to cause distress and practise oppression, and to take bribes and defraud the people; and your Royal Highness, being perfectly acquainted with the habits and manners of all the underlings and functionaries employed in every part and quarter of the extensive dominions, are better able to adopt proper measures for carrying out all orders for the execution and management of all affairs, and general usages and practices; and it is hoped and expected that all those matters will, from day to day, tend to increase and improve under the auspices of your Royal Highness, who are endowed with every high and virtuous quality. I wish that I, your friend, being considered as ever desirous of hearing of the good health of your Royal Highness's friendly disposed person, may continue to be favoured and gratified with our elegant letters and excellent notes. May ■ day of composure, and happiness, and felicity, and joy ever attend you.

AUCKLAND

¹Note in the original: "Translation of a letter from the Right Honorable The Earl of Auckland, Governor-General of India to H. M. the King of Oude, dated 8th July 1847, Messiah."

²Governor-General, 1836-1842.

³Underlined in the original.

*Annexure 5 to Enclosure to No. 115**F. 710/31-40*LETTER OF LORD HARDINGE DATED 20TH NOVEMBER 1847¹

Let it be known to Your Majesty that it is incumbent upon the Resident, by virtue of the Treaty of 1801, to counsel the Sovereign of Oude, and necessary for the Sovereign to consult the representative of the Government with regard to the administration of his country, and to follow such advice as he, the Resident, may tender to him; considering that it is our intention to be always assisting you with such advice as will assure Your Majesty that the friendship of your Government is always the study and desire of the Honorable East India Company. And this state of amity has existed for the last forty-six years between this Government and Your Majesty's ancestors. This Government also expects and hopes, as heretofore, to [see] the Sovereign of Oude, firm and stable on his throne, without any diminution of his rights, and that he may enjoy all his pomp and dignity. The forbearance and the strict observance of treaties by the British Government towards princes is evident from a consideration of the Company's immense power as exhibited in the Punjab and Kashmere. And also it is evident and proved that the British, in addition to the strict observance of their treaties and the support of the dignity of the native princes, look to the amelioration and improvement of the condition of the Rayots,² for instance, in the last year the Government declared conditionally that unless the Resident were [en]trusted with the entire protection of the Rayots (cultivators) from oppression, the Government would withdraw their protection from the Punjab territory. The Treaty of 1801,³ between Your Majesty's ancestors and the English Government, provides for the English Government's protection of the rights of the people. The sixth Article provides thus:

His Excellency engages that he will establish in his reserved dominion such a system of administration, to be carried into effect by his own officers, as shall be conducive to the prosperity of his subjects, and be calculated to secure the lives and property of the inhabitants; and His Excellency will always advise with, and act in conformity to, the counsel of the officers of the said Honorable Company.

By the Convention of 1802 signed by the Governor-General, Lord Wellesley, Nawab Wazier-ool-Momalik agreed to provide for the protection of the Rayots and to afford them justice without any opposition or detriment; also the said Nawab wrote requesting that the Government would afford him assistance in enforcing obedience to his orders.

From these conditions, which have been firm and binding for the

last forty-six years, it is clear and manifest that when the British Government undertook the entire protection of the authority of the Sovereign, they also took upon themselves the protection of the Rayots, and in the Treaty dated 1837 there is inserted as follows:

Article VII. In modification of Article 6 of the Treaty referred to, it is hereby provided that the King of Oude will take into his immediate and earnest consideration, in concert with the British Resident, the best means of remedying the existing defects in the police, and in the judicial and revenue administration of his dominions, and that if His Majesty should neglect to attend to the advice and counsel of the British Government, or its local representative, and if (which God forbid) gross and systematic oppression, anarchy, and misrule should hereafter at any time prevail within the Oude dominions, such as seriously to endanger the public tranquillity, the British Government reserves to itself the right of appointing its own officers to the management of whatsoever portions of the Oude territory, either to a small or to a great extent, in which such misrule as that above alluded to may have occurred, for so long a period as it may deem necessary, *the surplus receipts in such case, after defraying all charges, to be paid into the King's treasury, and a true and faithful account rendered to His Majesty of the receipts and expenditure of the territories so assumed.*⁴

This treaty of 1837 is in confirmation and extension of the treaty of 1801, for it gives power of interference to the British Government when necessary for the proper Government of the Kingdom. Your Majesty will feel assured, after perusing the sixth article of the Treaty of 1801, that it is absolutely necessary for the Governor-General to perform strictly the articles of the Treaty of 1801, relative to the Rayots of Oude, because if the Governor-General shuts his eyes to the anarchy and disorganisation which he has power to amend by virtue of the Treaty, then he might be reckoned a party to such wrong-doings. Under such circumstances it is to be regretted that the Sovereigns of Oudh do not think that a Governor-General, by taking such a load of infamy upon him, as would ensue from his non-interference, would be acting contrary to the laws of the British Nation, and contrary to all high feeling. It is a fact that friendly advice has often been given on these occasions, but without avail. Now, I sincerely hope Your Majesty will pursue in these affairs a more wise and cautious course than your ancestors have, so that it may not happen that, instead of offering friendly advice, we take full and entire possession. Lord William Bentinck (then the Governor-General of India) in 1831 tendered the same advice to the deceased King when on a visit to His Majesty. And at that time the Governor-General said clearly that he had given His Majesty a clear

understanding on every point, and told him plainly that if he did not intend to attempt it, then he would write to the Home Authorities, and recommend that the country of Oude should be brought under the British Administration, and the said Governor-General did write to that effect, and the Court of Directors concurred with him in that opinion:

Let this not be concealed from Your Majesty, and let the rust of doubt be cleared from your mind that *an instruction has come from the Court of Directors regarding the administration of the country—that is, to place the affairs under the supervision of British officers; and, after a great deliberation and consideration, the Directors have left the whole affair to the discretion of the Governor-General in Council to do what he thought best, and, in fact, if the administration of the Kingdom of Oude does not improve, in that case the Members of the Council will agree with the Governor-General that they must execute the power left to them whenever they may think proper. Acting in accordance with this view, Lord William Bentinck wrote to the King, on the 5th January, 1835, strictly enjoining the King to improve and repair his maladministration, and to observe the Articles of the Treaty, besides many other passages of his letter, which all intended to show the same thing. One passage of his letter is to this effect: 'That His Majesty will clearly understand, however his relation stands with us according to the Treaty, especially when an extreme maladministration takes place, then it would become necessary to act as he (the Governor-General) might think advisable; and that such a course of action was not optional to him, but absolutely necessary.'*

It is now three years since a letter was addressed to his late Majesty, of blessed memory, to this purport: 'That the maladministration of the Kingdom of Oude is extreme; necessary arrangement must be made for its reparation;' and I feel extremely sorry that the *Moder-ool-Mahom* has been obliged to resign his office, which was contrary to the wish of the Resident. Notwithstanding this, Your Majesty has dismissed him on your accession to the throne and appointed another, contrary to the advice of the Resident; and according to the Treaty, the Governor-General has power to insist upon Your Majesty adopting the counsel and friendly advice of the Resident. But Your Majesty is answerable for all bad administration. Such has been written to you through the Resident, who has received orders to assist and advise in the improvement of the country with the present Minister who has been appointed by Your Majesty. And be assured that, so long as the *Moder-ool-Mahom* will respect, with honour, sincerity and integrity, the rights of the King and of the people, the Resident will assist him with heart and soul. I regret to hear that maladministration is still extreme with respect to the judicial and revenue administration of the Oude territory. And also it is to be regretted that Your Majesty, a few weeks after your accession to the throne, being instigated by some ill-designed persons, ordered several of the Hindoo Pagodas to be razed; and

many similar wrong-doings have come to my knowledge, such as if I were to describe them all, would cause a very great deal of unpleasant feeling. It suffices to say that, during such a course of conduct, many acts of oppression and tyranny have been proved, and authenticated beyond all doubt, and confirmed by the reports of the officers appointed on the borders of the Kingdom of Oude. On hearing these circumstances, I did not think [it] proper to write to you upon the subject immediately, thinking that on my way to Calcutta, I would explain them to Your Majesty verbally in a friendly manner. At this auspicious and august period of Your Majesty's accession to the throne it is desirable to ameliorate your system of Government, and such orders as Your Majesty [may deem necessary for the amelioration, it is Your Majesty's] duty to communicate fully to the people, in order that they may be fully sensible of Your Majesty's intention to improve the Government and relieve oppression. Your Majesty's good name depends upon your at once protecting your people from oppression and heavy taxation, and thereby saving them from destruction and ruination.

In case of delaying the execution of this policy, *it has been determined by the British Government to take the management of the Kingdom of Oude under their own authority.* Reform will give Your Majesty a good name. Should this not take place (which God forbid), the performance of my duty will cause me profound regret, because it is my sincere desire that our allies should ever continue to maintain their pomp and rank.

Taking into consideration Your Majesty's inexperience in these matters, I do not propose to carry into effect the directions of the Court of Directors, *nor do I wish to make Your Majesty answerable for the oppression of your ancestors;* nor can I expect that the removal of the bad system of rule could be at once effected; but the immediate exertion and endeavour of Your Majesty are essential. And be assured that, whatever the English Government may do to prevent and remedy the bad usages of the Government of your country, it will not affect your rights or lower you in your dignity. Now, what I have arranged will be soon put to the test. The English Government will endeavour, as far as possible, to protect the Rayots without abolishing the old customs. To carry out such a design is difficult; but its fulfillment depends chiefly upon Your Majesty's hearty co-operation with the *'Aoder-ool-Mahom* and the Resident, and on your adoption of such measures as may tend to a good result as occurred in the following instance:

The principality of Nagpur, the administration of which was assumed by the British officers, *and then made over again to its former owners.* The result was security to the rights of its Sovereign, the increase of the revenue, and the tranquillity of its subjects insured. The first step should be this, to ascertain the income of every town, and then to fix a certain moderate sum of taxation thereon, that the Rayots may know the sum of their expenditure. This arrangement is to endure for not less than five years, and then it is not to be set aside without the concurrence of the Resident. It is necessary that this new regulation should take effect *within two years* before the beginning of 1258

Fusslee; and after the lapse of this period, the British officers will ascertain what is the result of this new arrangement. But if the Governor-General shall learn that, during this period, the tyranny and oppression of the people is not diminished, then he will feel himself justified in interfering and exercising the power which, by virtue of the Treaty, is left to him. The Minister will forward a report of the circumstances to the Governor-General, at the end of each season. And this could be done privately, as perhaps the publication of such a measure may be hurtful to Your Majesty's feelings. And if Your Majesty's officers should be unable to carry on the business, and should require assistance of the British officers, the Government will readily assist Your Majesty. These officers will occasionally visit the interior, and will ■ with their own eyes any maladministration, and will remedy it by having the new arrangement continued; but as to the details of this arrangement, the Minister will consult the Resident; and if Your Majesty will act sincerely, you will accordingly observe, as the results, within two years, that oppression will be removed, and that without the least prejudicing your authority, power, or the customs of the country. And if Your Majesty will not adopt these recommendations, or, once adopting them afterwards abandon the same, Your Majesty well knows what course will be pursued by the British Government and all the Princes will know that, in the first instance, ■ friendly advice has been tendered to Your Majesty, and that what may happen will have been caused by Your Majesty.

The large army which is kept up in Oude is contrary to the Treaty of 1801; and it is provided in the treaty that Nawab Wazier-ool-Momalik may retain an army of four battalions of infantry, one of Mawattees, 2,000 horses, and 300 artillerymen; and, also, it is well-known that, in the Treaty of 1837, whatever was said about the army, it remains wholly unobserved. Now, Your Majesty keeps up an army of 5,000 gunners, and 400 guns, 4,000 horses, 44,000 foot. To keep such an army is to coerce the Rayots in collection; and if this army is diminished, the Rayots will become rebels, and set up their own Government. But the new system of arrangement will be pleasing to the Rayots; the reduction of the army then will be easy, and the income will be increased. The Judicial Administration and the appointment of a Court of Justice is very necessary; and my earnest prayer to Your Majesty is, that the remonstrance of the Resident as to the employment of the singers, musicians, and other unworthy people in high stations, being [highly] improper, should be attended to. As I hear that Your Majesty has, in accordance with the advice of the Resident, turned out those low people infesting Your Majesty's Court, and who have caused Your Majesty to have a bad name, so, for the future, I earnestly hope you will dismiss the low and bad people from your Court, in which proceeding Your Majesty will show much wisdom, as it is most essential. Therefore, I have to ask *Your Majesty* to give an answer to all these matters in detail, within one week, through the Resident, who will forward it to me; and if Your Majesty pleases, you may communicate on the minor points verbally with the Minister and the Resident. In writing all this, I assure Your Majesty that the English Government

has *no object whatever* except to enable Your Majesty, as one of the most supreme of all the Princes of India, wisely and properly to execute all my friendly advices, and to observe the treaties and conventions faithfully, and so *ever to be adding splendour to your throne*, and that the Rayots may be protected, than which nothing could be more gratifying to me. And now be assured that I am always looking for Your Majesty's welfare and prosperity, because there exists a very great and ancient amity and friendship between Your Majesty and the British Government. I hope this may be everlasting, that Your Majesty's pomp and dignity may be increasing, and that the Rayots may be contented and satisfied.⁵

HARDINGE

¹Also see Azhar, *King Wajid Ali Shah*, I, Appendix 9, 504-9, where it is dated as 23 November 1847.

²An Indian peasant; spelling in the original retained here and hereafter.

³See Annexure 3.

⁴Italics here and hereafter in Appendix 9, *ibid*.

⁵"True translation" made by "Syed Abdoollah, Persian Translator." Azhar, *King Wajid Ali Shah*, I, Appendix 9, 509.

Annexure 6 to Enclosure to No. 115

F. 710/41-50

OPINION OF DR. TRAVERS TWISS¹

DOCTORS' COMMONS,² [LONDON],

24 February 1857

I have perused the papers submitted to me on behalf of His Majesty, the King of Oude, viz.

1. The treaties concluded between the East India Company and the rulers of Oude from 1798 to 1837, published in the collection of East India Treaties, laid before the House of Lords, 24th June 1853.³
2. The correspondence and minutes of the Government of India amongst the "Papers relating to Oude" presented to the Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty, 1856.⁴
3. The notification from the Right Honorable the Earl of Auckland, Governor-General of India, to His Majesty the King of Oude, 8 July, 1839,⁵ on the subject of the recent Treaty under date 11th September, 1837, and His Majesty's reply thereto sent with the case.
4. The remonstrance on the part of the Governor-General of India, Lord Hardinge, delivered to the King of Oude, 23 November, 1847,⁶ sent with the case.

5. The letter of the Honorable Court of Directors to the Governor-General of India, 10th December, 1856, relative to the assumption of the Government of Oude ordered by the House of Commons to be printed 5th February, 1857.

My attention has, in the first place, been directed to the Treaties of 1798, 1801 and 1837 in conjunction with the letters of Lord Auckland and Lord Hardinge, which bear upon the Treaties of 1801 and 1837, as these are the treaties upon which the questions between the East India Company and the King of Oude turn.

It appears that the earliest [*sic*] treaties before 1798 were treaties of equal alliance, but the three later treaties of 1789 [*sic* for 1798], 1801, 1837, are treaties of unequal alliance. They form a continuous chain of political relations between the East India Government and the Sovereigns of Oude, being linked on to one another. Each, however, has a distinct political character of its own: the Treaty of 1798 being a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance on both sides, and of joint correspondence, as far as the foreign relations of Oude with other States were concerned. That of 1801 being a treaty of territorial cession, on the part of Oude, and of territorial guaranty on the part of the East India Company, whilst the Treaty of 1837 is a treaty of protection on the part of East India Company, and of administrative submission on the part of the King of Oude. All these treaties, however, agree in securing to the East India Company a direct consideration for its Military aid, either in the form of an annual subsidy or of a permanent cession of territory in lieu of subsidy. Thus, Sir John Shore's⁷ Treaty, in 1798, secured to the East India Company a subsidy of seventy-six lakhs of Rupees; and by Articles 12 and 13, the Nabob undertook to consult with the Company's Government on the best means of reducing the expenses of his own public establishments, as well as to communicate to the Company all correspondence between himself and any foreign power.

By Lord Wellesley's Treaty of 1801,⁸ the King of Oude ceded certain portions of territory to the East India Company in perpetuity in lieu of a subsidy, and the Company in return, not merely undertook, by Article 3, to defend his remaining territories against all foreign and domestic enemies, but, by the Sixth Article, guaranteed to the *Vizier*, and his heirs and successors, the possession of his remaining territories, and the *Vizier* engaged that he would establish in them such a system of administration, to be carried into effect by his own officers, as would be conducive to the prosperity of his subjects, and be calculated to secure the lives and property of the inhabitants, and that he would always advise with and act in conformity to the counsel of the officers of the Company.

Lord Auckland's Treaty of 1837⁹, on the other hand, commenced with a preamble, reciting amongst other things, that "Article 6 of the Treaty of 1801 required that the Sovereign of Oude should establish in his reserved dominions such system of administration, to be carried into effect by his own officers, as shall be conducive to the prosperity of his subjects and be calculated to secure the lives and property of the inhabitants, but provides no remedy for the neglect of that solemn and paramount obligation; and the infraction of this essential engagement of the Treaty, on the part of the Rulers of Oude, has been continued and notorious; and it is, therefore, just and proper that the defect alluded to in Article 6 of the Treaty of 1801 should be rectified." It provided accordingly by Article 7, in express modification of Article 6 of the Treaty of 1801, "that the King of Oude shall immediately take into consideration, in concert with the British Resident, the best means of remedying the defects in the Police and in the Judicial and Revenue administration of his dominions; and that if His Majesty should neglect to attend to the advice and counsel of the British Government, and if gross and systematic oppression, anarchy, and misrule should prevail within the Oude dominions, such as seriously to endanger the public tranquillity, the British Government reserves to itself the right of appointing its own officers to the management of whatsoever portions of the Oude territory, either to a small or to a great extent, in which such misrule shall have occurred, for so long a period as it may deem necessary, the surplus in such cases, after defraying all charges, to be paid into the King's territory [*sic* for treasury] and a true and faithful account rendered to His Majesty of the receipt and expenditure."

By Article 8, it further provides, "that in case the Governor-General of India in Council, should be compelled to resort to the exercise of the authority vested in him by Article 7 of this Treaty, he will endeavour, as far as possible, to maintain (with such improvements as they may admit of) the native institutions and forms of administration within the assumed territories, so as to facilitate the restoration of those territories to the Sovereign of Oude when the proper period for such restoration shall arrive.

The Treaty purports to be concluded in the name and on behalf of the Governor-General of India, by Lieutenant-Colonel Low, the British Resident at the Court of Lucknow. It has the signatures of Lord Auckland and three members of the Council in the usual form. It appears further that, subsequently to its ratification by the Governor-General-in-Council, it has been formerly referred to as a subsisting treaty to two separate communications from the Governor-General of

India to the King of Oude in the years 1839 and 1847, respectively. The first of these occasions was when the Governor-General, Lord Auckland, addressed a notification (July 8th, 1839)¹⁰ to the King of Oude, informing His Majesty that he had been authorised to relieve the Kingdom and territories of Oude from that burthen, relative to the terms contained in the Fourth Article of the new Treaty in regard to the establishment of military force.

The second occasion was when Lord Hardinge, on his passage through the territory of Oude had a personal interview with the King, and delivered to him a formal remonstrance, dated 23rd November, 1847.¹¹ Lord Hardinge, in this paper, calls His Majesty's attention to the Treaties of 1801 and 1837. By the Sixth Article of the former, he says, "It was provided that the British Government, if necessary, should take into its hands the administration of the Oude territory; and that the latter Treaty was in confirmation of the Treaty of 1801, and gives power to the British Government to interfere, when it is necessary, for the protection of the people."

A similar view as to the subsistancy of the Treaty of 1837 seems to have been taken by Colonel Sleeman, the Resident of the Court of Lucknow, and his communication to the Governor-General-in-Council (December 10th, 1851) which is referred to in Lord Dalhousie's minute.¹² Colonel Sleeman states on that occasion that, in his opinion, our Government cannot any longer forbear to exercise to the fullest extent the powers which the Treaty of 1837 confers upon it, of taking upon itself the administration, and conducting [it] by means of its own officers.

Upon these documents, if they stood alone, I should have no hesitation in saying that the Treaty of 1837 is a subsisting treaty, and is binding on the respective parties to it, and that, under that Treaty, the Governor-General of India would be authorised, by the Law of Nations, under the state of circumstances contemplated by Article 7, to take into his own hands the management of the territories of the King of Oude, as Curator, on behalf of the King, his heirs and successors. It appears however, from the minute of Lord Dalhousie, of June 18th, 1855 that the Governor-General of India considered the Treaty of 1837 not to be binding on the British Government, as may be gathered from this passage: "The instrument by which the mutual relations of the British Government and of the Court of Lucknow are now defined and regulated is the Treaty of 1801. A very general impression prevails that a subsequent readjustment of those relations was made by the Treaty concluded by Lord Auckland in 1837. But that Treaty is null and void. It was wholly disallowed by the Honourable Court of Directors as soon as

they received it. On the 10th April 1838, the Secret Committee conveyed to the Governor-General-in-Council their 'directions for the abrogation of the Treaty' of September 18, 1837; and they, subsequently, reiterated their instructions regarding 'disallowance of the Treaty of 18 September, 1837 and the restoration of our relations with the State of Oude to the footing on which they previously stood.' The Honourable Committee added: 'You will receive every support from us in the measures that may be necessary in securing good Government to the people of Oude, under the stipulations of the Treaty of 1801'."¹³

It is, no doubt, a rule approved by the practice of Nations, that the acts of public Ministers in concluding treaties are, unless under special agreement to the contrary, subject to the ratification of the Government whom the Ministers represent, and that if the ratification is refused by the competent authority on one side, and the refusal notified to the other side, the act of the Minister who concluded the treaty becomes null and void.

It is also [an] implied condition in negotiations between States, that the treaties concluded by the Executive Government shall be subject to ratification in the manner prescribed by the Municipal Law of each State.

On the other hand, if the Sovereign power of the State is silent, and acts are performed by the Executive Government, which cannot be referred to any other source than the Treaty, such acts, unless there is an express reservation as to the exchange of ratifications, operate as virtual ratification of the treaty—Grotius, b.ii, c. 15, s. 17.¹⁴

The Treaty of 1837, however, purports to be a Treaty concluded, on the one part, by the British Resident at Lucknow, in the name and on behalf of the Right Honourable Lord Auckland, Governor-General of India in Council, and on the other part, by the reigning King of Oude, for himself and his heirs, and the formal ratification by the Governor-General of India in Council, is appended to it. On the face of the Treaty, therefore, the full requirements of the Law of Nations appear to have been satisfied in respect of its ratification by the Government whom the negotiator of the Treaty represented, and the ratification is in the same form as in the earliest treaties between the East India Government and the rulers of Oude.

It may be necessary, however, to consider whether the ratification which has taken place is in any manner at variance with the Municipal Law. That law seems to be contained in 13 Geo. iii, c. 63, and 33 Geo iii, c. 52,¹⁵ the former of which statutes vested full powers of declaring war, and making treaties of peace or alliance, in the Governor-General-in-Council

of Fort William. The latter limits the power of the Governor-General-in-Council to the extent of forbidding him, except in case of urgent necessity, to declare war or commence hostilities, or to enter into any treaty for making war against any of the Country Princes or States of India, or any treaty for guaranteeing the possession of any Country Prince or State without the command and authority of the Court of Directors of the Secret Committee, by the authority of the Commissioners for India.

The Treaty of 1837, however, does not come under either class of treaties, in regard [to] which the power of the Governor-General is limited by 33 Geo. ii [?iii], c. 52. Unless, therefore, there are some other legal limitations to his power, which control further the operation of 13 Geo. iii, c. 63, and with which I am [not] acquainted, I should be of opinion that the Governor-General had power, under the Municipal Law, to ratify the Treaty of 1837, and that his ratification gave it full effect. Further, the acts of Lord Auckland in 1839 and of Lord Hardinge in 1847, according to the rule of International Law laid down by Grotius, have precluded any repudiation of the Treaty of 1855.

That the Court at Lucknow considered the Treaty of 1837 to be binding on the contracting parties and that they had received no intimation that the Treaty had been cancelled, appears from the report of Mr. Fletcher Heyes, the Assistant to the Resident at Lucknow. The fact is also admitted in Lord Dalhousie's minute of January 15th, 1856¹⁶ where His Lordship says:

It is very probable that the King, in the course of the discussions which will take place with the Resident, may refer to the Treaty negotiated with his predecessor in the year 1837.

The Resident is aware that the Treaty was not continued in force, having been annulled by the Court of Directors as soon as it was received in England. The Resident is further aware that although the King of Oude was informed, at that time, that certain provisions of the Treaty of 1837, respecting an increased military force, would not be carried into effect, the entire abrogation of it was never communicated to His Majesty.

The effect of this reserve and want of full communication is felt to be embarrassing today. It is the more embarrassing that the cancelled instrument was still included in a volume of Treaties which was published in 1845 by the authority of the Government. There is no better way of encountering this difficulty than by meeting it full in the face.

17. If the King should allude to the Treaty of 1837, and should ask why, if further measures are necessary in relation to the administration of Oude, the large powers which are given to the British Government by the said Treaty should not now be put in force, His Majesty

must be informed that the Treaty has had no existence since it was communicated to the Court of Directors, by whom it was wholly annulled. His Majesty will be reminded that the Court of Lucknow was informed at the time, that certain Articles of the Treaty of 1837, by which the payment of an additional military force was imposed upon the King, were to be set aside. It must be presumed that it was not thought necessary at that time to make any communication to His Majesty regarding those Articles of the Treaty which were not of immediate operation; and that a subsequent communication was inadvertently neglected. The Resident will be at liberty to state that the Governor-General-in-Council regrets that any such neglect should have taken place, even inadvertently.

It may be observed that it is not competent to the Government of India to apply any other principles of law to establish the annulment of the Treaty of 1837 than those which would be applicable to a treaty concluded with a Christian State. Thus, Article 9 of the Treaty of 1837, which provides "that all the other Articles and conditions of former treaties between the British Government and the Oude State, which are not affected by the present convention, are to remain in full force and effect," is a purely formal Article, inserted *ex-majors cautela*, in order to prevent subsequent doubts or disputes as to the extent to which the previous treaties were modified or cancelled. It would be contrary to the received canons of interpretation to suppose that such an Article should have the legal effect of constituting an ancient treaty and integral part of a new treaty or of engrafting on to a new treaty, the specific political character which an earlier treaty has had impressed upon it by its own provisions, which remain, *proprio vigore*, in force.

Upon the best consideration which I have been able to give to all these facts, I am constrained to come to the conclusion that the Governor-General of India in Council was not authorised by Law of Nations to set aside the Treaty of 1837 as inoperative, and to look exclusively to the Treaty of 1801 as the instrument by which the mutual relations of the East India Company and the Rulers of Oude were neglected [*sic* for regulated].¹⁷

TRAVERS TWISS

¹Also see Enclosure.

²Before the establishment of the Divorce Court and Probate Court in 1857, the college of the doctors of civil law in London, incorporated by Royal Charter in 1768.

³For a resume of these Treaties, see Aitchison, *A Collection of Treaties*, I, Part II, 79-83. Copies of these Treaties are also included therein.

⁴Refers to *Oude: Papers Relating To*.

⁵Annexure 4.

⁵Annexure 5.

⁷Governor-General, 1793-98.

⁸Annexure 1.

⁹Governor-General, 1836-42.

¹⁰Annexure 4.

¹¹Annexure 5.

¹²*Oude: Papers Relating To*, 166.

¹³*Ibid.*, 149.

¹⁴Hugo Grotius (1583-1645) was a Dutch jurist, called Father of International Law. It refers to his book ii, chapter 15, section 17.

¹⁵Refers to Acts of Parliament, 1772-73 and 1792-93, passed during the reign of George III.

¹⁶*Oude: Papers Relating To*, paras. 16-7, 739-40.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, 149.

Annexure 7 to Enclosure to No. 115

F. 710/51

FROM HER MAJESTY'S SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA¹
TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY AND
GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA²

LONDON,
3 June 1878³

My Lord,

I have the honour by direction of Her Majesty Empress of India to inform Your Excellency that Her Imperial Majesty with the consent of the Parliament has been graciously pleased to take up the King of Oude's case into consideration in the present session and has therefore ordered me to call for your Lordship's report on the subject of Oude case.

Have you any objection on [sic] My Lord to submit a favourable report on that account?

I have etc.,
MY LORD,
YOUR EXCELLENCY'S ETC.

¹Viscount Cranbrooke, 1878-80.

²Lord Lytton, 1876-1880.

³Received through the Home Department dated 5 July 1878.

*Annexure 8 to Enclosure to No. 115**F. 710/52*EXTRACT FROM COLONEL SLEEMAN'S LETTER
ADDRESSED TO SIR JAMES WEIR HOGG*2 January 1853*

As I have already stated neither these relations nor our position, as the Paramount Power, gives us any right to annex or to confiscate the territory of Oude. We may have a right to take territory from Nizam of Hyderabad in payment for the money he owes us; but Oude owes us no money, and we have no right to take the territory from her. We have only the right to interpose to secure for the suffering people that better Government which their Sovereign pledged himself to secure for them, but has failed to secure.

*Annexure 9 to Enclosure to No. 115**F. 710/53-8*[DRAFT] PROCLAMATION TO THE PEOPLE OF OUDE
ON ITS ANNEXATION,¹ FEBRUARY 1856
[B]

By a Treaty concluded in the year 1801, the Honourable East India Company engaged to protect the Sovereign of Oude against every foreign and domestic enemy, while the Sovereign of Oude, upon his part, bound himself to establish 'such a system of administration, to be carried into effect by his own officers, as should be conducive to the prosperity of his subjects, and calculated to secure the lives and property of the inhabitants.'

The obligations which the Treaty imposed upon the Honourable East India Company have been observed by it for more than half a century, faithfully, constantly, and completely.

In all that time, though the British Government has itself been engaged in frequent wars, no foreign foe has ever set his foot on the soil of Oude; no rebellion has ever threatened the stability of its throne; British troops have been stationed in close proximity to the King's person, and their aid has never been withheld, whenever his power was wrongfully defied.

On the other hand, one chief and vital stipulation of the Treaty has been wholly disregarded by every successive Ruler of Oude, and the pledge which was given for the establishment of such a system of

administration as should secure the lives and property of the people of Oude, and be conducive to their prosperity, has, from first to last, been deliberately, and systematically, violated.

By reason of this violation of the compact made, the British Government might long since have justly declared the Treaty void, and might have withdrawn its protection from the Rulers of Oude. But it has hitherto been reluctant to have recourse to measures which would be fatal to the power and authority of a Royal race who, whatever their faults towards their own subjects, have ever been faithful and true to their friendship with the English nation.

Nevertheless, the British Government has not failed to labour, during all that time, earnestly and perseveringly, for the deliverance of the people of Oude from the grievous oppression and misrule under which they have suffered.

Many years have passed since the Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck, perceiving that every previous endeavour to ameliorate the condition of the people of Oude had been thwarted or evaded, made formal declaration to the Court of Lucknow that it would become necessary that he should proceed to assume the direct management of the Oude territories.

The words and the menace which were then employed by Lord William Bentinck were, eight years ago, repeated, in person, by Lord Hardinge to the King. The Sovereign of Oude was, on that day, solemnly bid [*sic*] remember that, whatever might now happen, 'it would be manifest to all the world' that he 'had received a friendly and timely warning.'

But the friendly intentions of the British Government have been wrongly [*sic* for wholly] defeated, by the obstinacy, or incapacity, or apathy, of the *Viziers* and Kings of Oude. Disinterested counsel and indignant censure, altering [*sic* for alternating] through more than fifty years, with repeated warning, remonstrance, and threats, have all proved ineffectual and vain. The chief condition of the Treaty remains unfulfilled, the promises of the King rest² unperformed, and the people of Oude are still the victims of incompetency, corruption, and tyranny, without remedy, or hope of relief.

It is notorious throughout the land that the King, like most of his predecessors, takes no real share in the direction of public affairs.

The powers of Government throughout his dominions, are, for the most part, abandoned to worthless favourites of the Court, or to violent and corrupt men, unfit for their duties, and unworthy of trust.

The collectors of the revenue hold sway over their districts with uncontrolled authority, extorting the utmost payment from the people, without reference to past or present engagements.

The King's troops, with rare exceptions, undisciplined and disorganised, and defrauded of their pay by those to whom it is entrusted, are permitted to plunder the villages for their own support, so that they have become a lasting scourge to the country they are employed to protect.

Gangs of freebooters infest the districts; law and justice are unknown; armed violence and bloodshed are daily events; and life and property are nowhere secure for an hour.

The time has come when the British Government can no longer tolerate in Oude these evils and abuses, which its position under the Treaty serves indirectly to sustain; or continue to the Sovereign that protection which alone upholds the power whereby such evils are inflicted.

Fifty years of sad experience have proved that the Treaty of 1801 has wholly failed to secure the happiness and prosperity of Oude, and have conclusively shown that no effectual security can be had for the release of the people of that country from the grievous oppression they have long endured, unless the exclusive administration of the territories of Oude shall be permanently transferred to the British Government.

To that end, it has been declared, by the special authority and consent of the Honourable Court of Directors, that *the Treaty of 1801, disregarded, and violated, by each succeeding Sovereign of Oude, is henceforth wholly null and void.*³

His Majesty Wajid Alee⁴ Shah was invited to enter into a new engagement, whereby the government of the territories of Oude should be vested, exclusively, and for ever, in the Honorable East India Company; while ample provision should be made for the dignity, affluence, and honor of the King, and of his family.

But His Majesty the King refused to enter into the amicable agreement which was offered for his acceptance.

Inasmuch, then, as His Majesty Wajid Alee Shah, in common with all his predecessors, has refused, or evaded, or neglected, to fulfil the obligation of the Treaty of 1801, whereby he was bound to establish within his dominion such a system of administration as should be conducive to the prosperity and happiness of his subjects; and inasmuch as the Treaty he thereby violated has been declared to be null and void; and inasmuch as His Majesty has refused to enter into other agreements which were offered to him in lieu of such Treaty; and inasmuch as the terms of that Treaty, if it had still been maintained in force, forbade the employment of British officers in Oude without which no efficient system of administration could be established there,

it is manifest to all that the British Government had but one alternative before it.

Either it must altogether desert the people of Oude, and deliver them up helpless to oppression and tyranny, which, acting under the restriction of the Treaty, it has already too long appeared to countenance, or it must put forth its own great power on behalf of a people for whose happiness it, more than fifty years ago, engaged to interpose, and must at once assume to itself the exclusive, and permanent, administration of the territories of Oude.

The British Government has had no hesitation in choosing the latter alternative.

Wherefore, proclamation is hereby made that the Government of the territories of Oude is henceforth vested, exclusively, and for ever, in the Honourable East India Company.

All *Amils*, *Nazims*, *Chuckledars*, and other servants of the *Durbar*; all officers, civil and military; the soldiers of the State; and all the inhabitants of Oude are required to render,⁵ henceforth, implicit, and exclusive, obedience to the officers of the British Government.

If any officer of the *Durbar*—*Jageerdar*, *Zamindar*, or other person,—shall refuse to render such obedience,—if he shall withhold the payment of revenue, or shall otherwise dispute or defy the authority of the British Government, he shall be declared a rebel, his person shall be seized, and his *jageers* or lands shall be confiscated to the State.

To those who shall immediately and quietly, submit themselves to the authority of the British Government—whether *Amils* or public officers, *Jageerdars*, *Zamindars*, or other inhabitants of Oude—full assurance is hereby given of protection, consideration, and favour.

The revenue of the districts shall be determined on a fair and settled basis.

The gradual improvement of the Oude territories shall be steadily pursued.

Justice shall be measured out with an equal hand.

Protection shall be given to life and property; and every man shall enjoy, henceforth, his just rights, without fear of molestation.

¹Also see Azhar, *King Wajid Ali Shah*, I, Appendix 17, 540-3. In the original, reference is given to Lucknow and Oude in the Mutiny. Also see, *Oude: Papers Relating To*, 255-7.

²In *King Wajid Ali Shah*, the word "remain" has been substituted for the word "rest".

³Italics here and hereafter in *King Wajid Ali Shah*.

⁴In *Oude: Papers Relating To*, "Ali" has been spelt as "Alee".

⁵In the original, the word "surrender" stands substituted for the word "render".

*Annexure 10 to Enclosure to No. 115**F. 710/59*NOTE OF POLITICAL SECRETARY OF INDIA,
MR. THOMPSON, IN 1925

It should be borne in mind that annexation is a penalty which would never have been enacted for mere maladministration at any period since the Mutiny¹ and indeed I am doubtful whether the Government of India would ever have gone to the length they did in the case of King of Oudh except during the decade between the first Sikh War² and the outbreak of the Mutiny. At other period the administration might have been assumed and the King might have been compelled to abdicate, but the Kingdom would have been kept alive as heritage for his descendant[s].

¹Also referred to as War of Independence, 1857.²1845-46.*Annexure 11 to Enclosure to No. 115**F. 710/60*PROCLAMATION OF HER LATE MAJESTY THE QUEEN
VICTORIA, THE EMPRESS OF INDIA¹

"We hereby announce to the Native Princes of India," said the Queen, "that all the treaties and engagements made with them by or under the authority of the Hon'ble East India Company are by us accepted and will be scrupulously maintained: and we look for the like observances on their part.

"We shall respect the rights, dignity and honour of Native Princes as our own.

"We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects; and those obligations, by the blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil....

"We know and respect the feelings of attachment with which the natives of India regard the lands inherited by them from their ancestors; and we desire to protect them in all rights connected therewith, subject to the equitable demands of the State; and we will generally, in framing and administering the law, due regard be paid to the ancient rights, usages, and customs of India."

¹In the original, reference has been given to Government of India Act, 1858 and to the book, *Government of India*.

Annexure 12 to Enclosure to No. 115

F. 710/61

STATEMENT OF HIS LATE MAJESTY GEORGE THE V KING AND
EMPEROR, BEFORE SUPREME COUNCIL IN 1914

"Paramount regard for the treaty, faith and the pledged words of Rulers and people, is the common heritage of England and India."

The following words entirely agree with the treaties made between the Kingdom of Oudh and the British Government:

1. This agreement was to hold good from generation to generation to the end of time.
2. That none of the Articles therein gives the East India Company or the British Crown the right of exclusive assumption of the Kingdom of Oudh.

Annexure 13 to Enclosure to No. 115

F. 710/62

MINUTE OF GOVERNOR-GENERAL¹ DATED 18 JUNE 1855
SPEECH OF SIR JAMES GRAHAMS DATED 21 MAY 1858

The Governor-General of India in his minute dated the 18th June 1855, published in *Blue Book of Oudh*, and Sir James Grahams in his speech (on India Debate) on the 21st May 1856, had stated in the following words:

"I, for my part, therefore, do not advise that the Province of Oudh should be declared to be British territory."² "I do not except [*sic*] even the matter of Oudh. It is vain to dissemble it. There is a flaw in our title to that Kingdom."

¹*Oude: Papers Relating To*, 147-90.

²*Ibid.*, para. 58,184.

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Jafar Imam to Liaquat Ali Khan

F. 144/104

PATNA,
15 June 1947

My dear Liaquat Ali Khan Sahib,

This is to introduce to you Mr. Syed Ali Ashraf¹ who comes of a

very respectable family of the province and is held in great esteem and affection by us. Mr. Ashraf was the Additional District Magistrate (Operations) during the last carnage and he rendered *very valuable services and he showed great independence of character*.² He is, therefore, *being victimized and humiliated*. We think that he *should leave this place to safeguard against future trouble*. I consider it a public duty to afford all *help and protection to such distinguished officers who are very few indeed*. I am, therefore, sending him to you for help and guidance.³

I shall be very grateful to you if you could kindly spare a few minutes of your precious time and extend your helping hand.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

JAFAR IMAM

President, Bihar Provincial Muslim League

¹Also see Nos. 460 and 478, Vol. I, Part I, 836-8 and 866-7 respectively.

²Underlined here and hereafter in the original, probably by Jinnah.

³Sideline in the original, probably by Jinnah.

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A. R. Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1108/40

CIVIL SUPPLIES DEPARTMENT (FOODGRAINS),
CIVIL SECRETARIAT, U.P., NAINITAL,

15 June 1947

Respected Sir,

Respectfully I am to state that a counter-proposal in a report form, as desired by you, had been submitted to your P.S. by me on the 27th April 1947.¹ Moreover two notes along with five letters had also been sent by me through my contact in Delhi but I regret to say that I have not received any acknowledgement so far. Lastly, I made a request in the first week of this month for certain instructions relating to the continuance of my third Report on the subject of Resources of Pakistan Areas. These instructions have also not been received so far with the result that I am now in a fix whether to carry on my labours or stop the work altogether, if the same is not of utility to you and to the nation. However, I am taking the initiative to submit the first Chapter of my third Report,² which relates to resources of N.W.F.P. I hope that the statistical data contained in this Chapter will serve the League High

Command in N.W.F.P. advantageously to propagate their cause among the Pathans during the coming referendum. I also hope that you will find the data quite interesting and useful as the same are absolutely correct and authentic.

I am also enclosing a statement of community-wise population in Hindustan and Pakistan³ as a result of H.M.G.'s latest Plan of June 3, 1947.⁴ All this information is available in detail in my two Reports already with you, but I thought it my duty to provide you a consolidated statement with percentages in case the same has not been fished out by your staff.

I shall be honoured to receive your orders if and when any other similar work is required to be done.

It is needless to state here that an acknowledgement of this Chapter and letter will not only oblige me but give me great satisfaction as well, for I will be able to know that the material has reached you safely and will be utilized advantageously, where necessary.

Yours obediently,

A. R. KHAN

¹No. 350, Vol. I, Part I, 603-4, and Appendix VI, *ibid*, Part II, 124-98. Also see Nos. 303 and 311, *ibid.*, Part I, 514-5 and 522-7 respectively.

²Enclosure 1.

³Enclosure 2.

⁴No. 1.

Enclosure 1 to No. 117

F. 1108/45-52

CHAPTER I

NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE

POPULATION

The following tables give community-wise population in the Province:

Districts & Tribal Areas	Hindus	Muslims	Christians	Tribes	Others	Total
Hazara	33,400	8,31,600	400	-	10,700	8,76,100
Mardan	12,900	5,80,400	500	-	14,300	6,08,100
Peshawar	61,500	9,23,600	4,100	-	33,100	10,22,300
Kohat	19,500	2,95,500	700	-	5,700	3,21,400
Bannu	33,100	2,70,500	500	-	6,600	3,10,700
Dera Ismail Khan	40,800	2,66,100	300	-	3,000	3,10,200
Total	2,01,200	31,67,700	6,500	-	73,400	34,48,800
Percentage	5.8	91.9	0.2	-	2.1	100

INDEPENDENT STATES AND TRIBAL TERRITORIES

Tribal Territories & States	Hindus	Muslims	Christians	Tribes	Others	Total
Chitral	-	91,000	-	-	-	91,000
Dir	-	2,73,000	-	-	-	2,73,000
Swat	-	2,34,200	-	-	-	2,34,200
Phulera	-	7,600	-	-	-	7,600
Amb	-	41,000	-	-	-	41,000
Kurram	1,050	5,000	150	-	1,100	7,250 ¹
Khyber	3,100	4,300	250	-	1,300	8,950
N. Waziristan	6,700	9,600	1,850	-	1,700	19,850
S. Waziristan	6,000	2,500	200	-	400	9,100
Political Area	50	700	-	-	-	750
Total	16,900	5,78,900	2,450	-	4,500	6, 92,700
Kashmir	8,47,900	31,47,000	3,300	30,900	1,13,400	41,42,500
Gilgit Wizarat	100	83,300	-	-	-	83,400
Total	8,48,000	32,30,300	3,300	30,900	1,13,400	42,25,900

The above tables indicate that this Province is a predominantly Muslim area having 91.9 per cent. Muslims alone. The percentage of Hindus at 5.8 and others, who are mostly Sikhs, i.e. 2.1 per cent., is, no doubt, negligible.

A map of N.W.F.P. and Kashmir² gives community-wise population in each district, State and Tribal Areas and also gives a clear idea of the population from a bird's eye view.

AGRICULTURAL RESOURCES

The following table gives figures of annual production of various communities [*sic* for commodities] for which statistics are available:

Commodity	Production (Tons)
Wheat	2,31,320
Rice	17,093
Gram	38,902
<i>Juar and Bajra</i>	14,522
Other sorts (Grain; Pulses)	3,24,320
Cotton Seed	5,587
Oil Seeds	14,132
Tobacco	8,000

The following table shows figures of Imports and Exports of all agricultural commodities together with figures of surplus or deficit of the commodity:

Name of commodity	Imports	Exports	Supply (+) and Demand (-)	
			<i>Maunds</i> ³	Tons
Wheat	3,08,990	8,231	-3,00,759	11,048
Wheat flour	2,16,683	1,105	-2,15,578	7,919
Rice	1,39,661	2,789	-1,36,872	5,028
Gram	1,42,960	2,614	-1,40,346	5,156
<i>Juar</i> and <i>Bajra</i>	22,684	1,974	-20,710	761
Other sorts	62,589	1,73,060	+1,10,471	4,058
Oil cakes	32,207	12,635	-19,572	720
Coconut Oil	8,474	19	-8,455	311
Groundnut Oil	3,817	8	-3,809	140
Other Vegetable Oils	17,031	1,406	-15,625	574
Castor Seed	1	3	+2	-
Cotton Seed	42,277	12,416	-29,861	1,097
Groundnut Seed	36,990	93	-36,897	1,355
Linseed	109	8	-101	4
Rape and Mustard	26,759	14,262	-12,497	459
<i>Til</i> Seed	4,543	162	-4,381	161
Ghee	7,787	1,682	-6,105	224
Sugar	3,82,870	60,485	-3,22,385	11,870
<i>Gur</i>	12,575	17,17,969	+17,05,394	62,647
Tea	70,375	714	-29,561	1,104
Tobacco	8,872	97,979	+89,107	3,273
Hemp	1,292	718	-574	21
Jute Loose	85	25	-60	2
Jute <i>Pucca</i> Bales	115	-	-5	-
Lac and Shellac	3,50,111	4	-107	4
Coffee	8,50,195	1,027	-849,168	31,194
Dried Fruits	30,335	1,98,426	+1,68,091	6,174

The above two tables indicate that the Province is a deficit area practically in every respect. The production of major foodgrains is not sufficient enough [*sic*] to meet the requirements of the Province with the result that the Province imports a considerable quantity of wheat, wheat flour, rice, gram, *juar*, *bajra*. The only commodity in which the Province is a surplus area is "other sorts" (maize, *bajra*, pulses, etc., etc.). The Province is a deficit area in respect of all oil seeds and oils except castor seed, the surplus of which is negligible. The condition of sugar supply is alike everywhere in India except U.P. and Bihar; therefore this commodity is not commented upon. The N.W.F.P. is a surplus Province for *gur* production. The exportable surplus of the Province is 17,05,394 *maunds* or 62,647 tons annually. Tobacco is another commodity, which shows an exportable surplus of 89,107 *maunds* or 3,273 tons annually. Dried fruits are another commodity the exportable surplus of which is 1,68,091 *maunds* or 61,748 tons; otherwise the Province is a deficit region for all other agricultural commodities such as tea, hemp, jute, lac and shellac, and coffee. The figures of tea and coffee indicate that the population is addicted to these two commodities. As a

result of all these statistics it is now a fact that the N.W.F.P. is a deficit area in every respect except a few [commodities] and as such has to depend upon other provinces for its needs.

The sugar industry has not made any headway in the Province so far. A sugar factory has recently been erected in the Province at Takht Bai [*sic* for Bhai] but the tonnage produced there is not adequate enough [*sic*] to meet the demand of sugar in the Province. The Province possesses potentialities for the development of the sugar industry and since the whole of Northern Pakistan Zone is deficit in respect of sugar production the Province is likely to get subsidy from the Pakistan Centre to develop it in the Province.

ESSENTIAL COMMODITIES

The following table gives Imports and Exports including surplus or deficit quantities of essential commodities:

Name of Commodity	Imports <i>Maunds</i>	Exports <i>Maunds</i>	Supply (+) and Demand (-) <i>Maunds</i>	Tons
Cotton Yarn, Foreign	10,558	1,021	-9,537	350
Cotton Yarn, Indian	10,507	89	-10,418	383
Cotton Piecegoods, Foreign	11,908	4	-11,904	437
Cotton Piecegoods, Foreign Boxes	14,557	24	-14,533	534
Cotton Piecegoods, Indian Bales	272,680	7,608	-265,072	9,738
Cotton Piecegoods, Indian Boxes	1,309	35	-1,274	47
Dyes and Tans	289	2	-287	11
Glass	12,092	3,531	-8,561	315
Gunny Bags and Cloth	60,421	13,179	-47,242	1,736
Kerosene	90,442	241	-90,201	3,313
Salt	369,236	27,386	-341,250	12,561
Wool	671	20,786	+20,119	739
Hides	1,062	1,04,506	+103,444	3,800
Skins	1,859	33,103	+31,244	1,147
Tanned Leather	35,640	1,315	-34,325	1,260

The above table shows that the Frontier Province is dependent upon other provinces in respect of all essential commodities except wool, hides and skins. Even the surpluses of these three commodities are not enough to enable the Frontier Province to get deficit commodities in exchange for these three surplus commodities.

MINERAL RESOURCES

The Province is a deficit area in respect of coal and steel as would be evident from the following figures:

Name of Commodity	Imports Maunds	Exports Maunds	Supply (+) and Demand (-) Maunds	Tons
Coal and Coke	21,48,062	21,337	-21,26,725	-78,125
Iron and Steel	1,57,633	30,277	-1,27,356	-4,678

In the absence of any reliable data of production, imports and exports of other minerals, a description of mineral wealth of the Frontier Province is given below to indicate the wealth of the country. According to the above statistics the Province is greatly deficit in respect of iron and coal. Even the Pakistan Centre, which is also deficit at present, will not be able to help this Province with these commodities. Under the circumstances the Province must get its requirements from elsewhere, which will tell upon its financial resources considerably.

GOLD

Washing for alluvial gold is practised along the valley of the Indus in the Gilgit and Baltistan Divisions⁴ of Jammu and Kashmir State. In Skardu (Baltistan) and in the Indus River in Gilgit the washing of ancient gravels is carried on on quite an extensive scale. In the old river terraces of the Dras Valley actual mining operations have in former years been undertaken to excavate the gold bearing bands.

IRON ORE

Iron is available at several places in Jammu and Kashmir State and Gilgit Tribal Territory but no development has been reported, probably due to lack of enterprise.

SALT

A salt range is available [*sic* for exists] in Kohat District and the average production of rock-salt during the period 1929-33 has been reported as 20,860 tons, which is not adequate enough [*sic*] to meet the requirements of the Province, hence it is deficit in respect of this commodity. Possibilities are not wanting in the Province for increasing the production of salt and in case of casting its fate with the Punjab, the Province will be able to get all its salt requirements from there quite conveniently. Moreover, salt ranges are also available [*sic* for exist] in Jatta, Bahadur Khel and Karak, the produce of which is 21,000 tons, and in case of provincial development the production from these places, situated in the district of Kohat, is sure to increase considerably with the financial help and subsidy of the Pakistan Centre.

ARSENIC

(One of the chemical elements—a mineral poison). A small outcrop of this mineral is known to occur near Barali in the Bhutana Valley of Kashmir.

COLUMBITE-TANTALITE

Columbite occurs near Machial about 20 miles from the Padar Sapphire Mines of Kashmir State.

CORUNDUM

(A mineral consisting of more alumina, yet of greater specific gravity—about four times that of water—and second in hardness only to diamond). The production of corundum with sapphire is available in Kashmir State. Mines are situated near Sumjam (Sumsam) in the Udhampur District, Jammu Province.

FLUORITE

(A coal-tar product used in dyeing—a mineral in which fluorine is combined with calcium forming calcium fluoride). It was found associated with orpiment and realgar at Mirghasht Gol in the Tirich Valley of Chitral State.

BERYL

(A fresh stone resembling the emerald but colourless, yellowish, greenish and blue. It has important uses as a magic crystal in which the future becomes visible). It is available in Skardu Tehsil of Kashmir State. The principal source of the stones is the immediate neighbourhood of Daso village in Kashmir State.

A large portion of the high ground between Afghanistan (Kafiristan and Wakhan) and Chitral State is composed of garnetiferous and chiastolite-bearing schists with large masses of granitic (an igneous crystalline rock composed of grains of quartz, feldspar and mica) intrusions. These intrusions are variable in size and mode of occurrence, and are usually fine-grained. In one of the coarser varieties at Sirwigh-o-gaz (12,000 ft.), a summer grazing ground on the road from the Butkuh to the Arkari, beryls were observed by Mr. Tipper⁵ in 1922. Some of the specimens found in this locality are almost of gem quality and the locality has got good prospects.

TOURMALINE

(A gem stone). Green tourmalines are found at the sapphire mines area of Zaskar in Kashmir.

GYPSUM

(A valuable mineral of a comparatively soft kind, burned in kilns, and afterwards ground to a fine powder, called Plaster of Paris). Massive white gypsum of good quality occurs [*sic*] at the top of the Saline series in the Kohat District.

MARBLE

(Fine snow-white marble, suitable for statuary and for ornamental building purposes, occurs [*sic*] in the valley of the Duddur three miles south of Butta Kundi in the Hazara District. It is also available in the vicinity of Swabi in the Province and in Khyber Tribal Territory. Mottled pale green and yellow varieties are found near Swabi.

BLACK PAINT

(A mineral paint). It is available in some of the formations in the mountains of Kashmir-Hazara area but [has] not [been] tried so far on a commercial scale. The possibilities of development are not wanting. If the sources are properly exploited this mineral paint will surely yield a good income to the Province.

STEATITE

(Soapstone, a compact or massive variety of talc, white or yellow, soft and greasy to the touch, generally used by tailors for marking cloth and called Briancon Chalk, French Chalk and Venice Talc). Steatite in compact form occurs as veins in the great limestone [deposits] in the vicinity of Riasi, Kashmir. It is also used for cups and bowls.

SULPHUR, SULPHURIC ACID AND SOLUBLE SULPHATES

No developments to find out deposits of this mineral were made so far in the Province but since sulphur deposits are available in abundance in Koh-i-Sultan, it is presumed that such deposits will also be available in Koh-i-Sulaiman Range.

REVENUE

The Province yields an income of Rs. 1,83,83,548 from provincial resources and Rs. 9,28,000 from central sources such as Customs, Railways, Excise, Income-tax, etc. This is the poorest Province of India in respect of provincial revenues, even poorer than the newly formed miniature Province of Orissa. The revenue itself reveals that the Province is a very poorly clad area of the country (India). The income per head of the populace according to this revenue therefore comes to Rs. 5-3-3 per annum, which is no doubt an interesting figure for the Administration there which is now clamouring to declare N.W.F.P. a separate Pathan sovereign state. Let Qazi Ataullah, Revenue Minister, at present in the forefront to release statement after statement on the subject, decide cool-headedly if it will pay the Province to secede from Pakistan and throw [in] its lot with Hindustan.

It is not possible to comment on Currency, Defence, Customs, Posts and Telegraphs, Railways, etc., because separate figures for various provinces of Northern Pakistan Zone are not available. Of course, ■

detailed and combined description and comment will be provided at the end of this Report for the Provinces of Sind, Baluchistan, N.W.F.P. and the Punjab on the subject.

¹Some of the calculations here and hereafter are incorrect.

²See Map 3 at end.

³Maund is a unit of weight; 28 maunds equal 1 ton.

⁴Gilgit and Baltistan were not parts of the Jammu and Kashmir State but were under the suzerainty of the Maharaja.

⁵George Howlett Tipper, M. A. (Cantab.), Superintendent, Geological Survey of India, 1922.

Enclosure 2 to No. 117

F. 1108/53

[COMMUNITY-WISE POPULATION IN HINDUSTAN AND PAKISTAN]

HINDUSTAN

Province	Hindus	Muslims	Christians	Tribes	Others	Total
H[indu] Assam	25,31,500	8,48,560	31,120	19,98,800	22,520	54,32,500
H[indu] Bengal	1,36,74,500	42,95,100	56,000	11,82,800	1,33,150	1,93,41,550
H[indu] Punjab	48,33,600	25,38,100	10,300	-	13,38,300	87,20,700
U.P.	4,58,12,000	84,15,200	1,31,400	2,89,500	3,72,000	5,50,20,100
Bihar	2,65,14,400	47,16,100	24,700	50,55,700	29,300	3,63,40,200
Orissa	68,32,700	1,46,200	26,500	17,21,100	2,000	87,28,500
Madras	4,27,99,800	38,96,500	20,01,100	5,61,700	82,700	4,93,41,800
Bombay	1,68,81,700	20,36,500	3,47,100	16,20,000	4,55,200	2,13,40,500
C. P.	1,29,32,000	7,83,700	48,400	29,36,500	1,12,000	1,68,12,600
Admin.	10,82,900	4,17,700	18,700	1,22,300	62,500	17,04,100
TOTAL	17,38,95,100	2,80,93,660	26,95,320	154,88,400	26,09,670	22,27,82,150
PERCENTAGE	78.1	12.6	1.2	7.0	1.1	100

PAKISTAN

Province	Hindus	Muslims	Christians	Tribes	Others	Total
M[muslim] Assam	16,81,500	25,94,000	6,600	4,86,200	3,800	47,72,100
M[muslim] Bengal	1,13,85,500	2,87,10,300	54,650	7,06,500	1,08,600	4,09,65,550
M[muslim] Punjab	27,16,950	1,36,79,100	4,75,600	-	28,27,200	1,96,98,850
Sind	12,30,000	32,08,200	13,100	36,900	46,700	45,34,900
Frontier	1,80,400	27,88,800	5,500	-	63,500	30,38,200
Baluchistan	44,600	4,39,000	2,600	-	15,500	5,01,700
TOTAL	1,72,38,950	5,14,19,400	5,58,050	12,29,600	30,65,300	7,35,11,300
PERCENTAGE	23.4	70.0	0.8	1.7	4.1	100

*Enclosure 3 to No. 117**F. 1108/41-3*

This is the third Report of the series known as Migration and Concentration of Indian Muslims from Hindustan to Pakistan areas and in the minority provinces in the form of compact territorial blocks or small pockets. The first and second Reports¹ have already been prepared and submitted to Quaid-i-Azam, the compilation of which had been approved by him. The object of writing this Report is to find out if the predominantly Muslim area, better known as Pakistan, is capable to meet *[sic]* its economic requirements without depending upon the help and support of Hindustan. A few books on the subject of Pakistan have been written, more or less, by Hindu writers but the underlying idea of releasing such reports was to mislead the Muslims in general by statistical arguments based on fictitious and cooked *[up]* data. All the writers have tried to prove that Pakistan will be potentially weak in every respect—a case in point is the recent statement of Mr. Birla of June 6, 1947² from New Delhi—and that the salvation of Indian Muslims lies entirely in a United India; in other words, they have tried to force the hands of common Muslims under the blind of these data to accept their present subservient position and helplessly to acknowledge the domination of Hindus. An attempt has, therefore, been made in this Report to find out purely on statistical grounds whether the so-called weak link of the country (Pakistan) will actually be a pauper Sovereign State or whether it will be a self-supporting independent country. My own reading of the whole problem is that comparatively Pakistan will be more self-supporting, practically in every respect, than Hindustan. This is not a mere statement of words but the data contained in this Report will speak for itself *[sic]* and *[confirm]* whether my contention is correct or not.

The salient features of the Report are that it deals in detail with the agricultural, economic and mineral resources of the various units of the Pakistan Sovereign State. In order to make it a self-contained report, the community-wise population of each Unit has also been provided. It is a statistical report and contains a statement of facts, the authenticity of which is indisputable.

The sources from which these data have been compiled are:

I. The population figures based on 1941 Census Report. The present estimated figures as given herein have been obtained by multiplying 1941 figure with the percentage variation worked out by the Government of India Census Department. The first two digits below 50 have been omitted altogether while those above 50 have been taken as 100 and included accordingly in the totals.

II. The agricultural statistics. These have been worked out from the various Season and Crop Reports. The figures of principal crops, e.g. major foodgrains, cotton, sugar-cane and oil-seeds, have been compiled from the latest Reports issued by various Provincial Governments on the subject of acreage and yield while those for the remaining agricultural commodities are averages of the quinquennium 1927-28 to 1935-36, when the last crop cutting experiments were conducted throughout Indian Provinces under British domination and the Indian States. Where there is any departure from these statistics, a mention has been made indicating the source of information etc.

III. Figures of exports and imports of various agricultural and essential commodities. These also are the averages of the last 4 years, i. e. 1940-41 to 1943-44, for which Government of India statistics are available. The averages worked out can be considered as standard. There is, however, abnormal difference in Exports and Imports data in individual years due to:

- i. various control measures to procure supplies;
- ii. the result of the depression period which is absolutely necessary after such a devastating War as that of 1939-44;³
- iii. the unsettled condition of the country due to labour trouble, communal disturbances and lack of implements, machinery, etc., etc.;
- iv. the stoppage of normal trade channels, the restoration of which cannot take place unless the political situation of the country returns to normal;
- v. the indiscriminate and prejudiced patronage of trade by the administration coupled with bribery and corruption on the part of officials and unscrupulous traders alike.

IV. The mineral resources of the Pakistan Zone and detailed description of various attempts made from time to time to exploit or otherwise the resources of the mineral wealth of the country. All figures given under this head have been compiled from the Government of India Survey Reports, publications of various Experts on the subject and Annual Reports of various Provincial Governments.

V. General description of provincial resources, Customs, Income-tax, Irrigation Development, Excise, Revenue, Defence problems, etc., etc.

VI. Potentiality of the Pakistan Zone as a whole corresponding to Hindustan in respect of these sources.

¹The first Report, entitled *A Report on the Transfer and Concentration of Muslim Population in Other States, Provinces and Central Compact Blocks*, is available in F. 7/1-71, QAP. For the second part of this Report, see No. VI. I, Vol. I, Part II, 124-81.

²See Annex I to No. 49. Also see No. 49, note 2.

³World War II, 1939-45.

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*Eric Mieville to M. A. Jinnah**F. 2/68*

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
15 June 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

You may remember that at the conclusion of the meeting which the Viceroy had with the Indian leaders on Friday morning last I was instructed by His Excellency to prepare a manifesto in connection with the holding of the forthcoming referendum in the North-West Frontier Province.¹ In order that I may comply with His Excellency's instructions I should be very grateful if you would be good enough to send me a brief note setting out the general framework of your policy in connection therewith.

Yours sincerely,
ERIC C. MIEVILLE

¹See Annexure IV to Enclosure to No. 80 and Annex thereto.

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*Mohamad Ali to M. A. Jinnah**F. 10/76*

MILITARY FINANCE DEPARTMENT,
NEW DELHI,
15 June 1947

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

As directed, I submit a list of names of officers (arranged in alphabetical order) from whom to select your personal staff.

Yours sincerely,
MOHAMAD ALI

*Enclosure to No. 119**F. 10/77-81*

S.No.	Name	Age	Province of Origin	Province of Service	Service	Length of Service	Posts held
1.	Akhtar Husain	45	U.P.	Punjab	I.C.S.	20 years	Under-Secretary, Education Department; Deputy Secretary, Foreign and Political Department, Government of India; Junior Secretary, Financial Commissioner; Deputy Secretary, Revenue Department; Deputy Commissioner; Settlement Officer; Secretary to Government, Post-War Reconstruction; Chief Secretary, Punjab Government.
2.	Amin-ud-din	50	Punjab	Punjab	I.C.S.	24 years	Deputy Commissioner; Secretary, Medical and Local Self Government; Secretary, Electricity Department, Punjab Government; Chief Controller of Exports, Commerce Department, Government of India; Chairman, Port Trust, Karachi.
3.	Aziz Ahmed	41	Punjab	Bengal	I.C.S.	17 years	Deputy Registrar, Co-operative Societies; Magistrate and Collector; Registrar of Co-operative Societies; Deputy Director, Civil Supplies; Deputy Secretary, Commerce, Labour and Industries Department; Special Officer, Post-War Reconstruction, Bengal Government; Deputy Secretary (has officiated as Joint Secretary also), Agriculture Department, Government of India.

4.	S. A. Hasnie	42	Punjab	-	Indian Audit ■ Accounts Service	17 years	Posts in the Audit Department including over three years as Accountant General, Bahawalpur State; Under-Secretary, Finance Department; Deputy Secretary, Finance Department; Deputy Financial Adviser, Supply Finance; Joint Financial Adviser, Disposals; Joint Secretary, Commerce Department, Government of India.
5.	M. Ikramullah	46	C.P.	C.P.	I.C.S.	20 years	Deputy Commissioner; Officer on Special Duty, Forest Division; Under-Secretary, C.P. Government; Under-Secretary, Industries and Labour Department; Deputy Secretary, Industries and Labour Department, Government of India; Secretary, Coal Mines, Committee; Indian Trade Commissioner; Adviser and Secretary, Labour Conferences; Deputy Secretary, Supply Department; Joint Secretary, Supply Department; Joint Secretary, Commerce Department, Government of India; Indian Trade Commissioner.
6.	F. A. Karim	■	U.P.	Bengal	I.C.S.	15 years	Magistrate and Collector; Employment Adviser; Additional District and Sessions Judge; District Magistrate, Bengal Government.
7.	Muhammad Bashir Ahmad	43	U.P.	U.P.	I.C.S.	19 years	District and Sessions Judge, U.P. Government.
8.	Mumtaz Hasan	40	Punjab	-	Indian Audit & Accounts Service	16 years	Posts in the Audit Department including three years as Deputy Comptroller, Sind; Under-Secretary, Finance Department;

							Under-Secretary and Private Secretary to the Finance Member; Deputy Controller-General, Foodstuffs, Punjab, N.W.F.P., Sind and Delhi; Deputy Financial Adviser, Food; Deputy Financial Adviser, Military Finance; Deputy Secretary, Finance Department and Private Secretary to the Finance Member, Government of India.
9.	S. Hashim Raza	37	U.P.	Sind	I.C.S.	13 years	Deputy Secretary; Provincial Press Adviser, Sind Government; Secretary to Governor, Sind.
10.	Major A. S. B. Shah	44	N.W.F.P.	N.W.F.P.	Indian Political Service	24 years	Regimental Experience; Assistant Political Agent, North Waziristan, Thal, Mohmands; Under-Secretary to the Agent to the Governor-General, Punjab States; Assistant Political Agent; Deputy Secretary, External Affairs Department; Deputy Secretary, Information and Broadcasting; Counsellor, British Legation, Kabul, Government of India; Deputy Commissioner, Peshawar, N.W.F.P. Government.
11.	Zafrul Ahsan	36	U.P.	Punjab	I.C.S.	11 years	Director of Panchayats; Deputy Commissioner, Chairman of Improvement Trust, Lahore; Deputy Commissioner, Kangra and Jhelum Districts, Punjab Government.

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National Press Club, Washington, to M. A. Jinnah

F. 485/31

WASHINGTON,
15 June 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Common-sense Americans who have made practical successes in the world have great sympathy for those in leadership in India like yourself and the British who have tried to maintain law and order through the years with fairness and justice to all.

Agitators and rabble rousers like Gandhi are busy in America now as they have been in Europe ever since Karl Marx started his Communist "revolution" 100 years ago shouting, "peace"—when there is no peace—and proclaiming Justice, Liberty and Prosperity, when they never gave any justice, any liberty, any prosperity to anybody.

These trouble-makers stir up conditions and change things so [that] disorder may promote their own brand of socialism, or communism, or Bolshevism, or any of the 1,000 different brands of radicalism we see sprouting up in America.

Most Americans have never had any good use for the Hindus, who appear dirty in appearance as in behaviour. We understand the British but not the Hindus. We have great impatience with the Nanny-Goat-Man-Gandhi.

Now if you know where that Arch-Criminal of All India, Pandit Mohandas Gandhi may be found, please give him this message:

"Americans have never paid much attention to Gandhi and his Goaty ways until lately, but by studying his record we newspapermen find:

1. Gandhi has promoted more warfare and less peace.
2. Gandhi has broken down law and order, in order to get chaos and confusion.
3. Gandhi has preached "resistance" and rebellion and revolution, when he had nothing practical to replace the old ways with.
4. Gandhi leads his people always from good to bad and then to worse.
5. Gandhi deliberately promotes mass murder, burned towns, class hatreds and communistic thinking, which is ■ hell on earth.
6. Gandhi is worse than dynamite, bombs and bullets.
7. Gandhi is not merely a hypocrite and criminal; he is the worst

lowest kind of creature that crawls on the earth, lower than snakes that crawl into human beds and bite those that warm them.

Tell Mohandas Gandhi that is what history will write of his blind hating [*sic* for hatred] of life and the hypocritical Christians who have helped him along.

FROM 16 EXPERIENCED AMERICAN NEWSPAPERMEN¹

Sir Ali Jinnah,
Chieftain of the Muslim League,
New Delhi, India (Care of Lord Mountbatten)

¹The document bears no signatures.

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H. M. Patel to Liaquat Ali Khan

F. 1/34

IMMEDIATE/SECRET
NO. 135/C.F./47

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA,
CABINET SECRETARIAT,
NEW DELHI,
15 June 1947

The Cabinet Secretary presents his compliments to the Honourable Member for...
and is directed by His Excellency the Viceroy to request that he will attend a meeting of the Special Committee to be held at The Viceroy's House at 6 p.m. on Monday, the 16th June 1947.¹

AGENDA

1. Recommendations of the Steering Committee in regard to the Expert Committees, their terms of reference and personnel (attached)
2. A paper prepared by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief on the Reconstitution of the Armed Forces in India (attached)

H. M. PATEL
Cabinet Secretary

Hon'ble Member for Finance
Hon'ble Member for Home
Hon'ble Member for Food and Agriculture
Hon'ble Member for Communications

Copy with four copies of the enclosures forwarded to the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy.

V. H. COELHO
Under-Secretary to the Cabinet

Note: Extra set for H[on'ble] M[ember] F[inance]

¹For minutes of the meeting, see Annex.

Enclosure 1 to No. 121

F. 1/35-47

NOTE BY THE STEERING COMMITTEE

In the attached statements are set out

1. the Expert Committees and Sub-Committees that it will be necessary to set up, and
2. recommendations as to their respective terms of reference and their membership.

As directed by the Cabinet Committee, departments were consulted regarding the suitability of the terms of reference as also the composition and every effort has been made to meet the various points urged and recommendations made by them. In regard to two Expert Committees it has not been possible for the Steering Committee to agree on their respective terms of reference. Each of us have [*sic*] set out the terms of reference which he considers to be reasonable and appropriate.

2. In so far as the Expert Committee No. 1 is concerned, alternative drafts are submitted for para. (a).

3. In so far as the Expert Committee No. 2 is concerned, alternative drafts are submitted for clause (2). The difference between the two drafts raises a fundamental issue. Mr. Patel's view is that normally material assets must be left where they are. In ordinary times, it is not only ■ simple arrangement but positively advantageous in certain ways. It proceeds from the truth that division and physical transfer of a material asset generally impairs its total value. This in fact is ■ well-established principle. It was adopted first when Burma was separated from India and was followed subsequently in the separations of Sind from Bombay and Orissa from Bihar. In the present state of scarcity of capital goods, however, ■ certain measure of physical transfer may be necessary in order that the Government lacking in a particular resource may not be unduly hampered in that service for a prolonged

period. For that reason, in Mr. Patel's draft, it has been stated that in such cases, subject to the needs of the jurisdiction in which they lie, negotiated arrangements may be reached.

On the other hand, Mr. Mohamad Ali's view is that the accident of geographical location should not have priority over the just and equitable distribution of assets like workshops and industrial installations between the two successor Governments. The separation of Burma does not provide a parallel since, owing to the geographical isolation of Burma, services in Burma were very largely self-contained. It is only fair that both the successor Governments should in the matter of efficiency of services start on as equal a footing as possible. Inevitably, Pakistan will be comparatively worse off in industrial equipment which is at present in short supply throughout the world. This disadvantage should not be further accentuated.

4. The terms of reference for Expert Committee No. 5 (Finance and Currency Committee) together with its composition will be submitted later.

5. A separate paper entitled "Reconstitution of the Armed Forces in India" is being circulated today containing the proposals of the Commander-in-Chief for the setting up of an Armed Forces Committee together with its Sub-Committees. Owing to shortness of time, it has not been possible for us to discuss this paper with the Commander-in-Chief. The paper, however, appears to us to be satisfactory and we would recommend its acceptance.

6. It is proposed that all Expert Committees including the Armed Forces Committee should be called upon to complete their work not later than the 22nd of July. It will not be feasible for the Assets and Liabilities Committee, however, to submit its recommendations by the 22nd of July since a certain portion at least of its work can only commence after a number of Sub-Committees have completed their work; that Committee can, therefore, be asked to report by the 31st of July. The Steering Committee will, for its part, submit proposals to the Partition Council as the various Expert Committees' reports are received and examined.

EXPERT COMMITTEE NO. 1

ORGANISATION, RECORDS AND PERSONNEL

(As proposed by H. M. Patel)	Terms of Reference	(As proposed by Mohamad Ali)	Composition
a. To obtain and submit proposals—		a. To submit plans for the organisation of Departments, Offices and	1. Mr. S.A. Venkataraman 2. Mr. Yaqub Shah 3. Mr. Ikramullah

- | | | |
|--|--|------------------------------------|
| 1. for the administrative machinery required for Pakistan, including | Services so that the two successor Governments have the necessary administrative machinery including— | 4. Mr. Bhattacharyya |
| i. the various kinds and grades of staff, | i. the various kinds and grades of staff, | Secretaries
1. Mr. P. V. R. Rao |
| ii. the necessary office equipment, furniture, stores, etc., | ii. the necessary office equipment, furniture, stores, etc., | 2. Mr. M. Ayub |
| iii. the necessary records, documents, international agreements, etc. (which should be separated or duplicated). | iii. the necessary records, documents, international agreements, etc. (which should be separated or duplicated). | |
2. for the consequential adjustments required in the administrative machinery of the rest of India.
- b. To make recommendations regarding the division, in accordance with the general directive given below as far as possible, and where this may not be possible, to suggest the basis of division, of the following:
1. officers of the Superior Services,
 2. the staff of the Departments of the Government of India and of the Attached and Subordinate offices,
 3. the staff of the regional organisations, for example, the various Railways, P&T Circles, and Income Tax Circles.
- c. Where it is not possible to effect a complete separation of functions by the partition date to recommend interim arrangements for carrying out the functions concerned in the two areas.
- d. To recommend measures for giving effect to the decisions taken on the recommendations in (a), (b) and (c) by the Partition Council.

DIRECTIVE

Every government servant should be given the opportunity to select the Government he wishes to serve. If in any case during the transition period a different arrangement is necessary, specific orders of the Cabinet Committee (later Partition Council) would be obtained on the basis of the recommendations of the relevant Expert Committee by the Steering Committee.

DEPARTMENTAL SUB-COMMITTEES OF EXPERT COMMITTEE NO. 1

Each of the Departmental Sub-Committees will report to the Main Committee and its terms of reference will be for the Expert Committee No. 1 suitably modified to meet the requirements of the departments concerned.

S. No.	Name of the Committee	Composition
1.	Agriculture and Food	1. Mr. Krishnaswami 2. Mr. Aziz Ahmed 3. Mr. Junaid 4. Mr. B. R. Patel

(The following additional clause will be added in the terms of reference of this Sub-Committee:

"To make recommendations for the division of all-India organisations such as the I.C.A.R.¹ and Agricultural Commodity Committees or for their continuance as joint organisations for such periods as may be considered necessary.")

- | | | |
|----|----------------|---|
| 2. | Commerce | 1. Mr. Ikramullah
2. Mr. Chettur |
| 3. | Communications | <p>Main Committee</p> 1. Mr. Zuberi
2. Mr. Rahim
3. Mr. Krishna Prasad
(in his absence Mr. Jaini)
4. Mr. Raha
5. Mr. Sen Gupta
6. Mr. Hashim |
| | | <p>Sectional Committees</p> <p>I. Posts</p> 1. Mr. Jerath
2. Mr. Nusrat Ali |
| | | <p>II. Telegraphs, Telephones & Wireless</p> 1. Mr. Mirza
2. Mr. Batra |
| | | <p>III. Civil Aviation</p> 1. Mr. Rahim
2. Mr. Raha |
| | | <p>IV. Meteorological Department</p> 1. Dr. S. K. Banerji
2. Mr. V. V. Sohoni
3. Mr. Muhammad Aslam
4. Mian Nasir Hussain |

- | | | |
|--------|--|--|
| 4. (a) | Finance (including Supply Finance and the Indian Audit Department) | 1. Mr. Yaqub Shah (or Mr. [M] Hashim)
2. Mr. R. L. Gupta
3. Mr. K. R. P. Ayengar
4. Mr. [A. A.] Burney
5. Mr. Seshu Ayyar
6. Mr. [S. A.] Hasnie |
| (b) | Military Finance and Military Accounts Departments | 1. Mr. Brij Narayan
2. Mr. Ghulam Abbas |
| 5. | Central Board of Revenue | 1. Mr. Menon
2. Mr. A. Qadir
3. Mr. M. Rahman
4. Mr. Ranganathan

Secretaries
1. Mr. [A. A.] Burney
2. Mr. Inderjit Singh |
| 6. | Health | 1. Dr. K. C. K. E. Raja
2. Mr. Prem Kishen
3. Mr. [G.A.] Madani (or Col. Jafri)
4. Major Jafar |
| 7. | Home | 1. Mr. G. Ahmed
2. Mr. P. V. R. Rao
3. K[han] B[ahadur] Ahmed Ali
4. Mr. Sinha |
| 8. | I & B
[Information and Broadcasting] | 1. Mr. P. C. Chaudhuri
2. Mr. A. S. Bokhari |
| 9. | I & S
[Industries and Supply] | 1. Mr. Said Hasan
2. Mr. Boothalingham
3. Mr. Nayak
4. Mr. [R. A.] Mohamadi |

10.	Labour	1. Mr. Srivastava 2. Mr. Aslam
11.	Legislative	1. Mr. S. A. Lal 2. Justice Rahman
12.	Political	1. Mr. P. Achuta Menon 2. Mr. Zafarul Ahsan (or Major [A. S. B.] Shah)
13.	Railways	1. Mr. Z. H. Khan 2. Mr. Nilakantan
14.	Transport	1. Mr. Mushtaq Ahmad 2. Mr. Chakravarti
15.	Defence	1. Mr. Bhalja 2. Col. Iskander Mirza 3. Mr. J. Dayal 4. Mr. Mumtaz Mirza
16.	Works, Mines and Power	1. Mr. D. L. Mazumdar 2. Mr. A. G. Khan 3. Mr. Puri 4. K[han] B[ahadur] M. I. Khan 5. Mr. [M. A.] Mozaffar 6. Mr. Nilakantan
17.	External Affairs	1. Mr. A. V. Pai 2. Mr. P. Achuta Menon 3. Major [A. S. B.] Shah (or Mr. Zafarul Ahsan) 4. Col. Iskander Mirza
18.	Education	1. Dr. D. M. Sen 2. K[han] B[ahadur] Asadullah

EXPERT COMMITTEE NO. II

ASSETS AND LIABILITIES

Terms of reference

Composition

(As proposed by
Mr. H. M. Patel)(As proposed by
Mr. Mohamad Ali)

1. To compile lists of assets by broad categories showing value and present location.

2. To make recommendations as to the division of assets between the two successor Governments keeping in view the following broad principles—

- i. Fixed assets like railway lines, buildings and public works, telegraph and telephone lines, etc., should be regarded as the property of the Government in whose jurisdiction they lie.

- ii. Moveable assets like rolling stock, ■■■■■ and maintenance stores, equipment relative to the fixed assets in (i) where applicable should be divided in such manner ■■■■ would enable the respective Governments to be currently self-sufficient and maintain the utilities efficiently.

- iii. Assets like plant and machinery in workshops, factories and other installations and equipment in institutions of an all-India character may, subject to needs of the jurisdiction in which they lie, be shared by the other Government to assist the latter to be self-sufficient as far as ■■■■ practicable.

To make recommendations for the physical division of assets between the two successor Governments bearing in mind the objective that as far as practicable—

- a. the services in the two Governments run with the same degree of efficiency, [and]
- b. the two Governments are self-sufficient to the maximum degree.

1. Mr. V. Narahari Rao
2. Sir Ghulam Mohammed (non-official)
3. Mr. S. Ratnam
4. Mr. Mumtaz Hasan
5. Mr. Rangachari
6. Mr. M. Shoaib

Secretaries

1. Mr. Negi
2. Mr. Anwar Ali

Explanatory Note

There are certain categories of assets such as irrigation canals, railway lines, telegraph lines, buildings which will be taken over by the Government in whose territory they are located. On the other hand, there are other categories of assets such as stores, equipment, rolling stock, workshops and industrial installations which can and should be divided between the two Governments irrespective of their present locations so that both Governments have their due share of such assets. This division should not be such as to destroy their utility to either Government except of course the temporary loss of production during the period of transportation and in some cases of dismantling and re-erection.

3. When division is impracticable, to make recommendation either for mutual assistance or for joint administration or for any other arrangement for such period as may be necessary.

4. To make recommendations in regard to the financial settlement between the two Governments arising from the above as well ■ from an allocation of the public debt, pensions and other liabilities.
5. To recommend measures for giving effect to any transfer of assets after the recommendations have been accepted by the Partition Council.

Note. Departmental Sub-Committees and the Armed Forces Committee will submit reports to the Expert Committee in regard to assets falling within their purview.

DEPARTMENTAL SUB-COMMITTEES OF

EXPERT COMMITTEE NO. II

S. No.	Name of the Committee	Composition
1.	Railways	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Mr. G. Faruque 2. Mr. Z. H. Khan 3. Bakhle, General Manager, B.B. & C. I. [Railway] 4. Mr. Bhandarkar 5. Mr. Puri, Financial Commissioner 6. [K.] Ubaidullah
		Secretaries
		<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Mr. S. S. Ramasubban 2. Mr. Chughtai
2.	All India Radio	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Mr. P. C. Chaudhuri 2. Mr. A. C. Ramchandani 3. Mr. A. S. Bokhari 4. Mr. Riaz Ahmed

Note. In regard to all other Departmental Sub-Committees, the Departmental Sub-Committees of Expert Committee No. I will also function as the Departmental Sub-Committees of Expert Committee No. II.

EXPERT COMMITTEE NO. III

i. Central Revenues

Terms of Reference	Composition
1. To make recommendations for the collection and distribution of Income Tax, Customs and Central Excises for the current year.	1. Mr. K. R. K. Menon 2. Mr. Rahman 3. Mr. A. Qadir 4. Mr. Ranganathan
2. To make recommendations regarding the relations between the two successor Governments in the matter[s] of Income Tax, Customs, etc., in future.	Secretaries 1. Mr. [A. A.] Burney 2. Mr. Inderjit Singh

ii. Miscellaneous Revenues

1. To make recommendations for the collection and distribution of revenues other than Income Tax, Customs and Central Excises for the current year.	1. Mr. Mumtaz Hasan 2. Mr. Rangachari
2. To make recommendations regarding the relations between the two successor governments in matters of revenues other than Income Tax, Customs, etc., in future.	Secretaries 1. Mr. Vedantachari 2. Mr. Anwar Ali

EXPERT COMMITTEE NO. IV

Contracts

To make recommendations regarding the allocation of the liability including contingent liability such as pending litigation for contracts entered into by the present Government of India.	1. Mr. Bhattacharyya 2. Mr. [S. A.] Hasnie
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EXPERT COMMITTEE NO. V
Currency, Exchange, etc.

Terms of Reference

Composition

Will be submitted later

Will be submitted later

EXPERT COMMITTEE NO. VI
Economic Relations (Controls)

To examine the effect of partition on the administration of existing controls and to make recommendations regarding alternative arrangements if necessary.

1. Mr. Vishnu Sahay
2. Mr. Boothalingam
3. Mr. [S. A.] Hasnie
4. Mr. [R. A.] Mohamadi
5. Mr. Rahman (or
Mr. Amin-ud-Din)
6. Mr. Kamat

Secretaries

1. Mr. P. R. Nayak
2. Mr. [S.] Ikramul Haque

EXPERT COMMITTEE NO. VII
Economic Relations (Trade)

To examine matters regarding all trade and movement between the territories of the two successor Governments.

1. Mr. [M] Ikramullah
2. Mr. Rahman
3. Mr. Boothalingam
4. Mr. Saxena

Secretaries

1. Mr. L. K. Jha
2. Mr. [Dr. M. M.] Junaid

EXPERT COMMITTEE NO. VIII
Domicile

To examine and make recommendations on the implications of partition with reference to domicile and nationality of the inhabitants of British India and on the position of Indian nationals abroad.

1. Sir Dhiren Mitra
2. Justice [S. A.] Rahman
3. Mr. Shankar
4. Mr. Aziz Ahmed

EXPERT COMMITTEE NO. IX
Foreign Relations

Terms of Reference

Composition

To examine and make recommendations on the effect of partition

1. Mr. A. V. Pai
2. Mr. P. Achuta Menon
3. Major [A. S. B.] Shah (or Mr. Zafrul Ahsan)
4. Col. Iskander Mirza

- i. on the relations of the successor Governments with each other and with other countries (including the countries of British Commonwealth and border tribes),
- ii. on the position of Indian nationals abroad,
- iii. ■ India's diplomatic representation,
- iv. on the existing treaties and engagements between India and other countries and tribes,
- v. on India's membership of international organisations.

*Enclosure 2 to No. 121
Paper by Claude Auchinleck*

F. 1/48-51

N.G.O./SECRET
No. 1/47

DELHI,
11 June 1947

RECONSTITUTION OF THE ARMED FORCES OF INDIA
COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF'S PAPER

1. OBJECT

To set up ■ Committee for the reconstitution of the Indian Armed Forces with the necessary Sub-Committees.

2. RESPONSIBILITY OF COMMITTEE

The Armed Forces Reconstitution Committee (AFRC) is to report to the main Partition Council through the Steering Committee which will co-ordinate the work of this and other Expert Committees.

It is understood that the Partition Council have decided that while the C-in-C will keep the Hon[ourable] Member for Defence acquainted with the proposals and intentions of AFRC, the latter will not be subject to the existing Defence Department of the Government of India.

3. COMPOSITION OF THE COMMITTEE

I propose that the Armed Forces Reconstitution Committee should be composed as follows:

a. Main Committee to define policy

President	the C-in-C [Claude Auchinleck]
Members	the C-in-C, RIN [Geoffrey Miles] the C.G.S. [Arthur Smith] the A.O., C-in-C [Hugh Walmsley] Mr. Mohamad Ali (FA, D&S) Mr. G.S. Bhalja (Additional Secretary, Defence Department)
Secretary	Colonel Muller (C-in-C's Secretariat)

b. Sub-Committees to make recommendations regarding implementation of policy

i. Navy Sub-Committee

Chairman	Commodore [J. W.] Jefford, RIN
Members	2 British officers of the RIN (one of whom will be an Engineer officer) 4 Indian officers of the RIN (the two senior Indian officers should be executive officers)
Secretary	An officer of the RIN
Total	8 officers

ii. Army Sub-Committee

Chairman	Major-General [S. F.] Irwin, DCGS, GHQ
Members	1 Colonel (British) GS's Branch 1 Colonel (British) AG's Branch 1 Colonel (British) QMG's Branch 6 Indian officers of the Indian Army
Secretary	An officer of the Indian Army
Total	11 officers

iii. Air Force Sub-Committee

Chairman	Air Vice Marshal Perry-Keene, RAF, AOA, AHQ, India
Members	2 British officers of the RAF (one of whom will be a technical officer) 4 Indian officers of the RIAF
Secretary	An officer of the RIAF
Total	8 officers

A panel of names of Indian officers of each Service who are considered by me competent to act as members of the Sub-Committee is attached,¹ so that the requisite number of Indian officers to serve on each Sub-Committee, namely 4 for the Navy, 6 for the Army and 4 for the Air Force, may be selected by the members of the Partition Council.

I shall be grateful if H.E. the Governor-General will procure for me the part time services of Mr. Mohamad Ali and Mr. Bhalja to serve on the main Armed Forces Reconstitution Committee. I think it is essential to have a representative of each major community on this Committee and I consider that the two gentlemen I have suggested are admirably suited for this work.

The number of members suggested for the Army Sub-Committee may seem to be on the large side, but the operation of reconstituting the Army is bound to be most complex and difficult, and it is essential in my opinion to ensure that there is the fullest possible measure of expert experience and knowledge available in its members.

4. TERMS OF REFERENCE

I suggest that the terms of reference for the AFRC should be as follows:

In close consultation with the Steering Committee, acting under the orders of the Partition Council, to prepare a plan for the creation from the existing Armed Forces in India, namely the Royal Indian Navy, the Indian Army and the Royal Indian Air Force, (including the various installations, establishments and stores owned by the present Defence Department of the Government of India) of two separate, self-contained and self-sufficient parts, one for each of the two Dominions into which British India is to be divided. Due regard will be paid to the strategic and internal needs of these new States and the necessity for ensuring the highest possible standard of efficiency in their Armed Forces. In preparing its plan the Committee will be guided throughout by the overriding importance of maintaining the highest possible standard of discipline, reliability and solidarity in the present Armed Forces during the process of division.

The Committee will also ensure to the best of its ability that the plan recommended by it safeguards to the utmost extent possible the welfare, prospects and interests of the officers and other ranks now serving in the Armed Forces of India. Implementation of the plan, when approved by the Partition Council, shall be the responsibility of the C-in-C in India.

5. ASSUMPTIONS

In planning to give effect to its Terms of Reference, the Committee will work on the following assumptions:

- i. That it is essential for their continued existence as organised Forces, that the Navy, Army and Air Force should, during the process of their reconstruction, continue to be administered and maintained by the existing machinery, namely N.H.Q., G.H.Q. and A.H.Q. under the general direction of the C-in-C. Delegation of control to the new authorities to be set up can be gradual and progressive, as these become able to carry out their functions.
- ii. That service in the Armed Forces of the two new States will be on a territorial and not on a communal basis; that is, ■ Muslim domiciled outside Pakistan may serve in the Armed Forces of Hindustan, if he so wishes and is considered suitable and vice versa.
- iii. That service in the Armed Forces of both States will be voluntary, at any rate in the first instance.
- iv. That no Indian officer or man now serving in the Indian Armed Forces, whatever his domicile, can be compelled against his will to continue to serve in the new Armed Forces to be set up in the two States, and that proportionate benefits be allowed to any Indian officer or man who does *not*² wish to do so.
- v. That Indian officers and other ranks who agree to take service in the Forces of the ■■■ States will do so under ■ fresh agreement to be formulated by the Governments of the States. Those who volunteer to serve on in the Forces of either State will be permitted to do so under their existing terms and conditions of service, until new terms ■■ promulgated, and that, then, if they do not desire to serve on under the new terms, they will be allowed to terminate their service and that proportionate benefits be admissible to them also.
- vi. That any Indian officers or other ranks it may be necessary

to engage for service in the Armed Forces, between now and the time when the new Forces of the two States are fully established, should be engaged under existing terms and conditions of service, with the option of resigning from the service, should they not wish to serve on under any new terms or conditions which may be imposed by the new Dominion Governments.

- vii. That the liability for non-effective charges in respect of pensions, gratuities, annuities, etc., earned by Indian officers and other ranks of the three Services prior to the transfer of authority to the new Dominion Governments will be undertaken by these Governments and publicly so announced.
- viii. That no increases or decreases in the number of major units or establishments of the three Services existing today will be made while the reconstitution of the Armed Forces is in process, any such changes as either Dominion may desire to make being deferred until it has assumed full responsibility for the administration and maintenance of its own new Forces.
- ix. Similarly, there shall be no changes in the basic organisation of formations, units, establishments and installations of the three Services, or in the class composition of units except as may be demanded by the process of reconstitution, while the creation of the Armed Forces of the two Dominions is in progress. Any such changes which may already be in contemplation or proposed will be suspended.
- x. Likewise, no changes will be made in the nomenclature of existing formations, units or establishments while division is proceeding, otherwise administrative confusion is bound to ensue.
- xi. For the successful reconstitution of the Armed Forces, the services of the greater number of the British officers now serving in them will be required.

Therefore, while the normal process of nationalization will continue, the plan for complete nationalization by June [19]48 will *not* be implemented.

6. CONCLUSION

I request the early approval of the Partition Council to these proposals and that I may be informed of the names of the Indian officers selected to sit on the three Service Sub-Committees, so

that the preliminaries for the reconstitution of the Armed Forces may be put in hand without delay. Owing to the great complexity and delicacy of this problem, it is essential that its solution should begin at the earliest possible date.

C. J. E. AUCHINLECK
F.M.
C-in-C in India

¹Annexures, I, II and III.

²In capital letters here and hereafter in the original.

Annexure I to Enclosure 2 to No. 121

F. 1/52-3

PANEL OF NAMES OF INDIAN OFFICERS OF THE RIN FOR
MEMBERSHIP OF THE NAVAL SUB-COMMITTEE

NAME	RANK	DOMICILE/DISTRICT
MUSLIMS		
Executive Officers		
H. M. S. Choudri	Acting Commander	Batala, District Gurdaspur, Punjab
A. Rashid	Acting Lieut. Cdr.	Born: Chittagong, Bengal Home address: Calcutta, Bengal
M. A. Alavi	Acting Lieut. Cdr.	Born: Kakori, District Lucknow Home address: Lucknow
Engineer Officers		
I. K. Mumtaz	Acting Lieut. Cdr.	Born: Dehra Dun, U.P. Home address: Dehra Dun
M[ahmud]ul Hasan	Lieut. (E)	Born: Gujranwala, Punjab Home address: Lahore
Supply Officers		
A. R. N. Hussain	Lieut. Cdr. (S)	Born: Calcutta Home address: Calcutta
HINDUS		
Executive Officers		
A. Chakravarti	Acting Commander	Born: Ajmer, Mewara Home address: Delhi
B. S. Soman	Acting Commander	Born: Gwalior State Home address: Belgaum
C. J. Mohan	Acting Lieut. Cdr.	Born: Bangalore, Mysore State Home address: Madras City

Engineer Officers**D. Shankar****Lieut. Cdr. (E)****Born:** Morar Residency, Gwalior State**Home address:** Chaoli, District Agra, U.P.**B. N. Lele****Lieut. Cdr. (E)****Born:** Poona, Bombay**Home address:** Rajgarh, C.I. State**Supply Officers****C. S. Shukul****Lieut. Cdr. (S)****Born:** District Fatehpur, U.P.**Home address:** Jubbulpore, C.P.*Annexure II to Enclosure 2 to No. 121**F. 1/54-7*

**PANEL OF NAMES OF INDIAN OFFICERS OF THE ARMY FOR
MEMBERSHIP OF THE ARMY SUB-COMMITTEE
(ARRANGED IN ORDER OF SENIORITY BY NATIONALITY)**

MUSLIMS

S. No.	Rank	Name	District	Age on 1-7-47	Date of reckonable service	Present appointment
1.	T ¹ /Brig.	M. Akbar Khan MBE, RIASC	Jhelum	50/2/12	17-7-1920	Commander, HQ Meerut Sub-Area
2.	A ² /Col.	Faiz M. Khan 16 Lt. Cavalry	Malerkotla State	46/8/12	14-7-1921	President of Services Selection Board
3.	A/Brig.	M. Munir Khan Tiwana, 19 Lancers	Shahpur	53/0/0	19-12-1922	Commander, HQ Kamptee Sub-Area
4.	A/Col.	Anis Ahmed Khan s.c., RIASC	Aligarh	43/5/12	30-8-1924	D.D.T., QMG's Branch, GHQ
5.	T/Lt. Col.	K. M. Idris, s.c., ³ 16 Lt. Cavalry	Hyderabad State	42/0/0	3-9-1925	O.C., 3 Cavalry
6.	A/Brig.	A. M. Reza, s.c., Rajput Regt.	Lahore	42/1/12	29-1-1927	Director, Selection of Personnel, GHQ
7.	A/Col.	M. Ayub Khan, s.c., 14 Punjab Regt.	Hazara	40/1/12	2-2-1928	President of Services Selection Board
8.	A/Col.	Nasir Ali Khan, s.c., Rajput Regt.	Lahore	40/6/12	2-2-1928	Deputy Military Secretary, GHQ
9.	A/Brig.	Nazir Ahmed, MBE, s.c., Dogra Regt.	Jhelum	39/3/12	1-10-1928	Offg. Commander, 25 Ind. Inf. Bde.
10.	Major	M. Iftikhar Khan, p.s.c., ⁴ 3 Cavalry	Jhelum	38/5/12	29-8-1929	Attending the present JSSC in U.K. DDMI designate, GHQ
11.	A/Col.	Mian Hayaud Din, MBE, s.c., FFR	Peshawar	36/11/12	27-8-1931	Attending the present JSSC in U.K.
12.	A/Col.	M. Sher Khan, MC, s.c., R. Garh Rif.	Mardan, NWFP	36/4/12	28-1-1932	Offg. D.D.M.T., MT Dte., GHQ
13.	T/Lt. Col.	K. M. Sheikh, s.c., FFR	Lahore	36/11/12	28-1-1932	G.S.O. 1 (Ops. HQ Southern Command)

14.	L/Col.	M. Sher Ali Khan, s.c., Assam Regt.	Pataudi State	34/1/12	2-2-1933	Military Attache, Indian Embassy, Washington
15.	T/Lt.Col.	Akbar Khan, DSO, MBE, s.c., 16 Punjab Regt.	Kohat	34/7/12	31-8-1933	Bn. Commander, Instr. Class "A", I.M.A., Dehra Dun
16.	T/Lt.Col.	M. A. Latif Khan, MBE, s.c., Jat Regt.	Bhopal State	33/10/12	31-8-1933	AAG, SP Dte., GHQ
17.	T/Lt.Col.	S. S. Hamid, p.s.c., RIASC	Lucknow	34/8/12	31-8-1933	P.S. to H.E. the Commander-in-Chief

HINDUS

S. No.	Rank	Name	District	Age on 1-7-47	Date of reckonable service	Present appointment
1.	T/Brig.	K. M. Cariappa, OBE, p.s.c.	Coorg	47/5/12	17-7-1920	Attending the present I.D.C. course in U.K.
2.	T/Brig.	M. S. Rejondrasinhji, DSO, 2 R. Lancers	Nawanagar State	48/0/0	14-7-1921	D.A.C. designate, GHQ
3.	T/Brig.	Thakur Nathu Singh, p.s.c., Rajput Regt.	Dungarpur	45/2/12	1-2-1923	Commander, Zhob Frontier Group
4.	T/Brig.	S. M. Shrinagesh Kumaon Regt.	Hyderabad, Deccan	44/2/12	30-8-1923	Commander, Ind. Inf. Bde. Japan
5.	A/Brig.	M. L. Atal, s.c., 18 Cavalry	Jaipur State	42/5/12	29-1-1925	B.S.D. (C) and President ASEC, GHQ
6.	T/Brig.	K. S. Thimayya, DSO, s.c., Kumaon Regt.	Coorg	41/3/12	4-2-1926	Commander, 5 Ind. Inf. Bde.
7.	T/Col.	P. M. Thapar, p.s.c., 1 Punjab Regt.	Lahore	41/1/12	4-2-1926	D.D. of Int. (CI) GHQ
8.	T/Brig.	S.P.P. Thorat, DSO, s.c., 14 Punjab Regt.	Kolhapur State	40/10/12	30-8-1926	Commander, 161 Ind. Inf. Bde.
9.	T/Brig.	J. N. Chaudhuri, OBE, p.s.c., 2 Punjab Regt.	Calcutta	39/0/0	2-2-1928	Attending the present I.D.C. course in U.K.
10.	T/Lt. Col.	Mahadeo Singh, DSO, p.s.c., 2 Punjab Regt.	Fatehgarh, U.P.	39/6/12	30-8-1928	Chief Instructor, I.M.A., Dehra Dun
11.	L/Col.	S. D. Verma, p.s.c., 16 Lt. Cavalry	Sheikhpura	38/10/12	31-1-1929	G.S.O. 1, Staff College, Quetta
12.	T/Lt. Col.	Y. S. Paranjpe, s.c., Rajput Regt.	Poona	38/5/12	28-8-1930	O.C. 1/2 Punjab Regiment (Para Bn.)
13.	T/Lt. Col.	L. P. Sen, DSO, s.c., Baluch Regt.	Calcutta	36/8/12	29-1-1931	G.S.O. 1 (Ops. and Trg.) HQ Eastern Command
14.	T/Lt. Col.	R. E. Aserappa, RIE	Coorg	36/6/12	12-8-1931	SORE 1, (W) Frontier Area, Peshawar
15.	T/Lt. Col.	P. P. Kumaramangalam, DSO, MBE, RIA	Madras	34/0/0	2-2-1933	O.C. 12 Para Field Regt. RIA

SIKHS AND CHRISTIANS

S. No.	Rank	Name	District	Age on 1-7-47	Date of reckonable Service	Present appointment
1.	T/Brig.	A. A. Rudra, OBE, 15 Punjab Regt.	Delhi (Christian)	50/9/12	17-7-1920	Director, Inter Services Morale and Formation Dte., GHQ
2.	A/Brig.	Gurdip Singh Dhillon, s.c., RIASC	Lahore	43/2/12	27-8-1924	Offg. D.D.S.T., Q.M.G.'s Branch, GHQ
3.	T/Brig.	S. B. S. Chinni, OBE, p.s.c., RIASC	Gujranwala	42/10/12	30-8-1924	Inspector, RIASC, GHQ
4.	T/Brig.	Kalwant Singh, p.s.c., 1 Punjab Regt.	Rawalpindi	42/4/12	20-1-1925	B.G.S., HQ Northern Command

5.	T/Col.	Sant Singh, 14 Punjab Regt.	Ludhiana	43/7/12	29-1-1925	Commandant, Pre-Selection Trg. Centre
6.	A/Brig.	D. S. Brar, OBE, s.c., MLJ	Ferozapore	41/11/12	30-8-1926	Offg. Commander, 114 Ind. Inf. Bde.
7.	A/Col.	N. S. Wadalia, s.c., 16 Lt. Cavalry	Punjab (Christian)	38/7/12	31-1-1929	Member, Indian Military Mission, Berlin
8.	T/Lt. Col.	P. S. Gyani, s.c., RIA	Lahore	36/11/12	27-8-1932	Attending the present Long Gunnery Staff Course in the U.K., expiring 9/47

¹Temporary.²Acting.³Staff College.⁴Passed Staff College.*Annexure III to Enclosure 2 to No. 121**F. 1/58*

PANEL OF NAMES OF INDIAN OFFICERS OF THE RIAF FOR
MEMBERSHIP OF THE AIR FORCE SUB-COMMITTEE

NAME	RANK	DOMICILE/DISTRICT
MUSLIMS		
M. K. Janjua	Wing Commander	Jhelum, Punjab
M. A. Khan	Squadron Leader	Kashmir State
HINDUS		
S. Mukerjee, OBE	Air Commodore	Calcutta, Bengal
Narendra	Group Captain	Allahabad, U.P.
CHRISTIAN, SIKH AND PARSEE		
E. W. Pinto	Wing Commander	Poona (Christian)
Arjan Singh, DFC	Wing Commander	Lyallpur, Punjab (Sikh)
A. M. Engineer, DFC	Group Captain	Bombay (Parsee)

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*S. A. Rafique to M. A. Jinnah**F. 162/12*

11 CAWNPORE ROAD, ALLAHABAD,

15 June 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam Sahib,

I cannot forget the extraordinary kindness with which you were gracious enough to receive me when I saw you at Delhi by an appointment which Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan made with you on telephone. You were pleased to go over my papers and to suggest that you considered me quite suitable for the work you had in view in England. You, however, thought that you would not like me to sacrifice my present career at the Bar because you were pleased to think that you did not want any one to make any sacrifices unless you considered that it was essential in the interest of the nation. I assured you then, and I assure you again, that I regarded serving you as an honour and no question of sacrifice can arise when the nation's demands are to be met. You were pleased to tell me that you will talk the matter over with Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan that very evening when he was coming to see you.

Since then things have materially altered and you have, thanks to the help of *Allah* and your amazing fortitude, achieved the Muslim dream of Pakistan. The needs of the new State would require the services of every Musalman and I am very happy to place mine again, as I have already done before, at your disposal. I honestly think that I could really do some useful work for Pakistan in England and for me there is hardly any future in these Provinces. I had left with you a bunch of certificates and a short biographical note which I hope you have gone through. These will show you that in a way I have had a unique life and career and my contacts in England enable me to exert some sort of influence there. Though I had and I still do offer my services in any capacity you like, I do think I could give the best account of myself if I were to go to England. I know you are frightfully busy but I trust that you will have time to glance through this letter and to let me know if you want me to come to Delhi.

Trusting to hear from you soon and with respectful regards,

Yours sincerely,

S. A. RAFIQUE

Bar-at-Law

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President, All India Muslim League, Klang, to M. A. Jinnah

F.682/281

KLANG, SELANGOR, MALAYA,
16 June 1947

BIHAR RELIEF FUND

Sir,

On the 28th of December 1946, I sent a Chartered Bank Draft No. 38/38 for Rs. 2,000 in favour of the Chairman, Bihar Relief Fund, c/o Habib Bank Ltd., Delhi. This amount was subscribed by several philanthropists in Klang and surrounding districts for the Muslim sufferers in India.

I have received no acknowledgement from your end up to this date.

On the 5th of March 1947, another reminder was sent and I am sorry to say that no letter of acknowledgment was received.

It makes me very sorrowful to think that persons who are charged with responsibilities at Delhi have by carelessness or due to some other cause overlooked the fact that money sent by collection from the public to sufferers in India ought to be acknowledged.

Being the President of the League here in Klang, I feel the responsibility towards the subscribers here and I take this opportunity of bringing this matter to your personal knowledge. Hope that you will order an inquest into this matter and communicate with me.

Thanking you in advance,

I am, Sir,
Yours faithfully,
President,
All India Muslim League, Klang

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Nawab of Amb to M. A. Jinnah

F.35/3

SHERGARH, AMB STATE,
P.O. OGHI, HAZARA DISTRICT, N.W.F.P.,
16 June 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Thank God Almighty your selfless efforts in the cause of Islam have

after all been crowned with some success in spite of innumerable pitfalls created round you and of the individual and joint efforts of a number of clever brains and wise heads. This is a matter of great gratification for all Musalmans excepting a few quislings.

I am very glad to hear that you are shortly visiting the N.W.F.P. and intend spending a number of days in various districts. This is the right time to undertake an extensive tour of the Province in view of the forthcoming referendum and a great fillip will be given to League workers preparing for the tussle.

May I take this opportunity of reminding you of your promise to favourably consider my oft-repeated invitations to you and your respected sister to visit my State for a few days' rest and change. You had very kindly promised to find time if you possibly could whenever you were in the N.W.F.P. or Western Punjab. In view of the great importance of the work on your hands and the pressing time in which you have to do it, I hesitate to press you [or] to upset in any way your chalked-out programme which may already have been broadcast and in accordance with which thousands of people would like to see and hear you. In the midst of much important and pressing engagements it may not be possible for you to snatch a couple of days' rest when you are visiting the Hazara District (Shergarh is only 41 miles from Abbottabad and 26 miles from Mansehra). The best plan to my mind would be first to go round the Province and complete such an important work and then, when about to leave the Province after a successful visit, to snatch a couple of days' rest with me at Shergarh before rushing down to Delhi for more work. I can easily arrange to have you and your party met at Abbottabad, Hassanabdal, Rawalpindi, or if you so desire, even at Peshawar, to bring you here and then see you off at Rawalpindi (Chaklala) from where you could fly to Delhi.

The work in the Province having been finished, there will be less likelihood of people chasing and worrying you here and interfering with your so hard-earned rest. But the final decision is left to your discretion. All I want and earnestly press for is that you honour me with a visit and incidentally have a few days' change and rest. As the mail takes many days to reach here I am sending a special messenger down to take this letter to you and would be grateful if you would favour me with a reply at your convenience. It will give me and my people many a great pleasure to have you here.

God bless you and protect you for many years to come and with the very best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
NAWAB MAJOR SIR MUHAMMAD FARID KHAN
K.B.E.

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Bihar Muslim League Central Relief Committee, Patna

F.683/381

BALANCE SHEET

From 1st June to 15th June 1947

Debit		Credit	
Bank (deposit)	800-00-00	Bank	10,000-0-0
Education	631-04-03	Education	37-12-0
Food	759-05-00		
Information	195-00-00		
Legal Aid	774-08-00		
Rehabilitation	235-07-09		
Misc[ellaneous] "D"			
(Personal aid for purchase of guns)	254-01-00		
Misc[ellaneous]	62-10-00		
Cottage Industry	2,134-09-03	Cottage Industry	1,308-00-0
Cloth	75-00-00		
Travelling Exp[enses]	262-02-00	Travelling Exp[enses]	40-11-0
Grant to Districts	2,598-13-06		
Transport	376-10-03		
Misc[ellaneous] "A"			
(Individual aid)	652-00-00		
Post & Telegrams	109-03-03		
Salaries C.B.R.C.			
Office	1,694-00-06		
Refund	1,314-12-00		
Telephone	45-00-00		
Truck	515-00-00	Truck	2,500-00-00

Petrol	134-06-00	Donation	100-00-00
Medical	37-04-00		
Total	13,661-00-09	Total	13,986-07-00
C. Balance	10,167-08-06	O. Balance	9,842-02-03
Total	23,828-09-03	G. Total	23,828-09-03

DR. T. M. KHAN
Controller of Finances

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H. L. Ismay to M. A. Jinnah

F.2/75

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE, NEW DELHI,
 16 June 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

On the Viceroy's request, the Dominions Office of His Majesty's Government have sent us two notes entitled "The Structure of the British Commonwealth" and "Dominion Governors-General".

The Viceroy thought that these papers might perhaps be of interest to you and I attach copies.

Yours sincerely,
 ISMAY

Enclosure 1 to No. 126

F.2/72-4

THE STRUCTURE OF THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH Note by the Dominions Office

DOMINIONS OFFICE, [LONDON],
 May 1947

The structure of the British Commonwealth rests on the proceedings of the Imperial Conferences of 1926 and 1930 which were confirmed and given statutory effect where necessary by the Statute of Westminster 1931. They can conveniently be considered under two aspects—form and substance.

2. *Form*: The Imperial Conference of 1926 described the "group of

self-governing communities composed of Great Britain and the Dominions" as "autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown, and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations". The report added "Every self-governing member of the Empire is now the master of its destiny. In fact, if not always in form, it is subject to no compulsion whatever".

This description was completed by the enactment of the Statute of Westminster which removed certain existing restrictions on the legislative competence of the respective Dominion parliaments. The Statute defines the expression "Dominion" as meaning *in this Act*¹ the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, the Irish Free State and Newfoundland. The only inequality of status remaining is a residuary power left to the United Kingdom Parliament to legislate for a Dominion with the request and consent of that Dominion. The retention of this power was necessary since Canada, and, to a limited extent, New Zealand, have no power to alter their existing constitutions without the intervention of the United Kingdom Parliament.

The formal position, therefore, is that of a group of countries *each with a parliament possessing full powers*² to legislate on all matters affecting the country, (subject to the reservation outlined above) and recognising the King as Sovereign of that country and taking all formal action in the King's name.

3. *Substance*: The report of the Imperial Conference of 1926 contains the following statement:

The British Empire is not founded upon negotiations. It depends essentially, if not formally, on positive ideals. Free institutions are its lifeblood. Free co-operation is its instrument. Peace, security and progress are among its object[s].... Though every Dominion is now, and must always remain, the sole judge of the nature and extent of its co-operation, no common cause will, in our opinion, be thereby imperilled.

The procedure for ensuring that there should be this full co-operation and consultation on all matters of common interest is discussed in detail in various sections of the reports of the two Conferences. The general principle underlying it is that membership of the Commonwealth *implies an obligation to consider one another's interests, to make every effort to ensure that pursuit of individual needs and interests is adjusted wherever practicable to consideration of the needs and interests of other members of the Commonwealth, and to give mutual support where practicable in all essential matters.*

4. The general picture, therefore, is that of a group of States standing in

a certain constitutional relation to one another by reason of their acceptance of the King's sovereignty and working together in an informal understanding for mutual co-operation.

5. As regards the inclusion of other countries in membership of the Commonwealth on an equal basis with the existing members, the simplest solution would clearly be that they should qualify for membership under the same conditions as the existing members, i.e. they should recognise the King's sovereignty, they should have complete autonomy (which could be secured by the grant to them of powers equivalent to those conferred by the Statute of Westminster and need not involve amendment of the Statute for the purpose) and they should undertake the general obligations of consultation and mutual co-operation which the existing members recognise. As a matter of form, it would be appropriate that acceptance of new countries as equal members of the Commonwealth on this basis should be agreed to by all the existing members. But there is no reason to doubt that such assent would readily be granted provided that the above conditions were fulfilled.³

¹Underlined in the original.

²Underlined here and hereafter in the original, probably by Jinnah.

³Also see Annex.

Annex to Enclosure 1 to No. 126

PAKISTAN TO STAY WITHIN EMPIRE?¹

Jinnah's Reported Offer to Mountbatten

LONDON, June 14: According to a London despatch published in the New York paper "P. M.", "the prospective [*sic*] of a new Muslim State of India—Pakistan—comprising about one-fourth of India's territory and roughly 90 million Muslims, may stay [*sic*] inside the British Commonwealth while Hindu India—Hindustan—establishes itself as an independent nation."

Quoting "responsible British quarters," the paper adds: "Mr. M. A. Jinnah, leader of the Muslim League, has intimated to Lord Mountbatten that Pakistan would prefer to remain a member of the British Empire. Pakistan's comparative weakness, contrasted with the neighbouring Hindustan, has apparently influenced Muslim leaders in favour of leaning on Britain."

It is reported that an assurance by Mr. Jinnah is further supported in a London message to the New York *Sun* which says: "A high

government spokesman said to-day that at least one segment of an eventually partitioned India may stay within the British Empire as an independent Dominion."—UPI.

¹*Civil & Military Gazette*, 15 June 1947.

Enclosure 2 to No. 126

F.2/69-70

NOTE ON DOMINION GOVERNORS-GENERAL

DOMINIONS OFFICE, [LONDON],

June 1947

The position of the Governor-General of a Dominion was defined by the Imperial Conference of 1926 as being that of the representative of the Crown, holding in all essential respects the same position in relation to the administration of public affairs in the Dominion as is held by His Majesty the King in Great Britain, and not the representative or agent of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom or any Department of that Government.

The Governor-General is appointed by the King on the advice of Dominion Ministers. The office is constituted by standing Letters Patent under the Great Seal, which provide for the individual appointment to be made by Commission under the Sign Manual and Signet. (The Commission is countersigned by the Prime Minister of the Dominion).

The Governor-General's functions are defined partly in the Letters Patent and in standing Royal Instructions issued under the Sign Manual and Signet, but chiefly in the various Dominion Constitutions. They include the *summoning and dissolution of Parliament, the appointment of Ministers and Judges, the issue of Statutory Orders in Council, and the giving¹ of the Royal Assent to Bills.*

Certain functions in relation to Dominions are performed by the King personally and have not been delegated to the Governor-General. Apart from such matters as the award of honours or other marks of Royal favour such as the grant of the title "Royal", these relate chiefly to foreign affairs, e.g. the appointment of Dominion Ambassadors and the issue of Exequaturs to foreign Consuls. In these matters the submission to the King by Dominion Ministers is normally made *through the Governor-General.*

The Governor-General in the exercise of his functions acts in accordance with the advice of Ministers. Constitutionally² a Governor-General is considered to have a discretion (such as His Majesty is held to possess in

this country) to decline to accept such advice, but such discretion could be exercised only in very exceptional circumstances (e.g. refusal, exceptionally, of a dissolution of Parliament) and in such a case the exercise of the discretion must depend upon his finding Ministers who accept responsibility for his action.

¹Underlined here and hereafter in the original, probably by Jinnah.

²The entire para. from here on sidelined in the original, probably by Jinnah.

127

H. L. Ismay to M. A. Jinnah

F.2/76

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE, NEW DELHI,
16 June 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Eric Mievile and I have been thinking over the question of finding ■ constitutional lawyer and a first-class draftsman for you. It is not going to be too easy.

We wonder whether you have considered Sir Maurice Gwyer,¹ who would be absolutely first class. He is away in Kasauli at present, suffering from rather bad arthritis, and he might well be unwilling to take on so strenuous a job; but you might think it worth while to approach him. If he came, he might be able to suggest a draftsman.

Our next thought was Sir Cyril Radcliffe.² He also would be first class for what you have in mind, but he is probably one of the first three at the English Bar and, I believe, expects ■ high judicial appointment. I would gladly approach him, if you think it worth trying.

I have today telegraphed³ confidentially to Sir Edward Bridges,⁴ who is head of the Civil Service and an old colleague of mine, to ask him whether he can suggest any names, and I will let you know as soon as he replies.

Yours sincerely,
ISMAY

¹Chief Justice of India, 1937-43; Vice-Chancellor, Delhi University, 1938-50.

²Director-General, Ministry of Information, U.K., 1941-45; Vice-Chairman, General Council of Bar, U.K., 1946; Chairman, Boundary Commissions, July 1947.

³Annex.

⁴Secretary to the British Cabinet, 1938-46; Permanent Secretary to the Treasury, 1946.

Annex to No. 127
Viceroy to Secretary of State
Telegram, IOR, MSS Eur, F. 200/100

[NEW DELHI],
16 June 1947

Please pass following to Sir Edward Bridges from Ismay.

Mr. Jinnah has asked me if I can find first-class constitutional lawyer and first-class draftsman to help Pakistan with their constitution making. They would be required for a period of six months.

2. Most grateful if you could suggest any names. I would then put Mr. Jinnah in touch with them direct to settle terms.

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Statement by M. A. Jinnah

F.682/282-3

NEW DELHI,
16 June 1947

We have to face, gradually, various steps and important issues which arise in the working out of the Plan of June 3rd¹ to give effect to the division of India. Firstly we have to meet the referendum in the North-West Frontier Province within a very short time which is very vital. Similarly we have to meet the referendum in Baluchistan and Assam.

Besides, already the procedure laid down for the partition of the Punjab and Bengal coming into operation and definite dates have been fixed for them to take their decisions. We shall have to complete the Pakistan Constituent Assembly very soon, and to set up our committees of experts and specialists as advisers to the Constituent Assembly in the framing of the ultimate Constitution of Pakistan and in assisting the Constituent Assembly which will function as a sovereign body, with all governmental powers of Pakistan until the final Constitution emerges when the Government of Pakistan will come into the field and function according to the final Constitution framed by the Pakistan Constituent Assembly. We are going on and we have to get on with the partition of the entire assets and liabilities of the Central Government including the Defence, Finances, and Communications, etc. For that

purpose machineries are being set up. This is a stupendous task to go through and we are moving with lightning speed and rapidity.

I, therefore, appeal² to the Musalmans to send me without delay their contributions. Without finances all this gigantic business cannot be performed satisfactorily. I am sure that every Muslim will appreciate and understand how necessary it is at this moment to give his or her help immediately whatever they can.

I think the best course that can be adopted is that every one who wants to help us should send his or her donation and subscription directly to the Habib Bank Ltd., Chandni Chowk, Delhi. They will keep a separate account and this fund will be utilized for the various purposes referred above in particular and generally for the work in various spheres of activity before our Pakistan Government is established.

¹No. 1.

²Annex.

Annex to No. 128

QUAID-I-AZAM APPEALS¹

The Quaid-i-Azam has asked for contributions to the "Pakistan Fund" which he is instituting. We wrote the other day that although Pakistan is now a fact, the nation's task of the Indian Muslims [sic] is not finished but has, in fact, yet to begin. Leaving aside the tasks and responsibilities that are bound to confront us when we take over the Government of this as yet unborn State, there is much to be done even before this new State emerges. There is first of all the Referendum in the N.W.F.P. and Assam. Even though we have no misgivings regarding the verdict of Assam and Frontier Muslims, the stakes are too big to be taken lightly and considerable organizational and agitational work will have to be done to eliminate any possible risks that might have to be faced. We know that many of our political opponents are not yet reconciled to what has already been decreed by the pressure of objective circumstances and it would be fond self-delusion to believe that in the matters still awaiting final decision they would not strive their hardest to extort the maximum advantage for themselves. We have yet to face two Boundary Commissions who will delimit the final dimensions of Pakistan and here again the absence of vast and immediate preparations to present our case with the same measure of force and justice which inherently belong to it, might prejudice our chances of acquiring what is legitimately ours. When these initial tasks have been completed, we shall have to determine, through our representatives, the

Constitution of the Pakistan State; we shall have to create an almost brand-new administrative and legislative machinery; we shall have to obtain the services of an army of specialists to advise the architects of the new constitutional structure; we shall have to arrange for ■ corps of experts to see that the division of central and provincial assets and liabilities is just and equitable and no fraudulent practices are allowed to trick us out of our due. To complete this stupendous network of interconnected tasks, each one of us will have to contribute according to his capacity. Apart from financial contributions people will have to contribute to the limit, both in mental and in physical labour, to speed up the work. We presume the mental and physical labour is already being mobilised at top speed and we have no doubt that the call for funds that has just gone out will meet with an even quicker response. The Muslims are ■ poor people but they have never grudged money, even for causes by no means as vital as the cause for which they have been asked to contribute now. It should be obvious to every one that, however liberally he pays, he cannot pay enough, for it is difficult to equate even the most minute detail of a nation's future with the most astronomical of monetary figures.

¹Editorial, *Pakistan Times*, 19 June 1947.

129

Mir Haider to M. A. Jinnah

F.699/18-9

KALAT,
16 June 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam Sahib,

Believe me it is my greatest pleasure to send you my very heartiest congratulations for the political success of the Muslim League achieved through your selfless and untiring devotion to the cause. The Musalmans of Pakistan—nay of the whole of India—owe you a debt of gratitude, which they can never repay. Now they have a national *homeland*¹ of which they rightly feel proud. This success was only made possible through your unique political acumen and keen insight of human mind.

May God bless you and give you longevity to guide the Muslim masses not only of India but of the whole world on the right path.

2. Now when Pakistan is a *fait accompli*, I, as a Muslim, deem it my duty to place my services at your disposal. I have been a regular officer of the Army in India. I entered the Indian Army as a direct King's Commissioned Officer in December 1919, and was the first Indian to work as G.S.O. III in G.S. Branch, Army Headquarters, Simla, 1928-29. Then, again I was the first Indian to be transferred to the R.I.A.S.C. in 1930.

In 1935, during the second Mohmand operations, I served as a Brigade M. T. Officer to [the] then Brigade Commander, now Field Marshal Auchinleck, Commander-in-Chief in India.

During World War II, I served on the Eastern Front. In 1942, I was appointed Officer Commanding, Alipore, in which capacity I commanded about 10,000 troops of all nationalities.

It was in September 1944, i.e. at the end of War in Europe [*sic*], that I was reverted to the unemployed list. An officer of the special unemployed list, although under the Army Act and liable for recall to colour service with the Army, is permitted to accept any other appointment. Consequently, I decided to serve a Muslim State and chose Kalat. I am Adjutant of the State Force and A.D.C. to His Highness Beglar Begi² the Khan of Kalat, and in charge of the State Police too. During the short period I have been here I have managed to put the Kalat State Army and Police into their proper shape. But I find that owing to limitations in the State, I cannot put my military knowledge and experience to full advantage. Besides, it has always been my life dream to serve in the national army. I also feel that His Highness the Khan of Kalat, realising the value of my services to the Pakistan Army, will not stand in my way to transfer my services from his State to Pakistan.

Hence, with these presents, I venture to approach you to kindly consider my appointment to a responsible post in the Pakistan Army.

I am also prepared to proceed to foreign countries on a military mission or in any diplomatic capacity.

I am a graduate of the Punjab University, and have qualified as an official interpreter in many oriental languages.

Last time when you were in Peshawar, I had the privilege to meet [*sic*] you there and to discuss with you the merits and demerits of the various Muslim League candidates with special reference to the Nowshera constituency.

In the light of the above circumstances, I trust you will be kind enough to consider my name for any responsible appointment—be it in the Army in Pakistan or diplomatic mission outside India.

In the end, I offer my unqualified apologies for encroaching on your precious time.

Yours sincerely,

MIR HAIDER

Major, [Indian] Army],

Adjutant and A.D.C. to His Highness Beglar Begi, the Khan of Kalat

¹In capital letters in the original.

²Turkish words meaning "the Khan of Khans".

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Riaz Piracha to M. A. Jinnah

F.162/25-6

POST BOX NO. 301, LAHORE,

16 June 1947

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

May I volunteer my services for any work in the ensuing Constituent Assembly Secretariat. I have finished my studies in M. A. (Economics) this year from the Punjab University and consequently have time on my hands which I would like to utilize in the service of the *millat*.

I am considered to be a brilliant student, and have throughout my university career passed with distinctions and have been the recipient of University and Government scholarships. As testimony of my sense of responsibility, I may state that I have been for two years a member [of the] Working Committee of the Punjab Muslim Students Federation [P.M.S.F.]; was Treasurer of the Reception Committee of the Annual Session of the P.M.S.F. in March 1944 under your presidency; was Director of the Election Board Office of the P.M.S.F. during the last provincial elections, and had the honour to read the report of our election work activities before you in a meeting in the Islamia College, Lahore.

The Pakistan Constituent Assembly Secretariat will have, no doubt, a colossal amount of work in collecting, compiling, collating and synthesising a large mass of economic material to assist the C.A. in its deliberations, and will need, I am sure, a large number of people with technical qualifications in the science of Economics. I feel that I could be of some practical assistance in this connection.

Of course, I desire my work to be purely honorary and I require no

recompense except the satisfaction that at this crucial moment I have done my duty.

With the earnest desire in my heart to contribute my modicum of effort to the supreme task of construction, I am writing to you, my Quaid, in the hope that you will fulfill the wish of one of the humblest of your followers.

RIAZ PIRACHA
B. A. (Hons.)

PS. May I be honoured with a reply?

131

Anis Murtaza Zubairi to M. A. Jinnah

F.162/13

MASHA ALLAH BUILDING,
JOHNSON ROAD, QAROL BAGH, DELHI,
16 June 1947

Most revered Quaid-i-Azam,

I offer you my heartiest congratulations for the achievement of Pakistan. You fought singly against the many odds and were at last successful in securing a homeland for the Muslim nation.

Since the Pakistan Government is going to be established in the near future, you will require many capable hands to run its machinery. I, therefore, place my services at your disposal.

As regards my qualifications I submit as follows:

1. That I have passed the B. A. Examination from Aligarh Muslim University with English, Urdu and Political Science as my subjects.
2. That I have also passed the *Adib-i-Mahir* Examination.
3. That I have 5 years experience of administration, publicity, organisation and office routine to my credit.
4. That I belong to a highly respectable Muslim family of the United Provinces.

I know, Quaid-i-Azam, that your time is very precious but I would request you to kindly spare some time for reading the attached copies of my testimonials.¹

I shall be highly indebted to you if you kindly provide me with some suitable job in Pakistan, and enable me to establish myself in the holy land.

Thanking you in anticipation and begging to be excused for the trouble,
Pakistan Zindabad!

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,
 ANIS MURTAZA ZUBAIRI

'Not printed.

132

M. Ameen Chaudhary to M. A. Jinnah

F.886/234

CROWN HOTEL, FATEHPURI, DELHI,
 17 June 1947

In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

You have issued an appeal for "Pakistan Fund" and the same has appeared in the press to-day.¹ An appeal was made by you for the Bihar Fund² some time ago and the same was responded to most enthusiastically by Muslims all over India and abroad. This fact was fully admitted by you when you issued a statement in this connection last, about the closure³ of that Fund.

The Muslims are satisfied that the Fund or a part thereof has been spent in the best interests of the Bihar refugees.

I respectfully wish to make it clear here that I do not mean the least reflection on the work of those seven members⁴ who were constituted by you as a special committee to operate this Fund. What I specially wish to suggest before you [*sic*] is that, while issuing an appeal for the Pakistan Fund, it would have been better if, merely for the sake of information of the Muslim nation, some rough figures may have been given of the total amount contributed to the Bihar Fund as also of the part spent so far and the amount still in hand.

This does not mean that any part of Bihar Fund, if still unspent, may be utilised towards Pakistan Fund, as the purpose for which that Fund was collected has still to be fulfilled in so many ways.

The public mind, specially that of our opponents, is always full of mischief and it is for this reason that I have ventured to make this

suggestion. In my humble opinion, if figures of Bihar Fund are given by you in a subsequent statement, I am sure the nation will contribute towards "Pakistan Fund" with more enthusiasm.

Yours obediently,
MOHAMED AMEEN CHAUDHARY
Government Contractor, Quetta

¹No. 128.

²The Bihar Relief Fund was launched by Jinnah on 6 November 1946, for the victims of the Bihar tragedy. See *Civil & Military Gazette*, 8 November 1946.

³No. 340, Vol. I, Part I, 590.

⁴No. 447, note 1, *ibid.*, 806.

133

Fakhruddin to M. A. Jinnah

F.682/292

REGISTERED

VALIBHAI KAMRUDDIN,
101 ABDUL REHMAN STREET,
BOMBAY 3,
17 June 1947

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

With reference to your Public Appeal which I read in to-day's *Times*,¹ I have pleasure in enclosing herewith a cheque for Rs. 1,000 and hope you will be pleased to accept the same as donation towards the fund required for "Pakistan".

Always remaining at your command,

Yours-in-Islam,
for FAKHRUDDIN
*Contractors to His Majesty's Army in India
and Indian States Forces*

¹Probably, the *Times of India*, Bombay.

134

Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah to M. A. Jinnah

F.286/35

SIND SECRETARIAT, KARACHI,
17 June 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

In connection with the Frontier elections [*sic* for referendum], the following are available:

60 jeeps are available here from Disposals, Delhi. If you think it advisable, you might arrange at Delhi for our purchasing them here. Approximate cost is Rs. 2,000 each.

Also, about 80 lorries are available here, approximate cost Rs. 1,700 each.

Kindly consider whether we should go in for these, and let us know.

Most of the money will be recovered after the elections, by selling them as I am told.

It is very difficult to hire trucks here and to send them there, and it will also cost a great deal.

Kindly let us have your instructions by wire.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
GHULAM HUSSAIN

PS. I am arranging for your house here, and I hope you will soon get it.

135

Hossain Imam to M. A. Jinnah

F.296/58

24 HARDINGE AVENUE, NEW DELHI,
17 June 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

In reply to your letter of 15th instant,¹ I regret that the circumstances over which we had no control prevented us from holding the meeting of the Central Bihar Relief Committee, as Kh. Nazimuddin fell ill and Mr. Yunus did not turn up.

However after writing to you, I and Mr. Jafar Imam consulted Liaquat Ali Khan on the question of the Bihar refugees in Bengal. As a result I have

now written to the Minister in charge of Relief, Bengal Government, not to close the relief camps but to insist that the refugees are a liability of the established Government and as such they should go to the Government of the area concerned. I have also requested him to try and accommodate in Eastern Bengal all the orphans and widows and other extremely pitiable refugees.

*I regret that I should have failed in the task assigned to me. I therefore tender my resignation from this Committee.*² I shall be sending a copy of your letter to Kh. Nazimuddin and Mr. Jafar Imam for necessary action.

Yours sincerely,
HOSSAIN IMAM

¹No. 103. It was dated 14 June 1947 and not 15 June.

²Underlined in the original, probably by Jinnah.

Enclosure to No. 135

F.296/59

SUMMARY OF OUR COMMITTEE'S RECOMMENDATIONS FOR GOVERNMENT ACTION

1. Experience shows that some officers are so communal that their administrative actions are dictated by such considerations. It is suggested that Government should watch the conduct of officers, if need be by a special department, and take suitable disciplinary action against them.
2. Reporting of public speeches defective: Hindu and Muslim reporters should work jointly to give correct version.
3. In the days of present communal tension higher officers should tour the *mofussil* and get into touch with public.
4. Immediate steps to maintain peace be taken whenever trouble apprehended.
5. No responsibility on neighbours belonging to aggressor community during communal troubles: murders, arson, etc., are done before the eyes of Hindus of the locality, yet they deliberately plead ignorance and shield the evil doers by their silence; suggest introduction of English provision of accessory after the crime with suitable modifications to penalise such actions.
6. The police arrangements were very defective; even the armed and the mounted police were disarmed when deputed by the Government. Should frame model rules based on experience to check repetitions of such mistakes.

H[HOSSAIN] IMAM

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Abdul Qaiyum Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F.324/17

PESHAWAR,
17 June 1947

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

During your stay in Peshawar, the most suitable place for you is the bungalow of Abdul Latif Khan, No. 67, the Mall. It is desirable that you should stay within the cantonment perimeter here. Mr. Abdul Latif has offered to place his residence at your disposal and I whole-heartedly support this request. Your staff and visitors can all be accommodated there. I hope Miss Fatima Jinnah will honour us with a visit this time. I believe Latif has already written to you about it.¹

Our campaign is in full swing. I am setting out on a tour of our three Southern Districts this afternoon and I hope to finish this by the time you come. For going to Abbottabad, the best thing will be to fly to Chaklala and from there it is two hours' car journey to Abbottabad. After spending about three days there, you can move down to Peshawar, from where you can cover Mardan and Kohat quite easily.

Yours sincerely,
ABDUL QAIYUM¹See No. 97.

137

A. R. Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F.1108/54

CIVIL SUPPLIES DEPARTMENT,
SECRETARIAT, NAINITAL,
17 June 1947

Respected Sir,

I am sending herewith a 3-page note relating to the population and division of certain parts of Assam, Bengal and Bihar with a small commentary. I hope you will find it rather interesting and I pray to God that this may be of some use to you. My intention is not to bother you again and again on the subject but the underlying idea is to

provide you with all such material only with the hope that perhaps it will be useful for the nation at large.

Yours obediently,
A. R. KHAN

Enclosure to No. 137

F.1108/55-7

NAINITAL,
17 June 1947

With reference to para. 12 [sic for 13] of H.M.G.'s Plan of June 3, 1947,¹ that, "If the referendum results in favour of amalgamation with Eastern Bengal, a Boundary Commission with terms of reference similar to those for the Punjab and Bengal will be set up to demarcate the Muslim-majority areas of Sylhet District and contiguous Muslim majority areas of adjoining districts which will then be transferred to Eastern Bengal", I give below an analysis of community-wise population in some parts of Bengal, Assam and Bihar to enable Quaid-i-Azam to do something useful for the betterment of Eastern Pakistan.

In accordance with the division of Bengal, as envisaged in H.M.G.'s Plan, the Province of Assam joins Hindustan only through the Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri Districts of Bengal but if the 1941 Census is considered as the basis for such a division, the District of Goalpara of Assam does not come under Assam Province at all since it has got a Muslim majority as would be evident from the following:

Hindus	3,06,200
Muslims	4,68,900
Christians	300
Tribes	2,38,000
Others	<u>900</u>
Total	10,14,300

As Goalpara District has got ■ surplus Muslim population the Boundary Commission should consider its amalgamation with Eastern Bengal or with the Rangpur District of Eastern Bengal.

Cachar, the adjoining District of Sylhet, has also got ■ surplus Muslim majority; hence it should also come within the fold of Eastern Bengal, if the referendum so decides.

The H.M.G.'s Plan joins the Districts of Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri of

Bengal with that of Western Bengal or Hindustan. Darjeeling is the only hill station of Bengal and a summer resort of Bengal Government. Moreover, it has got mineral resources which are denied elsewhere in E[astern] Bengal. This district can be claimed by Eastern Pakistan on the basis of compensation. The whole of Western Bengal, which is full of mineral resources, will now come under Hindustan and as such a small tract of land (Darjeeling), which contains some of the minerals, must come within Pakistan.

Jalpaiguri District cannot come within Western Bengal since other predominantly Muslim districts of Eastern Bengal demarcate it with Western [*sic* for Eastern] Bengal. This district can only be joined with the Province of Bihar but the District of Purnea of Bihar has got a surplus Muslim population amounting to 10 lakh which is a substantial number. In case the Districts of Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri are amalgamated with Bihar these 10+2½ lakh Muslims will always be a source of constant consternation and trouble to the non-Muslim populace of these districts.

In view of the above facts, the Districts of Cachar, Sylhet and Goalpara of Assam Province, the Districts of Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri of Bengal and the District of Purnea of Bihar should all be amalgamated with [East-ern] Bengal to avoid future troubles as well as to enable Muslim Bengal to help itself minerally against Western Bengal or Hindustan on compensa-tion basis. The table gives community-wise population in these districts:

Districts	Hindus	Muslims	Christians	Tribes	Others	Total
Cachar	2,25,800	2,33,000	3,700	1,78,300	400	6,41,200
Sylhet	11,49,500	18,92,100	2,600	69,900	2,500	31,16,600
Goalpara	3,06,200	4,68,900	300	2,38,000	900	10,14,300
Darjeeling	1,78,500	9,100	2,600	1,41,300	44,800	3,76,300
Jalpaiguri	5,51,600	2,51,500	2,600	2,79,300	4,500	10,89,500
Purnea (Bihar)	13,07,400	9,76,000	500	1,04,900	1,400	23,90,200
Total	37,19,000	38,30,600	12,300	10,11,700	54,500	86,28,100

The above figures of 1941 Census reveal that the Muslim popula-tion in this tract exceeds [that of] the Hindus by 1,12,200 and if the number of Scheduled Castes is taken out from them their majority will naturally convert into a minority. No doubt this demand will be vehe-mently disputed by the Hindus on the basis of the population of Tribes, which is 10 lakh and whom the Hindus claim as their own. But this argument will not hold good because the basis for the division of prov-inces and the guiding principle for the Boundary Commission is the 1941 Census. Mr. Yeats, the Census Commissioner of Government of India, stated clearly in the all-India 1941 Census Report that the Tribes residing in Assam Province, who form the bulk of population under the head "Tribes" in the above table, cannot be classified religiously because some

of them call themselves Muslims, Christians or Hindus. If this statement, which must be correct, is taken into account, the argument of Hindus will not stand and, if a proper electoral roll is prepared afresh in Assam under the aegis of Governor-General, the population of Muslims will increase manifold and the number of Hindus will naturally decrease considerably. This will be over and above the Scheduled Castes, whose number is also considerable.

In the end I once again urge the necessity of annexing Goalpara District of Assam and Darjeeling of Bengal, the former on the basis of population and the latter as a compensation, over and above the amalgamation of Sylhet and Cachar Districts with Eastern Bengal. If we are successful in this attempt, I am sure the strength of Eastern Pakistan will, thereby, be considerably enhanced agriculturally and minerially and the Province of Assam will be disjoined and will have no direct link with Hindustan. In case this does not happen, the Eastern Pakistan will always be within the grip of Hindustan from practically all sides and the northern frontier at the border of Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri will be a constant source of trouble and Eastern Pakistan will be forced to have a strong frontier in the north, in the west and to some extent in the east. I hope that Quaid-i-Azam will give due consideration to this note prior to taking any decision in connection with the division of Bengal and the referendum in Assam.

ABDUL RASHID KHAN

'No. 1.

138

M. M. Aslam Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F.162/27-8

44 NORTHBROOK ROAD, JULLUNDUR CANTT.,

17 June 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I had the honour of meeting you in England in 1926.

I have practised at the High Court Bar in Lahore for 12 years and am at present Chairman of a Tribunal of the Legislative Department.

I should very much like to serve the cause of Pakistan by having my services transferred to the Secretariat of the Constituent Assembly irrespective of the pay I am offered. Raja Ghazanfar Ali has known me from my childhood and should be able to vouch for me.

If it is necessary to apply, I could do so immediately through normal channels.

Yours sincerely,
M. M. ASLAM KHAN

139

Iftikhar Husain Khan Mamdot to M. A. Jinnah

F.682/290

MAMDOT VILLA,
DAVIS ROAD, LAHORE,
17 June 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am enclosing a cheque for Rs. 200 with a covering letter from Dr. M. Yacob and hope that you will kindly send him the receipt thereof.

Yours sincerely,
IFTIKHAR HUSAIN KHAN

Enclosure to No. 139

F.682/288

661 EMPRESS ROAD, LAHORE,
17 June 1947

Dear Nawab Sahib,

I have seen this morning an appeal in the papers by the Quaid-i-Azam for contributions towards the "Pakistan Front [sic for Fund]".¹ I, therefore, hasten to enclose herewith a crossed cheque for the sum of Rs. 200 with ■ request that the same may kindly be transmitted to the venerable Quaid-i-Azam² for such use as he may deem fit.

An acknowledgement will be greatly appreciated.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. YACOB
K. B.,

Director of Public Health, Punjab

¹No. 128.

²A copy of the letter was also sent to Jinnah by Dr. Yacob. F. 682/287, QAP.

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*Rajaballi Nanji to M. A. Jinnah**F.682/289*

TAJ MAHAL HOTEL, BOMBAY,
17 June 1947

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

First of all we all Muslims congratulate you heartily on achieving our goal—Pakistan. I have read your appeal with interest for Pakistan Fund¹ in this morning's papers and have pleasure to enclose herewith my cheque for Rs. 500 as my insignificant share in this Fund.

Moreover, I also take this opportunity of offering my humble services to Pakistan State and all Muslims generally in whatever way I can be useful in Europe, as I am now staying in Europe: Italy, Switzerland, France, etc.

This service is being offered honorary in whatever [way] I can be useful and shall be obliged if this service could be used for the betterment of Pakistan.

Always at your service,

Respectfully yours,
RAJABALLI R. R. NANJI
Director on tour in India,
Rajan Nanji & Sons Limited

¹No. 128.

141

*M. M. Qureshi to M. A. Jinnah**F.682/291*

AZIZ MANZIL, KALAN MAHAL, DELHI,
17 June 1947

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Please accept the enclosed cheque for Rs. 50 as my humble contribution towards Pakistan Fund.

I also offer my honorary services with the request that they may please be utilized in any way you deem fit. I have been an army officer

and have just obtained my release. Besides I possess knowledge of Constitutional History, Politics and Law.

Long Live Pakistan!

Long Live Quaid-i-Azam!

Yours obediently,

M. M. QURESHI

B. A. (Hons.), LL. B.

Hon[orary] Capt[ain]

142

Syed Siddiq Hasan to M. A. Jinnah

F.682/286

20 RANJIT SINGH ROAD, NEW DELHI,

17 June 1947

Quaid-i-Azam,

I beg to enclose herewith a cheque for Rs. 150 only, in response to your call for the Pakistan Fund. I realise that it is a very small figure but I make bold to say that the sincerity and earnestness behind this small token offering is not so small.

Believe me, Quaid-i-Azam, myself and my entire family are at your disposal and we all would be glad to lay down our lives for the cause of our beloved motherland, Pakistan, whenever you may so desire of us.

With best wishes and prayers for your long life and health,
Pakistan Zindabad!

Yours devotedly,
SYED SIDDIQ HASAN
O. B. E.

143

Nihchaldas C. Vazirani to M. A. Jinnah

F.1085/29-31

SHEIKHA BUILDING,
MAHATMA GANDHI ROAD, KARACHI,
17 June 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

It is not without some hesitation that I am writing this letter to you.

You know me, but, I fear, not sufficiently well. I am, therefore, not quite sure of the reception this letter might receive at your hands. Besides you must be now busy with more important matters.

I am genuinely anxious to do my bit in the development of my province or even any vaster area. I have a standing offer from certain Indian States for ministership or premiership, but somehow I cannot make up my mind to desert my province. I am anxious for amity between the various communities.

I know that you are genuine in your desire to see that minorities are given their due justice and are not inconvenienced. In spite of that, certain events are happening in Sind which should not happen.

I am taking this opportunity of bringing only two matters to your notice.

You must have seen Bunder Road Extension Area in Karachi. It is a very neatly laid out area and middle class educated Hindus put up there. There is one piece of land adjacent to our houses which is Municipal land and which is reserved for middle class colony. Now that land is being illegally resumed by Government and given away to Bihari Muslims, who have felt obliged, owing to Bihari Hindus' *zulm*, to come to Sind. They have naturally bitter feelings against Hindus and some of them have been preaching for revenge. Therefore, for more than one reason, neither they would feel comfortable in a purely Hindu locality, nor would the Hindus. Could you not kindly intervene? It is not yet too late to do so. There are other pieces of land available in Muslim localities and even some Biharis prefer those areas to this.

The second point is about the University Act.¹ The Ministers were agreeable to certain amendments. Letters were exchanged between them and those who were negotiating on behalf of the Hindus. Negotiations abruptly broke [down] and the Ministers have given out that you did not want any amendments. This difference is leading to tension and Hindu colleges are continuing affiliation to Bombay University, and the Government are contemplating retaliatory measures. I am conscious that ultimately minorities would suffer owing to this tension, but it is going to be a very bad beginning for Pakistan. I feel that prestige must give way to justice. Could you not write to the Premier not to take any irretrievable step in respect of the above two matters till you personally come here by the end of this month.

I might be excused for taking up your valuable time, but I find no other alternative. I would not have taken up your time had I not considered the matters important. This is the moment when you alone can and should act. Why cannot all the people residing in Pakistan

area be put at ease and induced to do their best for the development of the area? Therein lies the good of all.

An early reply is requested. Thanking you in anticipation,

I am,

Yours sincerely,

NIHCHALDAS C. VAZIRANI

MLA,

Advocate

¹See Nos. 11, 19 and 71, Vol. I, Part I, 33-40, 63 and 162-4, respectively.

144

C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F.186/21-2

TRIVANDRUM,

18 June 1947

Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah, New Delhi.

Please accept sincere thanks for the unequivocal and heartening press statement that you have made.¹ I have strongly opposed the Pakistan Movement and the division of India but now that you have by your courageous resoluteness and unbounded faith in your own cause attained your objective in the main and made it a *fait accompli*, there is nothing more to be said on that question. I am expecting co-operation from and with you and the Dominion under your leadership and with the rest of India. Travancore hopes to have representatives in both the Dominions for the purpose of resolving matters of common concern and for improving trade and commercial relations which will be of mutual advantage. You are at full liberty to publish this telegram if you so desire. Best regards.

C. P. RAMASWAMI AIYAR

Dewan, Travancore

¹Annex.

*Annex to No. 144*STATES CAN CHOOSE TO BE INDEPENDENT¹

Option not Limited to Hindustan or Pakistan, Paramountcy will Terminate but cannot be Transferred, Jinnah Clarifies Muslim League Viewpoint

NEW DELHI, June 17: With the termination of Paramountcy, Indian States would be free either to join the Hindustan Constituent Assembly, or the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, or to remain independent, declared Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, in a statement today.

Mr. Jinnah said, "There is a great deal of controversy going on with regard to the Indian States, and I am, therefore, obliged to state the position of the All India Muslim League so that there should be no misunderstanding as to what the Muslim League stands for and what our policy is with regard to the Indian States.

"Constitutionally and legally, the Indian States will be independent sovereign States on the termination of Paramountcy and they will be free to decide for themselves to adopt any course they like: it is open to them to join the Hindustan Constituent Assembly, or the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, or decide to remain independent. In the last case, they enter into such arrangements or relationship with Hindustan or Pakistan as they may choose.

LEAGUE POLICY

"The policy of the All India Muslim League has been clear from the very beginning. We do not wish to interfere with the internal affairs of any State, for that is a matter primarily to be resolved between the rulers and the peoples of the States. Such States as wish to enter the Pakistan Constituent Assembly of their free will and desire to discuss or negotiate with us, shall find us ready and willing to do so. If they wish to remain independent and wish to negotiate or adjust any political or any other relationship, such as commercial or economic relations with Pakistan, we shall be glad to discuss with them and come to a settlement which will be in the interest of both.

NO LIMITATION

"I am clearly of the opinion that the Cabinet Mission's Memorandum of May 12,² defining the policy of His Majesty's Government towards the Indian States, does not in any way limit them, as it is often wrongly repeated, that they have no option except to *join one or the other Constituent Assembly*. In my opinion,³ they are free to remain independent if they so desire. Neither the British Government, nor the British Parliament, nor

any other power or body, can compel them to do anything contrary to their free will and accord; nor have they any power or sanction of any kind to do so.

"The British Government have made it clear that Paramountcy will not be transferred to any Government or Governments or authority that may be set up in British India, and that itself shows that Paramountcy cannot be transferred, but is going to terminate. On its termination the full sovereign status of the Indian States emerges."⁴—API.

¹*Pakistan Times*, 18 June 1947.

²Appendix X, Vol. I, Part II, 479-81.

³Italicised in the original.

⁴In contrast to ML the AICC held the view that notwithstanding the lapse of Paramountcy "Sovereignty" would continue to "reside in the people." The Congress could not "admit the right of any State in India to declare its independence and to live in isolation from the rest of India." See *TP*, XI, No. 206, 400.

145

I. I. Chundrigar to M. A. Jinnah

F.251/41

5 QUEEN VICTORIA ROAD, NEW DELHI,

18 June 1947

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Some time ago you requested the members of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League to suggest names of persons likely to prove useful in the Pakistan Constituent Assembly Secretariat. When this question was considered some months ago, I had suggested to you the name of Mr. Nomanbhoy Miabhoy, now District and Sessions Judge, Broach and Panch Mahals in the Bombay Province.¹

Mr. Miabhoy had a first class college career and had an excellent practice at the Bar. He is a first-rate constitutional lawyer and I think he will be an asset to our Secretariat if his services are spared by Bombay Government. May I suggest that his services may be requisitioned for the Secretariat of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly.

Yours sincerely,
I. I. CHUNDRIGAR

¹Also see No. 235.

146

Representatives of French-Indian Muslims to M. A. Jinnah

F.832/40-2

KARIKAL, FRENCH INDIA,

18 June 1947

STATUS OF FRENCH INDIA MUSLIMS

Sir,

We, the undersigned, the representatives of various Muslim institutions of Karikal, French India, have the honour to submit the following few lines for your kind attention and guidance:

Muslims in French India have no political status. They are voiceless. They have no connection with either British India Muslim League or with any organisation of Muslims within the French Empire. Scattered over five settlements and speaking four different languages, i.e. Tamil, Bengali, Malayalam and Telugu, they are not organised properly, even though they form numerically an important section of population in two settlements, Karikal and Chandernagore, where they constitute one-third of the population. Here are the figures of Muslims in French India:

Settlements	Muslims	Total Population
Karikal	18,000	60,000
Chandernagore	8,000	23,000
Mahe	4,000	14,000
Yanam	150	700
Pondicherry	3,000	1,90,000

From the above, it is to be seen that they form an important section of population in the first three settlements, and yet they have no proper share in the administrative services as well as in elected councils. There are hardly half a dozen Muslim officers at Pondicherry and Karikal. As for the elected councils, here are the figures:

Settlements	Number of seats in the French India Representative Assembly	Number of elected Muslim Representatives
Karikal	12	2
Chandernagore	5	nil
Mahe	3	nil
Yanam	2	nil
Pondicherry	22	1

This is due to the fact that there is no separate electorate nor any allotment of proper number of seats to each community, and the Muslims in particular. Only those who follow suit with Hindu majority, like Congress Muslims in British India, are elected here. Moreover, *goondaism* in French India during electoral periods is a world-known secret. Minorities are being afraid [*sic*] and intimidated during elections, with some degree of semi-official support. Court proceedings in connection with local elections and denunciations in the French Parliament of official interference in Algeria made by Arab deputies will prove an eye-opener to any British Indian leader who is not connected with the French-Indian problems.

Since the last Assembly Elections that took place on 15th December 1946, we are claiming to [*sic*] the French Minister for Colonies separate electorate to [*sic*] French-Indian Muslims. We have given [*sic* for sent] him many telegrams as well as to the French Premier Ramadier, the Parliament President, Mr. Herriot, etc., but all in vain. The Constitution of French India is at present being prepared and will shortly be submitted to the French Parliament, according to some semi-official circles here. It is in these circumstances that we learnt of your contact with Mr. Roux, the French Ambassador at New Delhi, who is said to [have] taken up the matter of future status of French India.

So, we come to appeal to you to move with the latter to see that French-Indian Muslims are granted separate electorate and a just and fair number of seats in French India Representative Assembly as well as in other elected local bodies, like the municipalities. We will be also much obliged to you to [*sic*] instruct the Madras Provincial, the Malabar District, and the Bengal Provincial Muslim Leagues to take up our problem and help us.

Confidently hoping [for] your earliest intervention and guidance,

We beg to remain,

Sir,

Your true followers of Islam,

K. E. M. MD. IBRAHIM MARECAR

President, Karikal Muslims Election Action Committee

S. MOHAMED DAWOOD

President, Liaquat Conference Society

A. M. SALIH MARECAR

President, Karikal Muslim League

S. HAMEED

Secretary, Young Muslim Association, Karikal

147

M. A. Jinnah to Imperial Bank of India, New Delhi

F.682/294

18 June 1947

Dear Sir,

I am enclosing herewith one demand draft and three cheques, totalling in all Rs. 34,803-8-0 (Rupees thirty-four thousand, eight hundred and three and annas eight only) with pay-in slip, which amount, on realization, please credit to my current account No. 2 with your Bank and oblige.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

The Agent,
Imperial Bank of India,
Apollo Street,
New Delhi

148

M. A. Jinnah to Mohamedali Habib

F.682/295

18 June 1947

My dear Mohamedali,

This is just to ask you whether you will consider establishing your branch in Bhopal. There is sufficient scope there and His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal and his Government will give you every facility in this respect. I do hope that you will be able to set up a branch on [sic for of] the Habib Bank in Bhopal.

There is also a great demand and scope in Assam. Many Muslims from Assam have brought this to my notice, and there is a great scope of business there too.

I have, as you must have read in papers, made my appeal for funds¹ to which, I hope, Muslims will generously respond. This time again I have made arrangements that all donations and subscriptions should be sent to Habib Bank, Delhi, and I hope you will send one or two

competent men so that it may be better managed than it was done last time.²

Hoping you are well, and with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

¹No. 128.

²This refers to the Bihar Relief Fund about which a number of complaints, such as non-receipt of acknowledgements from the Bank, were lodged by donors. Also see Enclosure I to No. 345, Vol. I, Part I, 600.

149

*Mohammad Ullah to Habib Bank Ltd., Delhi
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)*

F.682/293

TRAFFIC BRANCH, ORDNANCE DEPOT,
SHAHJAHANPUR,
18 June 1947

Dear Sir,

A crossed cheque No. 4/009093 on Allahabad Bank Ltd., Shahjahanpur, for Rupees one hundred only (Rs. 100) is forwarded herewith towards "Pakistan Fund" as appealed by our Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, *vide Statesman* dated 18th June 1947. May our Quaid-i-Azam live long and his wishes be ever successful in the world.

I shall be thankful if you would kindly acknowledge the receipt of the above as early as possible.

Pakistan Zindabad!

Yours faithfully,
MOHD. ULLAH
Head Clerk

The Manager,
Habib Bank Ltd.,
Chandni Chowk,
Delhi

150

Nizam of Hyderabad to M. A. Jinnah

F.696/123

CONFIDENTIAL

HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
18 June 1947

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am enclosing herewith a copy of Ali Yavar Jung's letter addressed to Kazim Yar Jung regarding his recent visit to Delhi in connection with the State business, which speaks for itself. Also, Sir Walter Monckton gave me the gist of his talk with you in Delhi¹ about State matters, where he had gone with other officers of mine. Still I should be grateful if you express your own views regarding the contents of the letter referred to above so that I may chalk out my programme accordingly, and trust you will reply in due course as time is pressing and fresh developments are coming up in quick succession.

2. I may add that Sir Mirza Ismail has retired from service and the Nawab of Chhatari has assumed the post of the President of the Council at least for a year to begin with. Since he has already rendered faithful service for a period of 5 years during the last war, he is not anxious to be in service for a longer period in view of his declining health and years.

3. Since you were busy with your important matters, I had deferred our meeting till some time in June, or failing that in July for personally I considered that it was not advisable for you to come here at a time when our enemies (I mean the Hindus) were bent on making all kinds of mischief for this or that in order to gain their own ends; still we are ready to cope with any situation that may arise.

However, we must meet now without further delay as times are critical.

Yours sincerely,
MIR OSMAN ALI KHAN

¹Also see No. 474, Vol. I, Part I, 863.

Enclosure to No. 150
Ali Yavar Jung to Kazim Yar Jung

F.696/124

7 June 1947

My dear Kazim Yar Jung Bahadur,

With reference to your question which you put to me verbally today, the position as I understand it is as follows:

The Congress would like us to join the Hindustan Constituent Assembly and of course also the Union. But they would not mind our not joining the Assembly while joining ultimately the Union in one of the three ways, namely, organically or as a federated State or by an agency agreement for the three Union subjects. Mr. Jinnah was quite clear, on the other hand, that we should declare forthwith that we would not join either of the Constituent Assemblies and that we would stand out for independence.

2. As against the above, the Viceroy, while he would like us to join the Hindustan Constituent Assembly, appears to understand, perhaps even to appreciate, that we are likely immediately to announce our intention to stand out of the Constituent Assembly. As regards declaring independence, he was apprehensive of the dangers of isolation when the British go, and of the pressure, economic and political, from within and outside the State. He was for our not taking any definite stand on that issue except by way of opening negotiations with the Interim Government on matters of common concern. On the issue of Dominion status, the present official attitude of H.M.G. was against the Balkanisation of India or the recognition of more than two Dominions. However, if a State insisted on separate political or commercial relations, the question would have to be put to H.M.G.

Yours sincerely,
ALI YAVAR JUNG

Nawab Kazim Yar Jung Bahadur,
Sadrul Moham, Peshi Mubarak,
King Kothi Mubarak, Hyderabad

151

G. A. Parwez to M. A. Jinnah

F.886/235-6

37 TURKMAN ROAD, NEW DELHI,
18 June 1947

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

I am much obliged to you for your letter of the 14th instant,¹ in which I have been asked to send you the names of those who will be the true servants of our future Pakistan Secretariat. The list is being

prepared and will be submitted to you in a couple of days' time. In the meantime, there are one or two other important points to which I beg liberty to invite your attention.

It is observed that the work is being done by us these days only haphazardly. There is enthusiasm no doubt, but no co-ordination or systematic working according to some plan. The work regarding the formation of our future Secretariat is stupendous and should not be left either to the present Government or in the hands of those working haphazardly. The time at our disposal is short. I think we should set up a "Secretariat Organisation Committee" of our own. The Committee should select members from the various Departments to co-opt. These members should submit detailed reports as to how corresponding Departments should be formed in the Pakistan Secretariat. These reports should then be considered by the top Committee. The reports should deal with (i) the subjects at present dealt with in the various Sections of the various Departments, (ii) the Sections considered necessary in the future Secretariat, (iii) the staff required for these Sections, (iv) the selection of the staff, (v) other requirements of the office and how to procure them, (vi) accommodation required, and so forth. This Committee, with the co-opted members, should be responsible for the formation of the Secretariat of Pakistan within the time at our disposal. Kindly excuse me if I lay stress on the point that unless members of the staff in the various Departments are co-opted, it will hardly be possible to get the machinery running. These members can be selected from the lists which I have promised to submit shortly.

The second point is that the Hindus in the Secretariat have started a sinister propaganda to the effect that the staff in the Pakistan Secretariat will not be given even one-half of their present emoluments; their scales of pay will be reduced; other amenities of service curtailed, and so forth. There are, no doubt, people who are prepared, nay anxious, to go over to the Pakistan Secretariat regardless of any consideration, but we must give allowance to human nature due to which some people have begun hesitating for [sic for over] announcing a decision. I don't propose to say that we should necessarily give our men the existing emoluments or scales, but I think it is necessary that we should decide our policy and make it public as soon as possible. This would put to a stop the propaganda referred to above. The formation of the Committee mentioned above and its systematic working would also help much in the matter.

I think if we form a Committee of the kind mentioned above, with co-opted members from the various Departments, it would be necessary to ask the Government of India to spare the services of these

members for employment exclusively on the work in question. At present, they have to attend to their normal office duties and at the same time do whatever possible in connection with the future Secretariat. It will be possible to complete our gigantic work only if the workers are employed exclusively on this work.

The above suggestions are only for your consideration and have been put forward for whatever they are worth.

Yours obediently,
G. A. PARWEZ.

¹Not available in QAP.

152

Athar Shafi Alavi to M. A. Jinnah

F.682/299

102 KAZITOLA (OLD CITY),
BAREILLY, U.P.,
19 June 1947

Most respected and dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I read your appeal for Pakistan Fund¹ in yesterday's papers. I am a student and I regret I am not in a position to send a substantial amount worthy of the occasion and the appeal, yet I venture to send a very petty amount I have saved out of my monthly "pocket money" received from my parents and pray you, respected Sir, to very kindly accept this humble offer. An Imperial Bank of India cheque No. 98454 for Rs. 30, duly endorsed in your favour, is enclosed herewith.

I offer my apology for addressing this letter to you by name which I could not help doing in the hope of getting an autograph of the most dearly loved leader and *Saviour of Muslim India*.²

May Quaid-i-Azam live long—*Aameen*.

With respects,

Yours most obediently,
ATHAR SHAFI ALAVI

¹No. 128.

²In capital letters in the original.

153

*M. Masud Ali to M. A. Jinnah**F.682/300*

SAEEDABAD, PHISALBANDA ROAD,
BEHIND MAKSOOD AHMAD KHAN'S HOUSE,
HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
19 June 1947

Respected Sir,

I am sending herewith a crossed cheque in your name as a donation
in response to your appeal for money.

Kindly acknowledge the receipt and oblige.

Yours obediently,
M. MASUD ALI
*Magistrate,
Daverkonda*

154

*Moeen Uddin Arif to M. A. Jinnah**F.682/303*

U. P. UNION BANK LTD.,
SADAR BRANCH, MEERUT,
19 June 1947

Dear Sir,

We would be obliged if you will please authorise us to collect
money for Pakistan Fund¹ here in Meerut.

As there is no any [*sic*] branch of Habib Bank Ltd., here in Meerut, nor
there is any other Muslim Bank, therefore, we wish to distribute handbills
requesting all the Muslims of Meerut to send their donations to us.

We hope that you will kindly permit us to do so and inform the
Secretary, City Muslim League, Meerut to help us in our efforts.

With our best regards,

Yours faithfully,
for THE U. P. UNION BANK LTD.,
MOEEN UDDIN ARIF
Publicity Officer

155

*Nawab of Bhopal to M. A. Jinnah**F.692/16*

QASR-I-SULTANI, BHOPAL,

19 June 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Sir C. P. [Ramaswami Aiyar] is worried about his food supply. He is seeking Pakistan assistance. In my view he deserves fullest co-operation from us. Your orders to Pakistan Provinces are immediately solicited. In view of coming events this help is most desirable.

Travancore gets almost all its rice from Burma, Sind, Baluchistan and the Punjab. He is anxious that Travancore be given priority No.1 by Pakistan so that his supply may be assured. I felt that you would kindly give him this assistance, and have replied [*sic*] accordingly. I enclose for your information copy of his telegram to me and my reply to the same and shall await instructions. On receipt of your reply indicating what arrangements are likely to be made, I shall give him final reply.

I have put this case very briefly in a docket form to save you unnecessary trouble.

Yours sincerely,
HAMIDULLAH

Enclosure 1 to No. 155

Telegram, F.692/18

TRAVANCORE,

17 June 1947

His Highness Bhopal,

Will Your Highness please contact our friends and see that no final agreement is made as to supply and exchange of rice and rice products between Pakistan and Hindustan before States vitally interested are consulted. Travancore has wholly relied on Sind, Baluchistan and Punjab apart from Burma for her rice supplies and unless these supplies are guaranteed we shall be entirely at the mercy of Hindustan which is a deficit area. I shall be grateful for an acknowledgement of receipt of this telegram. Best regards.

C. P. RAMASWAMI

Enclosure 2 to No. 155

Telegram, F.692/17

EXPRESS

19 June 1947

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar Travancore.

Your telegram about rice immediate action being taken. Will inform you of result.

HAMIDULLAH

156

H. B. Gundappa Gowda to M. A. Jinnah

F.1084/4

PUBLIC OFFICES, BANGALORE,
19 June 1947

Dear Sir,

I have great pleasure in forwarding for your information copy of a Special Resolution adopted at a meeting of the Mysore Legislative Council held on 19th June 1947.

This Council do place on record its felicitations to His Excellency the Viceroy, Lord Louis Mountbatten, on having secured the co-operation and willingness of the two major political parties in India, viz. the All India Muslim League and the Indian National Congress, led by Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, in coming to a workable compromise in regard to the political aspirations of the peoples of India and thus promote peace, happiness, prosperity and cordial relations among the peoples of India living in the territories of Pakistan and Hindustan including the Indian States.

Yours sincerely,

H. B. GUNDAPPA GOWDA

B. A., B. L.,

President, Mysore Legislative Council

157

*Habib Bank Ltd., Delhi, to M. A. Jinnah**F.682/301*

CHANDNI CHOWK, DELHI,
19 June 1947

Dear Sir,

Re: Pakistan Fund

We send herewith an account opening form, specimen signature cards, pay-in slip and cheque book containing 50 cheques bearing Nos. 503251 to 503300.

We shall feel obliged if the specimen signature cards and account opening forms are returned to us duly filled.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. SIDDIQUI
Agent

158

*Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah to M. A. Jinnah**F.613/5*

SIND SECRETARIAT, KARACHI,
19 June 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

In continuation of my previous letter to you, I write to say that you will be able to get your house here by the 1st July.¹

We are providing for the General [Auchinleck] in some other place.

I am writing to Liaquat Ali also that we have started the work of constructing a new building for the Pakistan establishment.²

Yesterday, Mr. Thouless and one other gentleman saw me in connection with the telephones that would be required. But, instead of his giving me any information in this connection, he asked me what our requirements would be in the matter of telephones.

I have accordingly sent one of our officers, Mr. Aga Shahi, I.C.S., to you and Liaquat Ali and to Muslim gentlemen of several departments

to find out how many Muslim officials will be coming, and what will be all the requirements.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
GHULAM HUSSAIN
Premier, Sind

¹No. 134.

²For correspondence regarding accommodation for the Pakistan offices etc., see Annexes I-VII.

Annex I to No. 158

H. L. Ismay to Claude Auchinleck

IOR, Mountbatten Papers, MSS Eur, F.200/100

PRIVATE

17 June 1947

My dear Claude,

The Viceroy has just passed on to me a rather curious request that he has had from Mr. Jinnah, and I should be most grateful for your advice.

Mr. Jinnah has told the Viceroy that he wants to get Karachi going as capital of Pakistan as quickly as possible, but that there is at present insufficient living and office accommodation for the headquarters of a Government.¹ He has therefore asked whether some Sapper units of the Indian Army might be loaned to him to put up temporary hutments.

I have told the Viceroy that I foresee a good many difficulties in this, but he feels, nevertheless, that he must make an effort to meet Mr. Jinnah's wishes, so that if the request has to be refused, he can at least give him the reason.

I would be so grateful for your advice as to whether I should write to you ■ d.o. letter (as opposed to this private one), or whether I should write to the Defence Member on behalf of the Viceroy.

Yours ever,
PUG²

His Excellency Field Marshal Sir Claude Auchinleck,
G.C.B., G.C.I.E., C.S.I., D.S.O., O.B.E.

¹Annex III.

²Nickname of Ismay.

*Annex II to No. 158*JINNAHABAD¹

KARACHI, June 11: "Karachi will certainly be the capital of Pakistan and if this happens to be the case its name would immediately be changed to Jinnahabad, providing a fitting memorial to Mr. Jinnah, who has successfully led the entire Muslim nation towards independence," said a prominent Muslim League leader in an interview.

He further said that the All India Muslim League were already considering the question of selecting Karachi as the venue for the session of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly.

Karachi, he said, enjoyed the importance which no other city in Pakistan is capable of having, being the nearest Indian seaport to Europe and also the best airport east of Suez. "The aerial gateway of India would be the gateway of Pakistan," he asserted.

On the question of the change of the name from Karachi to Jinnahabad, he said that Karachi was the birthplace of Mr. Jinnah and if it were decided to make it the capital of Pakistan, the change would be more than justified.—Globe.

¹*Pakistan Times*, 13 June 1947.

*Annex III to No. 158*KARACHI LIKELY CAPITAL OF PAKISTAN¹

Jinnah's Discussions with Sind Delegation

NEW DELHI, June 12: Mr. Jinnah, it is understood, will be visiting Karachi shortly, where it is proposed to set up the headquarters of the Pakistan Dominion Government until a new capital is decided upon.

It is believed that this question was discussed by Mr. Jinnah with the Sind Ministerial deputation this morning, and a suggestion was made that the Provincial Government might be moved temporarily to Hyderabad, capital of Sind during the pre-British days.

The question will further be discussed when Mr. Jinnah visits Karachi.

Mr. Jinnah had an interview with the Viceroy this evening.—API.

¹*Pakistan Times*, 13 June 1947.

*Annex IV to No. 158**Liaquat Ali Khan to Louis Mountbatten**IOR, Mountbatten Papers, MSS Eur, F.200/100¹*

IMMEDIATE

NEW DELHI,

17 June 1947

Dear Lord Mountbatten,

As I informed you yesterday, the Muslim League has decided to locate the headquarters of the Pakistan Government temporarily at Karachi. Accommodation, office and residential, will therefore be required at Karachi by 15 August 1947 for the Ministers, officers and staff of the Government and the Members of the Constituent Assembly. In view of the urgency of the requirement, and as a considerable amount of re-adjustment in regard to the accommodation occupied by Military units and formations in Karachi will be involved, it would, I think, be best if the Military authorities, who have considerable experience in these matters, could be requested to undertake the provision of the accommodation, together with the necessary furniture, telephones, etc., required by the Pakistan Government. The transportation of personnel and stores to Karachi will also present a major problem which could best be handled by the Military authorities. I should be grateful if the Commander-in-Chief could be asked to issue necessary instructions to the appropriate Military authorities regarding the provision of accommodation and transportation facilities. It would be desirable to appoint a senior Military officer to be in charge of the whole operation.

2. It is not unlikely that, in addition to whatever accommodation can be found by re-adjustments, requisitioning, etc., fresh construction will also have to be undertaken. This will normally be undertaken by the C.P.W.D.² The C.P.W.D. will therefore have to be closely associated with the Military authorities from the very start and it will be necessary for the Works, Mines and Power Department to issue instructions detailing the necessary staff to Karachi for this purpose.

3. The Sind Government will be glad to assist the C.P.W.D. and the Military authorities in whatever way they can do so.

4. We shall furnish the necessary information regarding our requirements of office and residential accommodation at Karachi to the officers who are entrusted with the work.

5. The expenditure incurred on the provision of accommodation for the Pakistan Government at Karachi will have to be duly authorised by the issue of formal orders by the Defence and Works, Mines and

Power Departments, respectively. The expenditure can be adjusted in due course in accordance with the principles that may be agreed to in this behalf.

Yours sincerely,
LIAQUAT ALI KHAN

Note. Original and draft acknowledgement from H. E. taken to Kashmir by PSV.³

¹Also see *TP*, XI, No. 231, 449-50.

²Central Public Works Department.

³Private Secretary to the Viceroy.

Annex V to No. 158
Claude Auchinleck to H. L. Ismay

IOR, Mounbatten Papers, MSS Eur, F.200/100

PRIVATE
D. O. No. 80/P-1/47

COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF'S HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
19 June 1947

My dear Ismay,

Your private letter of 17¹ [June] regarding the provision of Sapper and Miner units of the I.A.² to help in the erection of accommodation at Karachi for the Pakistan Government H.Q.

There are of course field companies composed of Punjabi Muslims, most or all of whom may come from the areas to be included in Pakistan, but these units, like all others, must now be put into the reconstitution machine and ground out as new units—Indian or Pakistani. One of the three existing Corps of S & M³ will probably be apportioned to Pakistan on territorial grounds and when this is done, it will be at the Pakistan Government's disposal for construction or any other kind of work. But the sorting out of this Corps (Bengal S & M) will take time as it now contains Sikhs and U.P. Hindus as well as P. M.'s⁴ Moreover its centre will have to be moved from Roorkee.

I should, therefore, find it most difficult to comply with this request at present, unless I use units which may well be "Indian" and not "Pakistani"! There is also the question of the incidence of cost! If Mr. Jinnah presses his request, I am sure the proper course will be to refer him on the questions of principle and cost to the Defence Member⁵ of the Partition Committee. I am not prepared to supply troops for this purpose

on my own purely military responsibility as I am still answerable in all such matters to the Defence Member and I am bound also to consult the Finance Department through my Financial Adviser. If agreement can be reached on the higher political levels, I will do my best to help.

I would point out that this request is likely to breed similar requests from new Provincial Governments.

Yours,
C. AUCHINLECK

Lord Ismay, C. H., G.C.B., D.S.O.,
Viceroy's House

¹Annex I.

²Indian Army.

³Sappers and Miners.

⁴Punjabi Muslims.

⁵Sardar Baldev Singh.

Annex VI to No.158
H. L. Ismay to Claude Auchinleck

IOR, Mountbatten Papers, MSS Eur, F.200/100

20 June 1947

My dear Field Marshal,

Very many thanks for your D. O. No. 80/P-1/47 of 19th June, 1947.¹ I am sorry to say that I had got hold of entirely the wrong end of the stick in asking you to provide engineer units to help at Karachi.

I have now received the attached copy of Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan's letter to the Viceroy,² and I have also had a talk with Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan himself.

It is now clear that what he wants is a senior military officer with "Q"³ experience and an appropriate staff to help the Pakistan Government in Karachi with their plans for accommodation and for their movement to that place from Delhi.

The Viceroy has asked me to say that he would be most grateful if you would do all in your power to help, since it is essential in the public interest that the Pakistan Government should be in a position to function efficiently from 15th August onwards.

I have had a talk with Mohamad Ali,⁴ who is in Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan's mind on this matter. He suggests that, as a first step, you should authorise him (Mohamad Ali) to consult Q.M.G. and explain to him exactly what is required. General Wood could then explain to you

the implications, financial and otherwise, of the problem and would give you sufficient material to talk it over with the Defence Member. So far as finance is concerned, Mohamad Ali thinks that there should be no difficulty in keeping separate accounts for all this business, with a view to their subsequent discharge by the Pakistan Government.

Yours ever,
ISMAY

His Excellency Field Marshal Sir Claude Auchinleck,
G.C.I.E., G.C.B., K.C.S.I., D.S.O., O.B.E.,
Commander-in-Chief, India

¹Annex V.

²Annex IV.

³Refers to Quartermaster's functions in the army, i.e. staff duties relating to transport, accommodation, fuel, clothing, etc.

⁴Financial Adviser, Military Finance.

*Annex VII to No. 158
Governor of Sind to Viceroy*

Telegram, IOR, MSS Eur, F.200/100¹

CONFIDENTIAL

23 June 1947

103-C

A committee appointed here to go into the question of house and office accommodation for the capital of Pakistan has come to the conclusion that only solution is evacuation of Malir Cantonment at present occupied by airborne division most of which is at present on riot duty in other parts of India.

Accommodation at Malir is almost exactly that required for Pakistan Government and furniture is also available. There is also an ample supply of water.

From talks with Gracey, it appears that he is of the same opinion, after discussion with military and air force officers here, but I do not know what the view of G.H.Q. would be about finding alternative accommodation for troops now stationed at or based on Malir.

My Government are asking that Malir should be evacuated for use as Pakistan capital. I hope that should the matter come to you, you will support their recommendation.

¹Telegram Grade C, No. 1813-5; received on 24 June 1947 (Time of Origin: 1310; Time of Receipt: 0900).

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B. D. Hutchinson to M. A. Jinnah

F.1108/58-9

1 COUNCIL HOUSE STREET, CALCUTTA,
19 June 1947

My dear Sir,

Pardon me for taking the liberty of writing to you and permit my humble self to congratulate you on your success of Pakistan [sic], which movement in years gone by practically looked absurd, and [sic] with your intelligence and steering you have won which many would have given up as *hopeless*.¹ I am writing to you in my private capacity as an Anglo-Indian—one of the minority communities. My family and I have mixed with the elite Muslim community from Hon'ble Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy downwards. We are also known to ex-Minister Mr. Sa'adulla of Shillong and his brother, Professor Mohibulla of Cotton College, Gauhati, and hundreds of the upper ten of your community. My wife also volunteered to render service for standing in the voting booths of Hon'ble Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy and others. Our association with your community has been for a quarter [of a] century. My wife's cousin, who used to figure as Lalita Devi in the films, married Sultan Sikandar, who is now a race-horse owner and trainer and is stationed at Lahore.

I have had a glorious career in the Telegraph Department and have served [for] over 32 years all over India but was very unfortunate in the selection for higher grade, viz. Telegraph Traffic Service Class I, in spite of the wealth of recommendations from all my superior officers. It was just *kismet*.

My idea of writing to you is two-fold: (1) to proffer my heartiest congratulations on your success and (2) to ask you for your valued opinion if I should elect [sic] for Pakistan, will I be benefited in my official career?

I should like to stay at Calcutta as I have one married daughter and another daughter attending school here.

I quite realise how busy you are at this period but just one line of advice from you will be greatly appreciated.

Yours devotedly,
B.D. HUTCHINSON
Lt.

Senior Personal Assistant Traffic to
Postmaster-General, Bengal

¹In capital letters in the original.

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*A. E. Jeewa to M. A. Jinnah**F.682/296*91 VICTORIA STREET, DURBAN,
19 June 1947Dear Brother-in-Islam,
Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I have great pleasure in enclosing Draft No. A 275014 for the sum of Rs. 264-5-11 in your favour for the purpose of distributing the same among the victims of Bihar [riots]; kindly acknowledge.

At the same time we the local Muslims take this opportunity of extending our hearty congratulations on the achievement of your goal and the reaping of the fruit of your influenting [*sic*] and gallant struggle for Pakistan and for the cause of the Muslims in general.

We earnestly pray [that] may the Almighty *Allah* grant you long life and good health to [*sic* for so] that the Muslims may see the fruits of your esteemed ideals.

*Wassalaam*Yours sincerely,
A. E. JEEWA
for G. H. A. Bayat

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*M. A. Jinnah to C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar**Telegram, F.186/19*NEW DELHI,
19 June 1947

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Dewan, Trivandrum.

Many thanks your telegram¹ good wishes Pakistan. We shall [be] glad have your representative and will be ready [to] establish relationship with Travancore which will [be] of mutual advantage. Travancore has my best wishes for its prosperity and welfare.

JINNAH

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M. A. Jinnah to Habib Bank Ltd., Delhi

F.682/298

19 June 1947

Dear Sir,

I am enclosing herewith two cheques both totalling Rs. 10,090 (Rupees ten thousand and ninety only) which amount, on realization, please credit to the Bihar Relief Fund account opened with you.

The details of the cheques are as given below:

1. No. BA/4 15633 Imperial Bank of India, New Delhi Rs. 90
2. No. 022701 Allahabad Bank Ltd., Meerut Branch Rs.10,000

Kindly issue the receipt for the first cheque to Mr. K. Altaf Ali c/o the Y.M.C.A., New Delhi.

Please acknowledge receipt of this letter and oblige,

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

The Agent,
Habib Bank Ltd.,
Chandni Chowk,
Delhi

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Abdul Ghaffar Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F.662/2-3

BHANGI COLONY, NEW DELHI,
19 June 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

In today's issue of *Dawn* you are reported to have said after our interview: "Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan is going back to N.W.F.P. to attend a meeting on June 21st, when he will place everything before his colleagues. After consultation with his colleagues, he will come back and have further talks with me".¹

If this is a correct report, then there must have been some misunderstanding. What I said was that I would communicate to you our decision. I have no intention of coming back here for further talks.

May I add that I have been pained to read the *Dawn* report. There are some statements in it which are completely untrue, such as that the Congress has refused financial help to me and my "henchmen". No question of asking for or getting financial help has arisen and there has been no reference to it whatsoever.

I paid a visit to you so that, if possible, we might find a way out, peaceful and honourable to all concerned. Unfortunately, we could not agree. But in any event the tone and manner, as well as the contents, of the *Dawn* report are not such as to lead to a friendly approach or a settlement.

Yours sincerely,
ABDUL GHAFFAR

¹Annex.

Annex to No. 163

GHAFAR KHAN MEETS QUAID-I-AZAM¹

Free And Frank Discussion Lasts for 100 Minutes
Congress May Surrender on Referendum Issue
Frontier Ministry Likely to Resign

NEW DELHI, Wednesday [18 June 1947]: Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan had a 100-minute interview with Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah today at his residence, No. 10 Aurangzeb Road, New Delhi.

It is believed this meeting was arranged after this afternoon's conference between Mr. Gandhi, Mr. Jinnah, the Frontier Leader and the Viceroy's two Advisers, Lord Ismay and Sir Eric Mievile.

After the interview in a brief statement, Quaid-i-Azam said: "We had a free and frank talk. Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan is going back to N.W.F.P. to attend a meeting on June 21 where he will place everything before his colleagues. After consultation with his colleagues, he will come back and have further talks with me."

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan arrived at Mr. Jinnah's residence at 7.28 p.m., two minutes before time, accompanied by Mian Jaffar and another colleague. The Central Parliamentary Board meeting was still in session. At 7.30 p.m. Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah terminated the meeting and came out to receive the Frontier Congress Leader.

The meeting between Quaid-i-Azam and Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan lasted for 100 minutes and continued till 9.10 p.m., while Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar talked with his colleagues in a small sitting room outside. Immediately after the meeting was over Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar had a talk with Quaid-i-Azam.

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan declined to say anything about the talk to the pressmen waiting outside, and pointing towards Quaid-i-Azam said, "Mr. Jinnah will tell you everything".

Earlier Quaid-i-Azam, Mr. Gandhi and Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan had a meeting at the Viceroy's House at 4.30 p.m. Lord Ismay and Sir Eric Mievile were present. Viscount Mountbatten at whose instance the meeting was arranged was not present as he had left for Kashmir this morning.

Political circles feel that the Congress having given up all hope of winning over the Pathans to vote for joining the Hindustan Constituent Assembly, there might be no referendum at all in the Province. The Congress and the Red Shirts might surrender to the Muslim League. It is learnt from very reliable sources that the Congress has refused all financial help to Khan Ghaffar Khan and his henchmen.

The League circles now rule out the possibilities of any independent State in N.W.F.P. Besides this, HMG's new plan does not provide for any such thing. The Congress case has of itself gone overboard.

The League, it is learnt, would like an unconditional surrender by the Congress, or an open fight through referendum. Some quarters are of the opinion that another crafty move is afoot. The Congress wants to take the Muslim League quite unawares at the referendum, thus beguiling them through such discussions.

A Globe message says: As the result of the joint conference of Mr. Jinnah and Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan at the Viceroy's House, it is understood the Frontier Congress Ministry may tender its resignation with a view to avoiding complication in the smooth transfer of power to the Pakistan division [*sic*].—*Dawn* Special Correspondent.

¹*Dawn*, 20 June 1947.

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*Louis Mountbatten to M. A. Jinnah*¹

F.2/97-8

VICEROY'S CAMP, SRINAGAR, INDIA,

19 June 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

With reference to our discussion, at the meeting on Friday 13th June,² on the composition of the Boundary Commissions, you may be

interested to know that I have now received a reply from the Secretary of State for India to a telegram which I sent him asking for preliminary consideration to be given to the suggestion that U.N.O. should provide the members of these Commissions.

2. The Secretary of State has now confirmed the view, expressed at our meeting on the 13th, that the time factor would render this suggestion impracticable. He points out that U.N.O. could only constitute the Commissions at the annual meeting of the [General] Assembly, or at a special meeting called specifically for the purpose. It would be unconstitutional for the Secretary General to appoint Boundary Commissions on his own initiative.

3. The Secretary of State has, however, suggested the possibility of the President of the International Court of Justice being invited to select members of the Commissions.

4. You will recall that on the 13th we decided that the chairman of each Commission should be selected by the nominated members; and, if they could not agree on a choice, that [sic] the choice of chairmen should be made at a meeting of the Indian leaders.

5. I hope that agreement will be reached in [sic] one or [the] other of these processes. But, in case by any chance there is, eventually, no agreement on the choice of chairmen, perhaps we should fall back on the Secretary of State's suggestion and ask the President of the International Court of Justice to select chairmen.

6. The following are the names suggested by Pandit Nehru for the Boundary Commissions:

For the Punjab Commission:

Mr. Justice Mehar Chand Mahajan .

Mr. Justice Teja Singh

For the Bengal Commission:

Mr. Justice C. C. Biswas

Mr. Justice Bijan Kumar Mukherji

7. I should be grateful to have your suggestions³ when you have had time to consider the matter.

Yours sincerely,
MOUNTBATTEN OF BURMA

¹Also see TP, XI, No. 262, 506-7.

²Enclosure to No. 100.

³See No. 224.

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*Noorud Deen to M. A. Jinnah**F.1108/60-2*

C/O THE BRITISH TABULATING MACHINE CO. LTD.,
P. O. BOX 76, NEW DELHI,
19 June 1947

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

In view of the fact that the Pakistan Government is definitely going to be established very soon, there is a great work ahead to be done to bring our State, rather our National Home, in line with other advanced countries.

I, being a member of the Technical Service Staff of the British Tabulating Machine Co. Ltd., find that in this modern age of mechanization the "Hollerith Punched Card System" for accounting and statistical purposes is the best possible system for carrying out this routine economically, efficiently and speedily and also with a view to releasing manpower for industrial and other heavy duties. In addition to this, the system has been used with great advantage in the Army Departments and has consequently been adopted permanently by the present Indian Government, the U.K. and the U.S.A.

The object of writing this letter is in no way to say anything in the way of business, as I am writing this letter purely in my personal capacity and only with a desire to serve my country as best as possible by whatever technical knowledge I possess.

Coming again to the point, I wish to point out that the present Central Government is making use of the "Hollerith" equipment since [sic] last decade, even more. There is a lot of such equipment under the control of the present Central Government; part of that equipment is the property of the Central Government and the rest is on hire basis. Whereas the former equipment should naturally be distributed into two, the latter would perhaps be the matter of immediate attention.

The Hindustan Government, which will comprise the most technically qualified persons from the existing staff, will, through these officers, be fully aware of the advantages of this system and possibly will try, without giving a chance, to negotiate with the Company for contracting all the best of the equipment for use in their essential offices.

All this and the apprehended dearth of technical hands at the disposal

of the Pakistan Government has incited [sic] me to lay the matter before you for what it is worth; this also might be an item before the High Powered Committee. If, however, you are already thinking in terms of using this system for the best, I have some further proposals for preparing ourselves to make the best use of these modern machines.

Although I do not find myself fit to approach you for granting me permission for an interview, I shall, nevertheless, find it a great pleasure and honour to be given an audience or, alternatively, to use the same media for supplying you further details and my expressions [sic] if you are inclined to think of "Hollerith" in the future plans.

Pakistan Zindabad!

Yours truly,
NOORUD DEEN

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*Private Secretary to M. A. Jinnah to Secretary, Muslim Community,
Pietersburg*

F.682/297

19 June 1947

Dear Sir,

On an examination of the Statement of the Accounts of the All India Muslim League Fund, it was found that there was no entry of the Draft No. 46/5, issued by the Standard Bank of South Africa on the Chartered Bank of India, Australia and China, Ltd., Bombay for the amount of Rs. 2,167-13-0 (Rupees two thousand, one hundred and sixty-seven and annas thirteen only) sent by you to the Muslim League Fund. On enquiries being made by Mr. Jinnah from the Bankers they informed us that the Draft in question had not been received by them. It is presumed that it was lost in transit because Mr. Jinnah was in Karachi when the Draft was received and from there it was sent to Bombay to the Bank for realization.

Mr. Jinnah has now, therefore, asked me to write to you and request you to make enquiries from your Bank there as to whether the Draft has been realized here by any party. On receipt of your reply we shall pursue enquiries here regarding the said Draft.

Please treat the matter as urgent and send me your reply at your earliest convenience.

Thanking you for the trouble,

Yours faithfully,
Private Secretary to M. A. Jinnah

The Secretary,
 Muslim Community Pietersburg,
 P. O. Box No. 298,
 Pietersburg (Transvaal),
 South Africa

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Syed Mohammad Jamil Wasti to M. A. Jinnah

F.162/29

CONFIDENTIAL

FLAT NO. 7, FIKREE MANSION NO. 1,
 GRIEG ROAD, KARACHI,
 19 June 1947

Revered Quaid-i-Azam,

I met you at Lahore in 1936 at the party of Lala Bhim Sen Sachar given in your honour, and then in Karachi in the 1943 Muslim League Session, and in 1944 twice at Karachi where I submitted a proposal for the organisation of a Political Department of the Pakistan Movement. I was in the Cambridge Pakistan Group and since then have worked loyally for the right cause. I have also met you at the receptions in the Sind Madressah. I arranged and managed the *pandal*¹ in which your worthy sister laid the foundation stone of the Sind Madressah Girls School early this year.

Your noble efforts and almost miraculous guidance has [sic] given Pakistan to the Muslims. May *Allah* grant you long life to guide Pakistan on the road to stability and strength. If today the Indian Muslims have the dignity of a free nation it is only because of you. You have made the almost impossible possible. None of our leaders but would have blundered at one stage or the other. Your clear vision saved us all.

Along with this note I am submitting the copy of a letter² received from the External Affairs Department of the Government of India. Sir Olaf Caroe recommended my name and I personally met Mr. C. F. Duke of the External Affairs Department at Delhi.

Having achieved the sovereignty of Pakistan you will be in search of such persons for the higher posts in the External Service on whose loyalty, tact, qualifications and suitability you can place full reliance. I should have still served Pakistan even if I had been taken up by the Government of India. Now that, through the grace of God, your efforts have made Pakistan a reality, I feel I should place myself at your service, to command when Pakistan officially needs me for External Service. Unofficially I have been and shall be, so long as I live, a devoted servant of Pakistan and its Quaid-i-Azam.

I remain,
My Chief,
Your loyal follower,
SYED MOHAMMAD JAMIL WASTI

PS. Kindly rescue my papers from the External Affairs Department of Hindustan and have them transferred to the External Affairs Department of the Dominion of Pakistan.

A summary of my qualifications and experience is attached.³

¹Canopy.

²Not available in QAP.

³Not printed.

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Ali Mohammed to M. A. Jinnah

F.682/305-6

QILA SHEIKHUPURA, PUNJAB,
20 June 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

We have collected an amount of Rs. 500 for Pakistan Fund and have transferred the collected money to Habib Bank Ltd., Delhi through the Punjab National Bank and it must have reached you by this time. The list of contributors is ■ follows:

1.	Ali Moh[amma]d	[Rs.] 50-0-0
2.	Ghulam Qadir	110-0-0
3.	Abdul Majid	50-0-0
4.	Moh[amma]d Anwar	50-0-0
5.	Makbul Ahmad	50-0-0
6.	Nazir Hussain	50-0-0
7.	Bashir Hussain	25-0-0
8.	Moh[amma]d Shafi	10-0-0
9.	Altaf Hussain	10-0-0
10.	Inayat Ullah	7-0-0
11.	Abdul Haq	5-0-0
12.	Moh[amma]d Saeed	5-0-0
13.	Fazal Ilahi	5-0-0
14.	Bashir Ahmad	5-0-0
15.	Rahmat Ullah	5-0-0
16.	Abdul Aziz	5-0-0
17.	Nazir Ahmad	5-0-0
18.	Abdul Qadir	5-0-0
19.	Faiz Ali Shah	5-0-0
20.	Ghauri Beg	5-0-0
21.	Moh[amma]d Hayat	5-0-0
22.	Allah Rakha	5-0-0
23.	Moh[amma]d Hussain	5-0-0
24.	Moh[amma]d Ali	5-0-0
25.	Fazal Karim	5-0-0
26.	Sher Moh[amma]d	2-0-0
27.	Ahmad Jan	2-0-0
28.	Moh[amma]d Sadiq Khan	1-0-0
29.	Moh[amma]d Shafi	1-0-0
30.	Allah Ditta	<u>2-0-0</u>
	Total	500-0-0 ¹

Individual receipts may kindly be issued and sent to us for distribution to the contributors.

Yours very sincerely,
 ALI MOHAMMED
Prop[rietor],
Roshan Cloth House

¹The total is incorrect.

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Syed Wajid Ali to K. H. Khurshid

F.286/36

20 June 1947

Syed Wajid Ali telephoned at 4.10 p.m.:

Write to Sind:¹

1. to buy all jeeps available that are in running condition. (He has made enquiries here and the price per vehicle is Rs. 2,000).
2. to buy all 3-ton trucks (Chevrolet) Class 1 and 2; the price will be Rs. 5,100 each. (He does not think there will be more than 50 trucks available and therefore all must be bought, i.e. the number being less than 50).

He is going to Lahore this afternoon.

¹See Nos. 134 and 205.

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Allah Ditta to Private Secretary to M. A. Jinnah

F.682/310

[Original in Urdu]

GUJRAT, PUNJAB,

20 June 1947

In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful

To

'Aali Janab Private Secretary to A'ala Hazrat Quaid-i-Azam Moham-mad Ali Jinnah Sallamohul Allah Ta'ala

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

In response to the appeal made by the Quaid-i-Azam to the sons of Islam to donate to the Pakistan Fund,¹ the Directors and employees of this Company have contributed a sum of Rs. 1,000 to the Fund. This contribution is on behalf of the Company Directors and employees and has no connection with the subscriptions raised in Gujrat town or from Gujrat District. The amount has been deposited with the New India Bank Ltd., Gujrat, and draft No. 7975 dated 20 June 1947, in the name of Agent, Habib Bank Ltd., Delhi, has been obtained and is

enclosed herewith. On receipt of the draft, kindly acknowledge at the address given below.

MIRZA ALLAH DITTA
Managing Director,
Gujrat Punjab Bus Ltd.

¹No. 128.

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Aziz Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

F.162/32-32A

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH,
 OSMANIA UNIVERSITY,
 HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
 20 June 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I feel rather embarrassed to approach you on a minor and in a way personal matter. But, ■ the battle of Pakistan has been won, you will probably like to harness all the Muslim talent available. I might be useful in the Pakistan Diplomatic Corps as I know nearly half a dozen European languages including German, French, Italian and Norwegian. I have ■ good London Honours degree in English, have written a number of books including one on Iqbal which traces the poet's political philosophy, reaching out towards the conception of Pakistan. I also had the unusual opportunity of contact with a number of foreign celebrities, statesmen and diplomats as Private Secretary to the Prince of Berar. I have travelled extensively.

Sometime ago Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan had me in view for the post of the League Information Officer in London. I have been ■ staunch Leaguer always and, as referees, I can mention Moulvi Abdul Haq Sahib and Mian Mumtaz Daultana. A detailed list of my qualifications is attached herewith,¹ and I shall be grateful to know if I can be useful in any way to serve my nation and you.

With profound respects,

Yours sincerely,
 AZIZ AHMAD

¹Not printed.

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Draft Constitution for Pakistan¹

by

H. Rahman

MFJ-Box-23/4(Doc)

GOVERNMENT COLLEGE, CHITTAGONG,

20 June 1947

In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful

CHAPTER I—THE GENERAL STRUCTURE OF THE PAKISTAN STATE

ARTICLE 1. Pakistan shall be ■ Peoples' Sovereign State of the Islamic Socialist conception based on the Islamic principles of equity and social justice. Its main provisions of Government shall be based upon the fundamental and immutable Laws of the Holy *Qur'an* and *Hadith* as exemplified in practice by the *Khilafat-i-Rashida*—the Great [*sic*] Caliphate.

ARTICLE 2. The political foundation of the Pakistan Union consists of a voluntary, democratic union of free peoples, equal in rights and status, and possessing a common citizenship, the supreme end of the polity being the progressive well-being of its citizens, and [the] lasting peace and security on earth in close co-operation with other nations of the world.

ARTICLE 3. The social foundation of the Pakistan Union consists of an association of men and women, who are equal in the eyes of society, and who have equal opportunities of growth and development irrespective of the accidents of birth, race, creed or colour. Since Islam stands for social justice and equality of all mankind, non-Muslims in the Pakistan Union shall be treated on an equal footing with Muslims, and shall be guaranteed peace, justice and fairplay without distinction provided they are good and loyal citizens of the Pakistan State.

ARTICLE 4. The economic foundation of the Pakistan Union consists of the Islamic Socialist system in which usury and exploitation shall be banned; land, its deposits, waters, forests and basic industries including food and cereal industries, public utilities, natural monopolies, means of transport and communication, insurance, banks and allied institutions shall be nationalised, and operated by the State for socialist production and community consumption with ■ view to ensuring freedom from want, uncertainty, and fear, and a progressive rise in the standard of life of the citizens of the Pakistan Union.

ARTICLE 5. Along with the socialist system of economy described

in Article 4 above, free and private enterprise in light and medium-scale industries, private property, and its inheritance shall be retained and respected by law.

ARTICLE 6. Underlying the political and economic life in the Pakistan Union is a philosophy, which while recognising the need of satisfying man's material wants to the fullest extent, maintains at the same time that man does not live for *[sic for by]* bread alone, and that mere material wants and aims shall not subordinate the superior moral and spiritual needs of mankind.

ARTICLE 7. The Pakistan State shall be founded upon the love and harmony amongst its citizens, who shall belong to a "Classless Society" in which the existence of any sectional hatred or "Class War" in any shape shall not be tolerated.

ARTICLE 8. Work in the Pakistan State shall be a sacred duty and a matter of honour for every able-bodied citizen. He who does not work shall not be entitled to eat. Every citizen shall consider it to be his or her duty not to be a parasite. All citizens, male or female, young or old, shall be devoted to the Fatherland, shall endeavour to attain a spotless character and an unimpeachable moral integrity, shall strengthen public socialist property, shall regard it as the source of the wealth and glory of the Fatherland, of the health and happiness, prosperity and culture of its peoples, and shall constantly strive to augment the prosperity, security and greatness of the Fatherland.

ARTICLE 9. The Pakistan Union calls upon the patriotic citizens to forgo the special advantages and privileges of their superior situations, to be honest and perseverant, to work untiringly and accept sacrifices in the spirit of glorious social service in building the ideal human society adumbrated in this Constitution.

ARTICLE 10. The economic life of the Pakistan Union shall be determined and directed by a State plan of national economy in the interests of increasing the wealth of the land, of steadily raising the material and cultural standards of its peoples, and of strengthening the independence and defensive strength of the Pakistan State.

CHAPTER II—THE STRUCTURE OF THE UNION

ARTICLE 11. The Pakistan State shall be called the Pakistan Union of Islamic Socialist Republics, which shall be a model Socialist Commonwealth based on the Islamic, Social, Political, and Economic Order as explained in Chapter I above.

ARTICLE 12. The Pakistan Union of Islamic Socialist Republics [PUISR] shall be a Federal Union formed on the basis of voluntary union, to begin with, of the following republics, equal in rights and status:

(1) The Punjab Islamic Socialist Republic, (2) The Pathan Islamic Socialist Republic, (3) The Baluch Islamic Socialist Republic, (4) The Sind Islamic Socialist Republic, and (5) The Bengal Islamic Socialist Republic.

ARTICLE 13. Each constituent Republic of the PUISR shall be autonomous and sovereign.

ARTICLE 14. It shall be open to other Units, Provinces or States, contiguous to the Union or otherwise, inside the Indian Sub-Continent or outside, to join the PUISR on the same terms and with the same rights as accorded to the constituent units in this fundamental Constitution, subject to the approval of the Union National Assembly, on the recommendation of the President of the PUISR.

ARTICLE 15. The right freely to secede from the PUISR is reserved to each constituent Republic and can be made effective provided that the demand for such secession secures the approval of a three-fourths majority in a general referendum in the Republic concerned, as well as of the rest of the PUISR as expressed through an absolute majority of each House of the Pakistan National Assembly and duly assented to by the President of the PUISR.

ARTICLE 16. Each constituent Republic of the PUISR shall exercise its power independently in the internal sphere according to a Constitution drawn up by its representatives in the Pakistan Constituent Assembly which shall not be inconsistent with the fundamental provisions of this Constitution of the PUISR and which shall take into account the peculiarities of the Republic concerned.

ARTICLE 17. The territory of a constituent unit may not be altered without its consent as expressed through its representatives in the Pakistan National Assembly.

ARTICLE 18. The laws of the PUISR shall have like force in the territories of all constituent units.

ARTICLE 19. In case of a conflict between a law of the PUISR and a law of a constituent unit, the law of the PUISR shall prevail.

ARTICLE 20. A single Union citizenship shall be established for all citizens of the PUISR. Every citizen of a constituent unit shall be a citizen of the PUISR.

ARTICLE 21. The PUISR shall protect and defend the rights, interests, honour and security of a constituent ISR [Islamic Socialist Republic] against any aggressor.

CHAPTER III—THE BASIC RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF CITIZENS

ARTICLE 22. Citizens in the PUISR shall enjoy the rights to life, liberty, property and contract, to freedom of conscience and worship, to education, work, leisure, and security in old age, [freedom] of speech,

the press, assembly, meetings, and of public organisations, and to vote, to petition and to be voted for.

ARTICLE 23. Without prejudice to any right defined in Article 22 above, the citizens shall have no right of blasphemy, sedition and rebellion.

ARTICLE 24. Subject to the rights defined in Article 22 above, there shall be no right of begging or vagrancy in the PUISR.

ARTICLE 25. There shall be statutory provisions of social security for the poor, the sick, the orphan, the old, the incapacitated and the unemployed.

ARTICLE 26. Education for all children up to the age of fourteen shall be free and compulsory. Adult illiteracy shall be eradicated.

ARTICLE 27. There shall be identical rights and responsibilities of citizenship for men and women within the framework of Islamic Law.

ARTICLE 28. The rights, honour and dignity of religious and cultural minorities shall be safeguarded.

ARTICLE 29. There shall be *Hukumash-Shari'ah* or the Rule of Law in the PUISR which means that the highest State officials down to the meanest citizens shall be liable to trial in the same courts, according to the same law and procedure and for the same kinds of offences.

ARTICLE 30. Corresponding to the rights of citizens defined above, there shall be for the citizens, the duties of allegiance to the State, of obedience to law, payment of taxes, honest exercise of the franchise, general assistance to the administration, rendering honorary services to the State, observance of the Constitution of the PUISR, maintenance of decency and discipline, respecting the rules of Islamic Socialist system and of safeguarding and strengthening the public property of the PUISR.

ARTICLE 31. In addition to the duties defined in Article 30, the Muslim citizens shall have the following additional obligations:

- a. They shall render compulsory military service to the State.
- b. They shall pay the *Sadqa* and *Zakat* to the *Bait al-Maal* of the State.
- c. Their property shall be liable to requisitioning by the State without compensation, if necessary.

ARTICLE 32. Defence of the Fatherland is the sacred duty of every citizen of the PUISR, treason to the Fatherland, violation of the oaths of allegiance and loyalty, desertion to the enemy, sabotage, espionage, fifth-column activities, and conspiracy against the security, prosperity or military might of the PUISR shall be punished with the fullest severity of the law as the gravest crimes.

CHAPTER IV—THE STRUCTURE OF THE UNION—THE EXECUTIVE

ARTICLE 33. The Chief Executive of the PUISR shall be the President

of the PUISR, who shall be elected through secret ballot by the "Council of Elders"—an electoral college which will be directly elected by the entire people of the PUISR by secret ballot and adult suffrage on the basis of one councillor for every 200,000 voters, who shall not be below the age of 18.

ARTICLE 34. There shall be a Vice-President of the PUISR who shall be elected by the same method and at the same time as the President. The Vice-President shall be the Chairman of the Upper House of the Pakistan National Assembly, and shall act as the President of the PUISR in case of a vacancy until a new President is elected.

ARTICLE 35. The President and the Vice-President shall enjoy a tenure of five years, but will be eligible for re-election. None shall be eligible for the President[ship] who is below the age of forty.

ARTICLE 36. The President of the PUISR shall assume the title of the *Imam*,—Leader of the People, and shall have the right of leading the public prayers and delivering the *Khutba*—the oration.

ARTICLE 37. The President of the PUISR shall take the oath of allegiance to the Pakistan Union of Islamic Socialist Republics on a Friday in the *Jum'a* Mosque of the Capital after *Jum'a* prayer, and in front of the *Qadi al-Qudah*, the Grand *Mufti*, and other high officials of the State, by touching the Holy *Qur'an*, and placing his hands on those of the Chief *Imam*, in the fashion of the Bay't [allegiance], and swearing that he would be loyal and faithful to the PUISR. He shall take over charge of the Presidency the same day in the afternoon, after which he shall receive a salute of 100 guns.

ARTICLE 38. On the following Friday, all Muslims of the land shall pay homage to the new President, and take the oath of allegiance to him, after the *Jum'a* prayers, in all mosques, by placing their hands on those of the *Imams*, and swearing in the name of *Allah* that they would be loyal to the new President and make all sacrifices for the PUISR at the President's call. Other religious communities shall take the oath in the form, at the time and place that suit them best, but on the same Friday which shall be observed as a national holiday and a day of nation-wide rejoicing.

ARTICLE 39. As the Head of the State and the symbol of its sovereignty, the President shall possess wide executive and legislative powers. As the Chief Executive, he shall supervise and secure the execution of the laws; appoint and remove all civil and military officers; appoint and dismiss the Peoples' Ministers, individually or collectively; grant pardon, preside over public ceremonies; receive the diplomatic agents of foreign powers; negotiate and ratify treaties; give orders for the arrest

and trial of persons accused of attempts upon the safety of the State; and declare war with the consent of the Pakistan National Assembly. He shall be the Commander-in-Chief of the Army, Navy, and the Air Force, and shall determine and control the size and dispositions of the Nation's Armed Forces on land, at sea, and in the air.

ARTICLE 40. The President shall have the powers of summoning, adjourning, proroguing, and dissolving the Pakistan National Assembly, the supreme Parliament of the PUISR; of attending its sessions, and participating in its deliberations at his discretion; of addressing its chambers, singly or jointly, and sending messages to them; of recommending or initiating legislative measures at his discretion, and of stopping the further consideration of any Bill in the interests of peace and security in the land. He shall possess the right of an unqualified veto, which means that no Bill passed by the Pakistan National Assembly can become an Act without his assent. No Bill relating to the finances of the PUISR shall be introduced in either Chamber of the Pakistan National Assembly without the previous approval of the President given at his discretion or in his individual judgment.

ARTICLE 41. The President shall be assisted in the Government of the PUISR by a Council of Peoples' Ministers formed by the President from amongst the Members of the PNA [Pakistan National Assembly] in consultation with the Leader of the majority party, or any Leader who, in the President's opinion, is best likely, along with his colleagues, to be able to form a stable Government, commanding the confidence of the PNA, and who, after his appointment as a Peoples' Minister, shall be designated the *Vizier-i-Azam*, and shall be the Chairman of the Council of Peoples' Ministers.

ARTICLE 42. The Peoples' Ministers of the PUISR shall be individually and collectively responsible to the President as well as to the Pakistan National Assembly and shall hold office during the pleasure of the President.

CHAPTER V—THE STRUCTURE OF THE UNION—THE FEDERAL LEGISLATURE

ARTICLE 43. The supreme legislative authority of the PUISR shall be vested in the Federal Parliament, called the Pakistan National Assembly, which shall be a bi-cameral Legislature, consisting of an Upper House, called the Council of States, and a Lower House, called the Council of Nations.

ARTICLE 44. In the Council of States, the constituent States or Units shall be equally represented on the basis of twelve members from each constituent unit, while in the Council of Nations, the constituent units

shall be represented in proportion to their respective populations on the basis of one member for every 500,000 inhabitants.

ARTICLE 45. The Council of States shall have a tenure of six years, one-third of the members retiring every second year, and shall be elected by the members of the constituent State legislatures. The Council of Nations shall have a tenure of five years and shall be directly elected by secret ballot and on adult suffrage.

ARTICLE 46. The President of the PUISR shall have the power of dissolving the Council of States and the Council of Nations at his discretion or on the advice of the *Vizier-i-Azam*.

ARTICLE 47. Members of the PNA shall receive salaries, and shall not be below the age of 30.

ARTICLE 48. Deadlocks between the Council of States and the Council of Nations shall be resolved by Joint Committees of both Houses, Joint Conferences, or Joint Sessions of both Houses, an award on the disputed points given by the President in his discretion, or finally by a dissolution of either or both Houses as decided upon by the President of the PUISR.

ARTICLE 49. The Council of States shall be presided over by the Vice-President of the PUISR, while the Council of Nations shall have its own elected President. In case of joint sessions of both Houses the Vice-President of the PUISR shall preside. The Council of States shall elect a Chairman for the period for which he may be called upon to act as the President of the PUISR.

ARTICLE 50. The Scheduled Caste Hindus, Tribals, Anglo-Indians, Native Christians, Buddhists and other cultural minorities shall, if they want to, have the right of separate electorate with reservation of seats. The Caste Hindus shall have the right of reservation of seats but under joint electorate with the Muslims.

CHAPTER VI—THE STRUCTURE OF THE UNION—THE FEDERAL JUDICIARY

ARTICLE 51. There shall be in the PUISR a Supreme Court of Judicature, consisting of the *Qadi al-Qudah* who will be appointed by the President of the PUISR and a number of other *Qadis* or Judges appointed by the President in consultation with the *Qadi al-Qudah* or Chief Justice.

ARTICLE 52. The Supreme Court shall be the highest judicial tribunal in the PUISR.

ARTICLE 53. The *Qadi al-Qudah* and the other *Qadis* shall serve till they attain the age [of] sixty-five unless they resign or are incapacitated earlier. They shall not be dismissed by the President except with the previous sanction of the PNA.

ARTICLE 54. Apart from the control and administration of the Courts of the land, civil and criminal, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction in respect of the following:

a. The interpretation and defence of the Constitution of the PUISR and those of the constituent ISRs.

b. Disputes between the Pakistan Federal Government and the Governments of the constituent units, or between the latter, *inter se*, concerning their legal or constitutional rights.

c. References made by the Union Government, or the Governments of the constituent units, for a legal award on any point of controversy.

ARTICLE 55. The Supreme Court shall have Appellate Jurisdiction over all decisions of the High Courts of constituent units in civil and criminal cases. It shall make rules defining the conditions for the exercise of its appellate jurisdiction.

ARTICLE 56. There shall be a "Grand Mufti" in the PUISR, appointed by the President, whose decision on disputed points relating to the injunctions of the *Shari'ah* shall be final and binding upon all in the PUISR.

CHAPTER VII—THE STRUCTURE OF THE UNION—THE DISTRIBUTION OF POWERS

ARTICLE 57. All subjects of the PUISR shall be classified into three lists, viz. [i] the Union Legislative List, [ii] the State Legislative List, and [iii] the Concurrent Legislative List. In the case of the first, the Union Legislature shall have, and the State Legislatures shall not have, the powers of legislation. In the case of the second, the State Legislatures shall have, and the Union Legislature shall not have, the powers of legislation. In the case of the third, both the Union and the State Legislatures shall have concurrent powers of legislation, provided that, if an Act of a State Legislature is repugnant to an Act of the Union Legislature, the former shall, to the extent of repugnance, be null and void. The residual authority shall be vested in the President who shall decide in his discretion, whether any disputed subject, not clearly mentioned in or omitted from the three Lists, shall fall in the Union, State or Concurrent Legislative List.

ARTICLE 58. The following subjects shall, *inter alia*, be included in the Union Legislative List:

Foreign and international relations; treaties with other States; questions of war and peace; admission of new republics into the PUISR; confirmation of changes of boundaries between constituent units; defence, and control of the armed forces of the PUISR; conscription and requisition of property; foreign trade, national economic plans; admin-

istration of banks, State monopolies, Government, industrial and agricultural concerns, and State trading enterprises; civil supplies; food and jute; transport and communications; posts and telegraphs; monetary and credit system; State insurance; mosques, tombs, graveyards, orphanages, places of interest of historical importance, research institutions and meteorological establishments; contracting and granting of loans; land, its deposits, waters, and forests; labour legislation; courts and judicial procedure, civil and criminal codes; laws relating to citizenship, the rights of foreigners and aliens; all-Union acts of amnesty; customs and excise; irrigation and canal works; ports and maritime shipping; wireless, and aerial navigation.

ARTICLE 59. The State Legislative List and the Concurrent Legislative List to be compiled by experts of the Pakistan Consembly [Constituent Assembly] with the exclusion of subjects enumerated in Art[icle] 58 above.

CHAPTER VIII—THE STRUCTURE OF THE STATE GOVERNMENT— THE EXECUTIVE

ARTICLE 60. Every constituent of ISR shall have a Chief Executive, called the President, who shall be the head of the State Government. His authority in the sphere of execution shall be concurrent with that of the State Legislature in the sphere of legislation. There shall be a Vice-President to act in his place in case of a vacancy occurring before the normal Presidential term.

ARTICLE 61. The State President and the Vice-President shall be directly elected by the entire people of the constituent unit by secret ballot and adult suffrage, and shall each enjoy a tenure of five years.

ARTICLE 62. The President shall possess final executive powers within the jurisdiction of the constituent unit as laid down in this Constitution. He shall see that the laws of the State are properly executed. He shall have the powers of appointing and dismissing the Peoples' Ministers of the State, singly or collectively, as well as other high officials in the employ of the State Government. He shall have powers of summoning, adjourning, proroguing, and dissolving the State Legislature; of sending messages to it, recommending legislative bills, and of attending and addressing its sessions at his discretion; of attending meetings of the Cabinet at his discretion, of promulgating ordinances at his discretion or on the advice of the Peoples' Ministers, and of refusing assent to a Bill passed by the Legislature, in which case it shall not become an Act.

ARTICLE 63. To tide over an emergency or grave national crisis, the President shall have the power of temporarily assuming the charge of the entire State Government in the interests of peace and security,

when he shall be under the general supervision, guidance, and control of the President of the PUISR.

ARTICLE 64. The President shall be aided in carrying on the Government of the State by a Council of Peoples' Ministers, formed by him on the advice of the leader of the majority party in the State Legislature, or in consultation with the leader, who in the President's opinion is most likely along with his colleagues, to be able to form a stable government commanding the confidence of the State Legislature. Anyone appointed as a Peoples' Minister from outside the State Legislature shall get himself elected as a member of the Legislature within six months from the date of his appointment as a Peoples' Minister.

ARTICLE 65. The Peoples' Ministers of the State Government shall be individually and collectively responsible to the President of the State as well as to the State Legislature and shall hold office during the President's pleasure.

CHAPTER IX—THE STRUCTURE OF THE STATE GOVERNMENT— THE STATE LEGISLATURE

ARTICLE 66. There shall be in each constituent Republic a unicameral Legislature, called the Peoples' Assembly elected for five years by secret ballot and adult suffrage. It shall have its own elected Chairman, called the Speaker. All the Members of the State Legislature shall be paid, and the President shall have the power of dissolving the Chamber earlier than its normal term of five years. Its total number of Members shall not exceed 250.

ARTICLE 67. The organisation of the electorate for the People's State Legislature shall be roughly similar to that of the PNA as provided in Article 50 above.

CHAPTER X—THE STRUCTURE OF THE STATE GOVERNMENT— THE JUDICIARY

ARTICLE 68. There shall be in each constituent Republic a High Court consisting of a Chief *Qadi* and some other *Qadis* or Judges appointed by the President in consultation with the *Qadi al-Qudah* of the Supreme Union Judicature. They shall serve until they attain the age of sixty-five unless they resign, or are disqualified or incapacitated earlier.

CHAPTER XI—OTHER PROVISIONS

ARTICLE 69. All high officials, other than the President of the PUISR shall be liable to arrest and trial by the Supreme Court of Union Judicature, on the orders of the President of the PUISR, for corruption, defection [*sic*] of duty and grave offences against the Pakistan Union of Islamic Socialist Republics.

ARTICLE 70. Islam shall be the State religion in the PUISR, and all mosques and allied subjects shall be administered, and their expenses borne by the PUISR.

ARTICLE 71. Public prayers shall be compulsory for all officials, and there shall be recesses in all offices in the PUISR for the *Zuhr* and 'Asar prayers.

ARTICLE 72. Urdu shall be the *lingua franca* of the PUISR.

ARTICLE 73. But along with Urdu, English, and in the case of a constituent Republic, the language of the Province shall also enjoy the status of official language for a given period to be stated in this Constitution.

ARTICLE 74. The flag of the PUISR shall be of the existing crescent with a number of white stars indicating the number of the constituent Republics of the PUISR.

ARTICLE 75. The National Anthem—to be selected by an expert committee of the Pakistan Consembly. I suggest Iqbal's *Tarana*.

ARTICLE 76. The emblem of the PUISR—to be designed by an expert committee of the Pakistan Consembly. I suggest the *Bayt Allah* or the mythical [sic] *Booraq*, painted in green, with an olive branch in its mouth, and a Holy *Qur'an* between its wings, standing in a pose of ascent towards the sky on a globe painted in a different colour, which shall be the symbol of peace for the entire mankind.

ARTICLE 77. The National Calendar—the existing English calendar shall be retained, with the list of holidays recast. Friday, shall be the usual weekly holiday in place of Sunday.

ARTICLE 78. The PUISR shall have the right of conscription. All Muslim citizens, falling within certain age categories shall undergo compulsory military training for a stated number of years.

ARTICLE 79. The Government services shall be re-organised and simplified on a democratic basis, unnecessary distinctions of rank, cadre, status, and salaries, and bureaucracy and red-tapism being abolished. The motto of Government services shall be Honesty, Speed, and Efficiency.

ARTICLE 80. There shall be for the PUISR a Union Planning Commission, as well as for each constituent unit a State Planning Commission, which shall exercise supreme authority under the supervision and direction of the President of the PUISR in respect of all matters connected with national economic planning, including town planning in the PUISR.

ARTICLE 81. The Party—the All India Muslim League—shall be reconstituted and re-named the "Pakistan Socialist League", so as to permit inclusion in it of all willing non-Muslims.

ARTICLE 82. The Pakistan Socialist League shall be the only officially

recognised political party for the Muslims of the PUISR. The minorities shall, however, have the freedom of forming their own political parties, if they want to.

ARTICLE 83. The Muslim National Guards shall be re-named the Pakistan National Guards, which shall be the Armed Volunteer Corps of the Pakistan Socialist League, and shall also serve as the Reserve Force of the Pakistan Green Army.

CHAPTER XII—THE PROCEDURE FOR AMENDMENT

ARTICLE 84. This Constitution of the PUISR shall be amendable by a two-thirds majority of each House of the Pakistan National Assembly sitting separately, with the approval and assent of the President of the PUISR.

Pakistan Zindabad!

Drafted by

H. RAHMAN

M.A., B.F.S.

*Professor and Head of the Department of
Economics and Politics (officiating)*

¹Published by M. Ahmad, Taj Library, Ander Killa, Chittagong, Kohinoor Electric Press and priced at 4 annas, the sale proceeds going to Pakistan Fund.

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H. L. Ismay to M. A. Jinnah

F.2/79

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE, NEW DELHI,
20 June 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Regarding the ascertainment of the wishes of Baluchistan under paragraph 12 of the Statement of June 3rd,¹ His Excellency has been considering the possibility of making the reference to a more representative body than on the last occasion. He has examined various alternatives, including those mentioned by you,² but all of them involve considerable delay. This we cannot afford.

His Excellency is, therefore, convinced that if a decision is to be arrived at, as it must be, within the short time available, the reference will have to be made to the same body as before, viz. the members of the *Shahi Jirga*³ (excluding the *Sardars* nominated by the Kalat State)

and the non-official members of the Quetta Municipality. Would you please let me know urgently if you agree?

Yours sincerely,
ISMAY

¹No. 1.

²Jinnah had suggested one of the three alternatives for composition of the electorate in Baluchistan: (1) Holders of ration cards (about 2,000); (2) All *Maliks* and *Mo'tabars* (about 500); (3) All members of district *Jirgas* (about 400). Also see *TP*, XI, No. 276, note 3, 535.

³Principal Council of Elders in Baluchistan.

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M. A. Jinnah to Kotwal

Telegram, F.910/348

NEW DELHI,
20 June 1947

Mr. Kotwal, Kotwal & Co., Solicitors, Bunder Road, Karachi.

Draft sale deed¹ posted some time ago. Please take immediate steps to put matter through and inform when balance purchase price required.

JINNAH

¹Also see Appendix I.105.

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Nawab Jogezai and Sardars to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F.317/2

EXPRESS

JAIL ROAD, QUETTA,
20 June 1947

Quaid-i-Azam M. A. Jinnah, New Delhi.

Baluchistan *Sardars* desire speaking to you from 672 phone at 8 p.m. today. Kindly confirm whether available or intimate suitable time for call until tomorrow morning. Very urgent message to be conveyed to you.

· NAWAB JOGEZAI AND SARDARS

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*M. A. Jinnah to Nawab Jogezai**Telegram, F.317/1*

EXPRESS

NEW DELHI,
20 June 1947

Nawab Jogezai, Jail Road, Quetta.

Your telegram. Will be available reply phone call tomorrow any time.
JINNAH

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*Hakimuddin Khan to M. A. Jinnah**F.682/309*

PAKISTAN ZINDABAD

NARGHAT, MIRZAPORE, U.P.,
20 June 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am herewith sending a cheque No. 12623 of today's date for a small sum of Rs. 100 towards the Pakistan Fund, and hope you will find this in order.

Yours obediently,
HAKIMUDDIN KHAN

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Mohammad Athar to M. A. Jinnah

F.682/307

SHAIKH SALEM GATE, BENARES CITY,

20 June 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

On your appeal¹ I am sending my mite for your "Pakistan Fund,"
through a cheque for Rs. 50.

May God bless your efforts.

Yours affectionately,
MOHAMMAD ATHAR
Advocate, MLA

¹No. 128.

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Mir Mohommad Rafique to M. A. Jinnah

F.162/36-7

C/O C.O.O., AMMUNITION DEPOT,
DEHU ROAD (G.I.P. RLY.),
20 June 1947

Sir,

After serious thoughts and sober deliberation, I am writing the following lines with the earnest hope that I may be favoured with ■ reply.

I am ■ Barrister-at-Law and also a graduate of London University. After graduating from Muslim University, Aligarh, I proceeded to England in 1934 where I stayed till 1939.

During the years 1930-39, I was very well-placed in life as our family business of carpets in Paris (France) was the only large establishment of its kind in that part of the world.

On my return to India, in the year 1939, I was enrolled as an Advocate in the High Court of Judicature at Lahore and soon after, through sheer hard work and talent, figured in the most important cases in the other High Courts, such as Patna, Calcutta and Karachi.

My quick rise to [sic] the profession was really envious [sic] when all of a sudden our family business went flat in Paris due to War.

Initial years in practice proverbially struggling and being, therefore, unmanageable [sic] without outside support, I was forced to join the present gazetted post in the Ordnance in order to find some security for the family.

While in England I was one of those five or six students who, along with Choudhary Rahmat Ali, propagated the Pakistan National Movement and spared no effort in seeing it flourish throughout Europe by means of periodical pamphlets published through the paltry contributions out of limited monthly allowance at our disposal.

On my return to India, the pages of *Civil & Military Gazette*, Lahore, during 1939-40, would still bear witness to my comprehensive replies to the anti-Pakistan propaganda sponsored by Prof. Gulshan Rao, a well-known writer.

I am not writing this to seek any reward. If reward was needed for this national service alone, I feel that I am thoroughly compensated as I now have that inward happiness and feeling of exultation that no other happiness in the world can give and no sorrow can take it away.

Mine is only a genuine effort to tell you that my case is really that of a talented young Muslim who, through sheer hard luck and force of circumstances, has been denied the chance of rise and one whose merits are wasted simply because merit alone comes a "bad fourth" in this world.

In the present national urgency, I was very keen to serve in the Pakistan Constituent Assembly or anywhere you would suggest and I can assure you that, if recommended for any suitable appointment, I shall always prove worthy of your recommendation.

If need be, I am prepared to come down for an interview at any time or place convenient to you.

I beg to remain,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

MIR MOHD. RAFIQUE

B. A., LL. B. (LONDON), BAR-AT-LAW

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Mrs K. L. Rallia Ram to M. A. Jinnah

F.487/75-6

ELYSIUM HOTEL, SIMLA,
20 June 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

There are so many interesting clippings¹ that I am enclosing them in two envelopes.

I am anxious for you to read one particular cutting entitled "Shias: Enemies of Islam" from the Frontier.² It seems they are planning some mischief against you. I was very concerned to read the statement. They have nothing against you now and so have concocted the "Shia" stunt. Please take every possible precaution when you go to Abbottabad and are going to other towns for the Referendum. I think it not at all advisable for you to leave Abbottabad. Look what happened in Delhi. I wrote to you long before it happened that Khaksars may endanger your life and it did happen that way.³ Pathans are more spiteful than others. Therefore, you have to take every precaution. One of my brothers is a staunch admirer of yours and would do anything to protect your life along with the bodyguards you must be having already. If you like I could ask him to accompany those who are already doing this duty. He would lay down his life to save you from any harm. Look what they write in this cutting. Please take the warning and take every possible precaution. The whole Government there is your enemy.

The cutting underneath⁴ is also worth noting about the citizenship of Muslims in Hindu majority areas.

I shall be highly obliged if you will let me know whether you have received my letters from Simla and whether you would accept my brother's help as a precautionary measure during your stay in the Frontier.

Long may you live.

Sincerely yours,
MRS. K. L. RALLIA RAM

¹Not available in QAP.

²Enclosure.

³The Khaksars made a violent attempt at disrupting the AIML Council meeting held at Delhi on 9 June to consider the 3 June Plan; some of them forced their way into the meeting hall, breaking furniture and smashing glass panes and clashing with ML National Guards. The police eventually restored order and Jinnah continued the proceedings of the meeting unruffled. Sharifuddin Pirzada, ed., *Foundations of Pakistan*, II, 566-7 and III, 429-30 respectively.

⁴Not available in QAP.

Enclosure to No.180

F.487/76

SHIAS: ENEMIES OF ISLAM

Jinnah Unwelcome: Tribal Territory
Leaders' Warning

PESHAWAR, June 17: Eight Maliks of the independent tribal territory, five Afridis and three Mohmands have issued a statement protesting against the proposed visit of Mr. Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League to their territory during his coming visit to the Frontier Province in connection with the forthcoming Referendum there.

The statement says, "It has come to our knowledge that Mr. Jinnah is coming to the Frontier Province. It is no concern of ours as to whatever is done in British territory. But we must warn him that it will be a most unwise step for him to come to our territory because we consider Shias as the enemies of Islam. *We also hereby warn the Government of India that they will be responsible for any consequences in this connection.*"¹

According to private advices reaching here Mr. Jinnah is likely to come to the Frontier Province in connection with the forthcoming Referendum on or about the 20th June. In this connection a correspondent from Mardan says that Mr. Jinnah is expected to address a meeting there on June 24.

Mr. Jinnah's stay may be a prolonged one, the better part of which he is likely to spend at Abbottabad from where he may, in consultation with the Provincial Muslim League leaders, direct the referendum campaign and occasionally visit Frontier towns at intervals.—United Press.

¹Underlined in the original, probably by Jinnah.

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M. D. Sheikh to M. A. Jinnah

F.1108/63

12 DAVIS ROAD, LAHORE,
20 June 1947

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Kindly permit me to offer you my hearty and sincere congratulations

for the unique victory you have won for the Muslims of India, in obtaining a homeland for them.

Pakistan has been achieved but a lot of work will have to be done by Muslims to build it up in order to make it an ideal homeland and every true Muslim must contribute his little bit towards this end. I offer my humble services in this connection.

I belong to the Superior Revenue Establishment of the Railway Department and after serving in various capacities for 34 years retired last year from the post of Director Establishment, Railway Board, Government of India and am now working as Chairman, North Western Railway Service Commission with Headquarters in Lahore. I have long, vast and varied experience in the Traffic Department of Railways and having worked in the Railway Board for 4 years just before retirement last year, have got knowledge of the inner working of the organisation. I know a lot of work will have to be done in organising the Pakistan Railway, and I gladly place my services at your disposal.

I have had the honour and pleasure of meeting you in New Delhi in 1945, as the President of Jinnah Sporting Club when you graced it with your presence on the occasion of a football match between the Club and the Afghan team from Kabul.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. D. SHEIKH

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T. H. A. S. Tufton to M. A. Jinnah

F.1108/65

12 COLOSSEUM TERRACE,
ALBANY STREET, LONDON, NW 1,
20 June 1947

Quaid-i-Azam,

I have the honour to send herewith a memorandum on the *Partition of India between Pakistan and Hindustan*¹ drafted by Prof. A. Sadeque on behalf of the Jamia Islamia of Great Britain for your kind perusal. The Jamia fervently prays that you will see that justice is done to the

Muslims of India and that they are not deprived of their proportionate share of Indian territories and resources to which they are entitled.

Yours obediently,

T. H. A. S. TUFTON

*Secretary, Jamia Islamia of
Great Britain*

¹Enclosure 1.

Enclosure 1 to No.182

F.1108/66-76

PART I

PARTITION OF INDIA BETWEEN PAKISTAN AND HINDUSTAN

BY PROF. A. SADEQUE

A way out of the constitutional tangle of India has, after all, been found by Lord Mountbatten, through the partition of India between Pakistan and Hindustan. The declaration of the Indian policy on the 3rd June 1947¹ by the British Government embodies a concrete scheme of demarcating the Muslim majority areas of India into a State of Pakistan and the rest as a State of Hindustan. The principle of partition has, on principle, been accepted by the Muslim League, Congress and the Sikhs, with some slight reservations. India has been saved from civil war and anarchy that nearly engulfed the length and the breadth of the country.

But it will be rather foolish to think that all the hurdles towards the political settlement of India have been surmounted. It cannot be denied that the beginning has been extremely auspicious and that well begun is half-done. But the greatest hurdle is yet to come. A shrewd observer cannot possibly fail to realise that the contending parties have accepted the procedural plan of the British Government only as the rallying ground for a more bitter showdown in the near future. The real danger is lurking behind the wording of the paragraph 9 of the statement of the Indian policy of 3rd June, 1947. We reproduce that vital paragraph below:

9. For the immediate purpose of deciding on the issue of partition, the members of the Legislative Assemblies of Bengal and the Punjab will sit in two parts according to *Muslim majority districts*² (as laid down in the appendix) and *non-Muslim majority districts*. This is only a preliminary step of a purely temporary nature as it is evident that for the purposes of final

partition of these Provinces a detailed investigation of boundary questions will be needed; and as soon as a decision involving partition has been taken for either Province, a Boundary Commission will be set up by the Governor-General, the membership and terms of reference of which will be settled in consultation with those concerned. It will be instructed to demarcate the boundaries of the two parts of the Punjab on the basis of ascertaining the contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims. It will also be instructed to take into account other factors. Similar instructions will be given to the Bengal Boundary Commission. Until the report of a Boundary Commission has been put into effect, the provisional boundaries indicated in the appendix will be used.

From the above it is apparent that provisional partition has been decided only on the principle of demarcating Muslim majority districts from non-Muslim majority districts. If this were the only principle for final demarcation of Hindustan and Pakistan there was no necessity for a Boundary Commission that has been provided for in the statement of policy. The Boundary Commission will of course be instructed to demarcate the boundaries on the basis of ascertaining the contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims. But over and above, it will also be instructed to take into account "other factors". Herein lies the stumbling block. What these other factors are, and to what extent they will be made or allowed to deviate the provisional boundary, have been prudently left untold. The day of reckoning has simply been postponed. On the grounds of reasons hitherto unknown and unspecified, the shifting of boundary to any extent can be, and will be, demanded. If the good effects of the brilliant beginning is to be maintained, the Gordian knot has to be cut immediately after the decision of partition is ratified, i.e. the unspecified principles of demarcation need be unambiguously and absolutely defined before the rallying forces gather sufficient momentum for a grim struggle.

It is a happy thing to observe that in spite of the influence of Sir Stafford Cripps, the Labour Government has decided to maintain strict impartiality between Hindus and Muslims. It is popularly supposed that the Labour Party is more sympathetic to Congress aspirations while the Conservative Party is better disposed towards the Muslim League. In the House of Commons' debate Mr. Churchill openly accused Sir Stafford Cripps of partiality for the Congress and against the Muslim League. Either in deference to this criticism or by a self-examination, or by both, the Labour Government has decided on a fixed policy of impartiality between the Hindus and Muslims. The application of the policy of impartiality has led to the adoption of a policy of partitioning India between Hindus and Muslims. And this has led to

the fullest support of the Conservative opposition to the Labour Government's Indian policy. If ultimate success is to crown the brilliant beginning of the Labour Government's Indian policy, it should be courageous and logical enough to define the hitherto unspecified factors that will determine the final boundaries with the same impartial spirit and, if necessary, to impose that equitable distribution if further belligerence of one or both the parties tends to persist.

For a shrewd observer it is not difficult to find out what are those unspecified principles of boundary demarcation between Hindustan and Pakistan. India is to be divided between the Muslims and non-Muslims; and as such the territories assigned to the Muslims should be equivalent to the habitation of the total Muslim population of India, and the territories assigned to the non-Muslims should be similarly equivalent to the habitation of the total non-Muslim population of India. In other words, taking the census figures of 1941, the Pakistan areas should have a total population of 95 million, which is equal to the Muslim population of India; and Hindustan should have a population of 293 million, which equals the non-Muslim population of India. This is the fairest and the only possible equitable distribution of Indian population, Muslims and non-Muslims. For the sake of convenience, the territories assigned to each of the two sections of the population should be those which contain a majority of that section to which it is allotted. In other words, each of the two wings of Pakistan should have an overall Muslim majority and Hindustan should have an overall Hindu or rather non-Muslim majority. To be clearer still, if any of the two wings of Pakistan contains a non-Muslim majority, the handing over of that territory to the Muslims will be equivalent to the ruling of a majority by the minority. Democracy being the order of the day, this will be clearly invidious. Hence there must be overall Muslim majority in each of the two wings of Pakistan. But this overall Muslim majority in Pakistan and non-Muslim majority in Hindustan must not be made to mean that here and there within the territory there may not be pockets where the other section of the population forms a local majority. The only point is that these local majorities of the opposite section are to be exceeded by the overall majority of the ■■■■ as a whole. This arrangement achieves two equities at the same time. There are Muslim majorities in Pakistan and non-Muslim majority in Hindustan. Simultaneously, the Muslim minority in Hindustan equals in number the non-Muslim minority in Pakistan. If the Hindu majority of Hindustan oppresses the Muslim minority there, the Muslim majority of Pakistan will be in a position to threaten reprisals on their Hindu minorities to

the same extent. This knowledge of equal number of hostages in the two States will most effectively check any intended or likely oppression of the majorities over their minorities. Though this method sounds very crude to the civilised ears, this is the only possible safeguard of the minorities of India. Those who know the inhumanness [*sic* for inhumanity] of the majorities, particularly of the bigger one, are convinced that no other method will be of any consequence.

This principle of equality in the numbers of minorities in the two States secures two additional advantages. If the migration of minorities to their respective majority areas begins—it will be simply exchange of habitations and there need not be overcrowding in one area and thinning in the other. Any tendency towards inequality of the cross migrations could be adjusted by slight State efforts. This is an imminent problem. The extent of recent migrations from Bihar has convinced impartial observers that voluntary migrations will involve at least 20% of the total Muslim minorities in Hindustan in the immediate future. Without the principle of equality of minority, this problem will be utterly impossible of solution. Of course it must be admitted that the bulk of the minorities will remain where they now are. Oppression on them can be kept in check by the threat of reprisal on the minorities in the other State. But very little can possibly be done to bring to them the benefits of positive State services to develop their culture. Many of them may still desire to migrate to the areas of their own majorities but financially migration may be an impracticable proposition. State-assisted migration may come to the rescue of these people. Without the principle of equality in the numbers of minorities in the two States, such State-assisted migration cannot be effected on any substantial scale.

In view of the eternal hostilities between Hindus and Muslims and particularly strained relations at present, Muslims are bound to be treated as foreign nationals in Hindustan and a similar behaviour may be meted out to Caste Hindus in Pakistan. All these minorities, therefore, should have a potential national home in the other State which will see to the safeguarding of their interests as long as they live as foreign nationals outside their own domain, and, in the extreme case, to reclaim them within their own boundaries. All these considerations require that the minorities in the two States should [be] equate[d] in numbers.

In short, the simple principle of division of Indian territories between Muslims and non-Muslims is (1) to demarcate Pakistan to have a total population equal to the entire Muslim population of India, and Hindustan to have an area that has got a population equal to the total

non-Muslim population of India. This principle is to be supplemented by the proviso (2) that in Pakistan areas Muslims must have an overall majority while in Hindustan, non-Muslims must have an overall majority. From these two principles it necessarily follows that the Muslim minority in Hindustan will be equal in number to non-Muslim minority in Pakistan.

Do the provisional boundaries between Hindustan and Pakistan as given in the statement of the Indian policy on the 3rd June 1947 satisfy these two fundamental considerations? It is apparent that in both the wings of Pakistan as well as in Hindustan there are Muslim and Hindu majorities respectively. This principle has been applied to such an inordinate extent that not only there are overall majorities of Muslims in Pakistan and of non-Muslims in Hindustan but in Pakistan there are Muslim majorities in every separate district. But the primary consideration of boundary demarcation, i.e. that Pakistan and Hindustan will include within their boundaries populations equal to the aggregate Muslim and non-Muslim populations of India respectively, has not been fulfilled. The population strength of the two wings of Pakistan are as follows:

<i>As in 1941 Census</i>	
<i>Eastern Pakistan</i>	<i>In millions</i>
Sylhet	3
East Bengal	<u>41</u>
[Total]	44
<i>Western Pakistan</i>	
N.W.F. Province	3
Sind	4.2
West Punjab	17
British Baluchistan	.5
In Baluchistan, Bahawalpur and Khairpur to be joined with Pakistan	<u>.8</u>
[Total]	25.5
Grand Total in Pakistan	69.5
Total Muslim Population in India	95
Difference = 25.5 million.	

In the final boundary demarcation more regions having the population strength of 25.5 million have to be added to Pakistan areas to bring up the Pakistan population to their total all-India numerical strength of 95 million.

In the Pakistan suggested by Muslim League the population strength is as follows:

<i>Eastern Pakistan</i>	<i>In millions</i>
Assam	10.2
Bengal	<u>60.3</u>
	70.5
<i>Western Pakistan</i>	
N.W.F.P.	3
Sind	4.2
British Baluchistan	.5
Punjab	<u>28.4</u>
[Total]	36.1
Grand Total = 106.6 million.	

The excess over all-India numerical strength of the Muslims:
 $106.6 - 95 = 11.6$ million.

Hence from the proposed Pakistan of the Muslim League, if the following districts are excluded, the adjustments are just attained.

<i>Districts</i>	<i>Population in millions</i>
Midnapore	3.19
Bankura	1.29
Hooghly	1.38
Howrah	1.49
Burdwan excluding Asansol Sub-Division	<u>1.6</u>
Total: excluded districts	8.95 million

<i>From the Punjab</i>	
Kangra	.9
Simla	.03
Ambala	<u>.85</u>
Total from Punjab	1.78 million
Total from Pakistan	10.73 million
Excess population in Pakistan	11.6
	<u>10.7</u>
	.9 million

This small excess can be easily adjusted from the fringes of long boundaries between Hindustan and Pakistan.

The districts to be excluded from Pakistan proposed by the Muslim League have not been arbitrarily selected. These are the districts where non-Muslim percentages are the highest and where there are clean Caste Hindu majorities. In the other remaining districts of Pakistan, there are no clear Caste Hindu majorities.

In conclusion, the equitable division of India between Hindustan and Pakistan means the demarcation suggested by the Muslim League minus the Districts of Midnapore, Bankura, Hooghly, Howrah and Burdwan (with the exception of Asansol Sub-Division) in Bengal and Kangra, Simla and Ambala in the Punjab. This scientific demarcation which is a *via media* between the boundaries suggested by the Muslim League and the Congress is the only way of securing equity between the Hindus and Muslims of India.

In this connection it should be pointed out that Congress High Command including Patel and Nehru have been declaring for some time past not to coerce any Muslim majority areas into Hindustan [sic] against their wishes and those areas can have Pakistan, if they want. Lord Mountbatten's provisional Pakistan proposition is exactly what Congress has been suggesting for some time past. Lord Mountbatten has begun from the Congress end and his tone is apologetic to the Bengali Hindu sentiment and to the Sikhs of the Punjab. He has started with a truncated Pakistan with the courtesy of the Congress. But, to be impartial, he has to expand Pakistan to include a population of 95.5 million. In other words he has to add to his provisional Pakistan the Districts of Khulna, 24-Parganas, Birbhum, Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling of Bengal, all the Districts of Assam and the whole of Eastern Punjab except Kangra, Simla and Ambala. This will bring up Pakistan's population to the Muslim total of 95 million and Hindustan's population to the non-Muslim total of 292.3 million, while at the same time it will make the Hindu minority in Pakistan equal to the Muslim minority in Hindustan. The Labour Government has declared to maintain absolute impartiality between the Hindus and Muslims in the constitutional settlement of India; but to maintain that impartiality the territories allotted to the Muslims and Hindus must strictly correspond to their respective total population strength, i.e. Pakistan should include a population of 95 million and Hindustan a population of 292.3 million. And the allotment of territories is not a question of local majorities but of overall majority in each area as a whole. Will the Labour Government prove equal to its professions of impartiality? And maintain the scale of justice even between the Hindus and Muslims? The allotment of territories in strict proportion to population falls far short of Muslim League's claims, and probably this impartial decision also has to be imposed by Britain against the boisterous protestations of both the contestants. But this decision, being based on absolute justice and equality, will receive the commendation of all the fair-minded people of the world. The conscience of Hindus and Muslims, also, will

gradually tone down their excesses and they will fall in line with the bar of absolute justice and equity.

A. SADEQUE

*To Follow:*³

Part II. Partition of India and the Scheduled Castes (including Hill tribes).

Part III. Partition of India and Indian Economics.

Part IV. Hindu Bengal and Sikhs in Partition of India.

¹No. 1.

²Underlined here and hereafter in the original.

³Not available in QAP.

Enclosure 2 to No.182

F.1045/35-45

SURMA VALLEY AND HILL DIVISION

In any scheme for division of Assam, Surma Valley and Hill Division must naturally be incorporated into the Pakistan State of Bengal. Surma Valley and Hill Division consists of the plain Districts of Sylhet and Cachar, and Hill Districts, Khasi and Jaintia Hills, Naga Hills and Lushai Hills. Muslims form absolute majority of the population of this division. The population figures and percentage by communities are given below:

Total	42,18,875 ¹	Percentage	100
Muslims	21,27,254	"	50.4
Scheduled	4,16,601	"	9.8
Caste Hindus	9,78,113	"	23.1
Tribal	6,83,546	"	16.2

It may be noted here that Lushai Hills have no physical contiguity with remnant Assam. Access to Lushai Hills can only be through predominantly Muslim areas of Bengal and Assam. The last war has shown [that] Naga Hills and Lushai Hills are vital to Pakistan State for its strategic defence. Khasi and Jaintia Hills have close historical association with the predominantly Muslim District of Sylhet. The plain portions of the ancient Kingdom of Jaintia including its capital Jaintiapur even today form part of the District of Sylhet.

SURMA VALLEY (SYLHET AND CACHAR DISTRICTS)

If it is argued that the Hill Districts of Khasi and Jaintia Hills, Naga Hills and Lushai Hills need separate treatment, then the Surma Valley consisting of the Districts of Sylhet and Cachar with its absolutely [*sic*] majority of Muslim population inescapably falls to the share of Pakistan State. The population of Surma Valley and its communal composition is as follows:

Total population	37,57,783	Percentage	100
Muslims	21,25,067	"	56.5
Scheduled	4,16,471	"	11
Caste Hindus	9,58,859	"	25.5
Tribal	2,48,171	"	6.6

SURMA VALLEY PLAINS: MUSLIM ZONE (EXCLUDING NORTH CACHAR HILLS)

Though there is no justification to exclude from our calculation North Cachar Hills of Cachar District with its paltry population of 37,361 consisting of Kachari, Naga, Kuki and other tribes, scattered over the vast area of 1,888 sq. miles, yet we can make our position impregnable and irresistible by concentrating on the demand for Surma Valley Plains, that is the Districts of Sylhet and Hailakandi and Silchar Sub-Divisions of Cachar District with absolute majority of homogeneous Muslim population.

The figures are given below:

Total population	37,20,520	Percentage [100]
Muslims	21,24,635	" 57
Schedule[d]	4,16,286	" 11
Caste Hindus	9,53,736	" 25
Tea Garden Tribes	2,16,642	" 6

It may be noted here that the tribes in Surma Valley Plains are not indigenous. They are floating population of Tea Garden labourers. As distinct from plain tribals of Assam Valley, in 1935 Constitution, they were not given the right to vote in General Territorial constituencies. In Census Report 1941, they are classified as Tea Garden Tribes, while the indigenous tribes have been described as "Assam Tribes". In considering the communal claims on territories, on population basis, this foreign element of Tea Garden labourers, imported from outside the province should, in our view, be left out of account.

The details of population figures in Surma Valley Plains Muslim Zone are as follows:

Sylhet District

Total population	31,16,602	Percentage	[100]
Muslims	18,92,117	"	60.7
Scheduled	3,64,510	"	11
Caste Hindus	7,85,004	"	25
Tea Garden Tribes	65,621	"	2

Hailakandi Sub-Division (Cachar District)

Total population	1,66,536	Percentage	[100]
Muslims	85,963	"	51
Scheduled	11,381	"	6
Caste Hindus	37,787	"	22
Tea Garden Tribes	29,585	"	17

Silchar Sub-Division (Cachar District)

Total population	4,37,284	Percentage	[100]
Muslims	1,46,555	"	31.2
Scheduled	40,395	"	9
Caste Hindus	1,30,447	"	29.9

Through [*sic* for though] the present administrative boundaries are of lesser moment, in considering the communal composition of contiguous continuous homogenous areas, yet we find that even in Silchar Sub-Division, though not forming absolute majority, the Muslims form the single largest group. This position is also reflected in the communal proportion in almost all the *thanas* of Silchar Sub-Division as the following figures will show:

Thanas in Silchar Sub-Division

Thanas	Total	Muslims	Scheduled Castes	Caste Hindus	Tea Garden Tribes
Katigora	63,273	27,675	5,283	18,075	11,555
Barkhola	34,654	11,789	985	8,299	12,190
Udarbond	35,220	6,597	2,109	6,384	18,538
Lakhipur	78,595	17,257	1,494	27,941	28,981
Sonai	85,402	33,249	14,580	28,715	7,191
Silchar	1,39,522	49,928	14,875	41,261	31,448

Percentage of the above

<i>Thanas</i>	Muslims	Scheduled Caste	Hindus	Tea Garden Tribes
	Castes			
Katigora	43.7	8.3	28.5	18.2
Barkhola	34	2.8	23.9	35.1
Udarbond	18.7	5.9	18	52
Lakhipur	21.9	1.9	35.5	36.6
Sonai	38.9	17	33	8.4
Silchar	35.7	10	22.5	29.5

The following are the figures for Cachar Plains consisting of Silchar and Hailakandi Sub-Divisions:

<i>Cachar Plains</i>		Percentage
Total population	6,03,820	[100]
Muslims	2,32,518	38.5
Scheduled [Castes]	51,776	8.5
Caste Hindus	1,68,734	27.9
Tea Garden Tribes	1,39,691	23.1

Consideration of the communal proportion of different communities inevitably lead[s] to the conclusion that Surma Valley and Hill Division, or in the alternative Surma Valley comprising the Districts of Sylhet and Cachar must be incorporated in the Pakistan State. The case of the inclusion of Surma Valley plains [in] Muslim Zone in the Pakistan State is unassailable.

ASSAM VALLEY MUSLIM ZONE

The main belt of the compact Muslim majority Zone in Assam Valley, contiguous to Bengal begins from Mankachar, bordering Rangpur District, runs through Dhubri and Goalpara Sub-Divisions in Goalpara District up to Tara Bari Thana in Barpeta Sub-Division in Kamrup District and little beyond. It consists of 1. Mankachar 2. South Salmara 3. Lakhipur 4. Dhubri 5. Golakganj 6. Bilashipara 7. North Salmara Thanas in Goalpara District and 8. Sorbhog 9. Barpeta and 10. Tarabari Thanas of Barpeta Sub-Division in Kamrup District. Muslims in this area form 61.2 per cent. of the total population and are thus in overwhelmingly absolute majority over all other communities. The detail[ed] figures, *thana by thana*, are as follows:

[Thanas]		Total	Muslims	Scheduled Caste Hindus Tribals		
				Castes		
1.	Mankachar	39,671	31,543	1,034	6,137	937
2.	South Salmara	89,671	82,794	900	6,071	82
3.	Lakhipur	81,391	56,469	192	13,951	10,781
4.	Dhubri	94,146	61,469	2,571	25,593	4,513
5.	Golakganj	85,464	37,396	1,425	45,609	1,087
6.	Bilashipara	1,01,584	52,958	2,186	33,195	13,265
7.	North Salmara	1,06,463	52,262	6,851	47,213	137
8.	Sorbhog	1,22,381	63,594	981	36,942	20,763
9.	Barpeta	1,80,520	98,041	8,997	66,294	7,185
10.	Tarabari	<u>65,265</u>	<u>55,339</u>	<u>1,047</u>	<u>8,225</u>	<u>652</u>
Total		9,66,556	5,91,843	26,183	2,89,230	59,302
Percentage		100	61.2	2.7	29	6.1

Percentage thana by thana

Thanas	Muslims	Scheduled Castes	Caste Hindus	Tribals
1. Mankachar	79.5	2.6	15.4	2.4
2. South Salmara	92.3	1	6.7	.9
3. Lakhipur	69.3	.2	17.1	13
4. Dhubri	65.2	2.7	27.1	4.7
5. Golakganj	43.7	1.6	53.3	1.2
6. Bilashipara	52.2	2.1	32.6	13.5
7. North Salmara	49.2	6.4	44.3	1
8. Sorbhog	51.9	.8	33.1	16.9
9. Barpeta	54.3	4.9	36.7	3.4
10. Tarabari	84.7	1.6	12.6	.9

This majority Muslim area encloses and shuts out from the rest of Assam, the predominantly tribal *thanas* of Gossaingaon, Kokrajar, Sidli and Bijni in Dhubri Sub-Division of Goalpara District. The population figures of these predominantly tribal *thanas* are given below:

Thanas	Total	Muslims	Scheduled Castes	Caste Hindus	Tribals
Gossaingaon	86,893	20,924	206	14,896	50,718
Kokrajar	85,926	13,918	84	22,790	49,042
Sidli	59,165	10,609	75	15,505	32,845
Bijni	<u>71,996</u>	<u>25,407</u>	<u>484</u>	<u>23,468</u>	<u>22,620</u>
[Total]	3,03,980	70,858	849	76,659	1,55,225

<i>Percentage [Thanas]</i>	Muslims	Scheduled Castes	Caste Hindus	Tribals
Gossaingaon	24	.2	17.1	58.5
Kokrajar	16.1	.01	26.5	56
Sidli	17.9	.01	26.1	55.7
Bijni	35.3	.6	32.5	31

If these tribal *thanas* are added to the Muslim majority area, Muslims still retain the absolute majority as the following figures will show:

Tribal <i>thanas</i>	Total	Muslims	Scheduled Castes	Caste Hindus	Tribals
Dhubri Sub-Division	3,03,890	70,857	849	76,659	1,55,225
Muslim majority area	<u>9,66,556</u>	<u>5,91,843</u>	<u>26,183</u>	<u>2,89,230</u>	<u>59,302</u>
[Total]	12,70,536	6,62,701	27,032	3,65,889	2,14,527
Percentage	[100]	52.1	2.1	28	17

This majority Muslim Zone covers the entire Sub-Division of Dhubri in Goalpara District, *thana* of Lakhipur in Goalpara Sub-Division and the *thanas* of Sorbhog, Barpeta and Tarabari in Barpeta Sub-Division. It is bounded on the west by Rangpur, Cooch Behar and Jalpaiguri, on the north by Bhutan, on the east by *thanas*—Pathcharkuchi, Nalbari and Hajo and on the south by *thanas* of Boko, Goalpara and the District of Garo Hills.

It may be recalled that the permanently settled portion of Goalpara District was originally part of the Bengal District of Rangpur. In 1822, it was formed into a separate District known as North-East Rangpur. Goalpara District was incorporated into Assam in 1874. The population of the district is predominantly Bengali-speaking.

PASCHIM CHAMARIA AND PUB CHAMARIA

Across the Brahmaputra, opposite and contiguous to Tarabari Thana, which is included in the Muslim Zone, lie the *mouzas* of Paschim Chamaria and Pub Chamaria. Paschim Chamaria is 100 sq. miles in area and Pub Chamaria covers an area of 68 sq. miles. Paschim Chamaria is in the north of Boko Thana and Pub Chamaria north of Thana Chaygaon. With their preponderating Muslim majority these two *mouzas* should also be amalgamated with Tarabari Thana and included in the Muslim Zone. The population of these two *mouzas* is as follows:

[Mouzas]	Total	Muslims	Scheduled Caste	Hindus	Tribals
Paschim Chamaria	17,005	10,723	1,129	5,147	-
Pub Chamaria	<u>17,359</u>	<u>14,132</u>	<u>566</u>	<u>2,467</u>	<u>194</u>
[Total]	34,364	24,855	1,675	7,614	194
Percentage	[100]	72.3	4.8	22.1	[.8]

Percentage by mouzas

[Mouzas]	Muslims	Scheduled Caste	Hindus	Tribals
Paschim Chamaria	63	6.6	30.2	-
Pub Chamaria	81.4	3.2	14.2	1.1

NOWGONG DISTRICT AND DARRANG DISTRICT

Dhing and Rupahihat and Dalgaoon Thanas

In Nowgong District the Muslims, though not forming the absolute majority of Muslim total population, constitute as follows:

Total population	7,10,800	Percentage
Muslims	2,50,113	35.1
Scheduled Caste	59,214	8.3
Caste Hindus	2,29,137	32.2
Tribals	1,66,525	23.4

Though not quite contiguous to the absolute Muslim majority areas, there are three contiguous *thanas* in Nowgong District where the Muslims form a compact block. These are the *thanas* of Lahorighat, Dhing, and Rupahihat with the following population figures:

[Thanas]	Total	Muslims	Scheduled Caste	Hindus	Tribals
Lahorighat	85,752	54,070	7,459	16,058	6,955
Dhing	53,253	37,055	2,303	12,274	1,559
Rupahihat	<u>1,07,844</u>	<u>86,860</u>	<u>8,239</u>	<u>11,614</u>	<u>936</u>
[Total]	2,46,849	1,75,985	17,981	39,946	9,450

<i>Percentage of the above</i>				
<i>[Thanas]</i>	Muslims	Scheduled Castes	Caste Hindus	Tribals
Lahorighat	60.7	8.6	18.7	8.1
Dhing	69.5	4.3	23	2
Rupahihat	80.5	7.6	10.7	.8

Opposite Lahorighat Thana and contiguous to it, across the Brahmaputra is situated the predominantly Muslim *thana* of Dalgaon. The population of this *thana* is distributed as follows:

		Percentage
Total population	48,682	[100]
Muslims	38,626	79.3
Scheduled Castes	294	.6
Caste Hindus	3,382	6.9
Assam Tribes	1,827	3.7
Others	4,553	9.3

Combined population of contiguous Muslim majority *thanas* in Nowgong and Darrang Districts are as follows:

<i>[Thanas]</i>	Total	Muslims	Scheduled Castes	Caste Hindus	Tribals
Nowgong					
Muslim <i>thanas</i>	2,46,849	1,75,985	17,981	39,946	9,450
Dalgaon,					
Darrang District	<u>48,682</u>	<u>38,626</u>	<u>294</u>	<u>3,382</u>	<u>1,827</u>
Total	2,95,531	214,611	18,275	43,328	11,277

Percentage of the population in Muslim thanas in Nowgong and Darrang

Muslims	72.6
Scheduled Castes	6
Caste Hindus	14.6
Tribals	3.8

On the border of Dalgaon Thana lies the *mouza* of Samabari in Mangaldai Thana with an area of 42 sq. miles and preponderating Muslim population.

CONTIGUITY OF NOWGONG MUSLIM THANAS

A very large number of people from Sylhet and Cachar Districts

have colonised the Lanka, Hojai, Namati and Jamunamukh Mouzas of Jamunamukh Thana in Nowgong District. This *thana* borders on Cachar District. These *mouzas* are populated so overwhelmingly by Sylhet and Cachar people that Government created specially a "Sylhet Block" in this area, as colony for Sylhet and Cachar people.

Contiguity of the Muslim *thanas* of Nowgong and Darrang with the predominantly Muslim areas in Surma Valley can be obtained through the *mouzas* of Lanka, Hojai, Nomati, Jamunamukh in Jamunamukh Thana and the *mouzas* of Duor Bamuni, Chalchali and Khatwal in Samaguri Thana of Nowgong District. The total population of these *mouzas* is as follows:

[Mouzas]	Total	Muslims	Scheduled Castes	Caste Hindus	Tribals
Lanka, Hojai, Nomati, Jamunamukh, Duor Bamuni, Chalchali and Khatwal	95,557	29,371	2,649	31,206	22,539
Nowgong & Darrang Muslim <i>thanas</i>	<u>2,95,531</u>	<u>2,14,611</u>	<u>18,275</u>	<u>43,328</u>	<u>11,277</u>
[Total]	3,91,088	2,43,882	20,924	74,534	33,816
Percentage	[100]	62.3	5.2	19.5	8

Considerable Mikir population inhabit the Rangkhong Mouza in Mikir tracts in Jamunamukh Thana. This *mouza* may be left with the remnant of Nowgong District.

EXPANSION OF POPULATION

All the figures given in this note relate to 1941 Census. This, however, is an inadequate appreciation of the population position, so far as Assam Valley is concerned. As every census has shown, the expansion of Muslim population in the Districts of Goalpara, Kamrup, Darrang and Nowgong has been in far greater population [*sic* for proportion] than others. Besides this normal increased expansion the Bengal famine of 1942 has contributed to large influx to Assam of immigrants who are predominantly Muslims. Population position today is substantially different in these Assam Valley districts than what it was in 1941. Muslims who were 47 per cent. in Dhubri Sub-Division, 46.2 in Goalpara Sub-Division, 49.4 in Barpeta Sub-Division must have attained majority there by now. Muslim population in Nowgong and Darrang has also very largely increased since census was taken in 1941. These facts are to be taken into consideration in any scheme of redistribution of territories in Assam.

The following are figures of expansion of population during last three decades in the Districts of Goalpara, Kamrup, Darrang and Nowgong:

EXPANSION OF POPULATION

[Districts]	1911 to 1921		1921 to 1931		1931 to 1941	
	Muslims P.C. ²	Others P.C.	Muslims P.C.	Others P.C.	Muslims P.C.	Others P.C.
Goalpara	49.5	14.6	22.5	11	20.9	10.2
Kamrup	72.6	7.9	116	13	53	22
Darrang	79.9	23.6	85	17	79	19.8
Nowgong	349.9	13	152	175	40.5	20

Besides compact contiguous *thanas* the Muslim population is widely distributed throughout the province. Out of 113 *thanas* in the plain districts of the province, Muslims predominate in 50 *thanas*, Hindus in 40, Assam Tribes and Tea Garden Tribes in 22 *thanas* and Ahoms in 1 *thana*. In any scheme for division of Assam, this fact should be borne in mind.

LANGUAGE

The areas in which Muslims are in majority also coincide with areas which are predominantly Bengali-speaking. In 1941, census was not taken on linguistic basis. According to Census of 1931, in Goalpara District, out of every 10,000 people 5,397 speak Bengali as mother tongue and 1,826 speak Assamese. Dhubri Sub-Division is predominantly Bengali-speaking. In Surma Valley 8,729 out of every 10,000 speak Bengali as mother tongue and 1,826 speak Assamese. Dhubri Sub-Division is predominantly Bengali-speaking. In Surma Valley 8,729 out of every 10,000 speak Bengali ■ mother tongue, in Sylhet 9,212 and 6,280 in Cachar plains.

GARO HILLS

Garo Hills owing to its peculiar geographical position needs special mention. Garo Hills are practically surrounded on three sides by predominantly Muslim areas in Bengal and Assam. It is bounded on the south by Mymensingh, on the east by Rangpur, on the north by Mankachar, South Salmara, Lakhipur, Goalpara and Dudnai *Thanas* and on the east by Khasi and Jaintia Hills. Its main outlet to outside world lies through Muslim Zone. Reserves in Garo Hills can only be exploited by means of access through predominantly Muslim areas. Cut off from Pakistan areas, prospects for Garo Hills are dark indeed.

To sum up, the following is the total population in the Muslim areas in Assam:

MUSLIM AREA

(Including Hill Districts of K. & J. Hills, Naga Hills and Lushai Hills)

[Districts]	Total	Muslims	Scheduled Castes	Caste Hindus	Tribals
Surma Valley & Hill Division	42,18,875	21,27,254	4,16,601	9,78,113	6,83,546
Assam Valley					
Muslim Zone	<u>12,70,536</u>	<u>6,62,701</u>	<u>27,032</u>	<u>3,65,889</u>	<u>2,14,527</u>
[Total]	54,89,411	27,89,955	4,43,633	13,51,616	8,98,073
Paschim & Pub Chamaria	<u>34,364</u>	<u>24,855</u>	<u>1,675</u>	<u>7,614</u>	<u>194</u>
[Total]	55,23,775	28,14,810	4,45,308	13,51,616	8,98,267
Nowgong & Darrang					
Muslim areas	<u>2,95,531</u>	<u>2,14,611</u>	<u>18,275</u>	<u>43,328</u>	<u>11,277</u>
[Total]	58,19,306	30,29,421	4,63,583	13,94,944	9,09,544

MUSLIM AREA

(Excluding Hill Districts)

[Districts]	Total	Muslims	Scheduled Castes	Caste Hindus	Tribals
Surma Valley (Sylhet & Cachar)	37,57,783	21,25,067	4,16,471	9,58,859	2,48,171
Assam Valley					
Muslim Zone	<u>12,70,536</u>	<u>6,62,701</u>	<u>27,032</u>	<u>3,65,889</u>	<u>2,14,527</u>
[Total]	50,28,319	27,87,768	4,53,503	13,24,748	4,62,698
Paschim & Pub Chamaria	<u>34,364</u>	<u>24,855</u>	<u>1,675</u>	<u>7,614</u>	<u>194</u>
[Total]	50,62,683	28,12,623	4,45,178	13,32,362	4,62,892
Nowgong & Darrang Thanas	<u>2,95,531</u>	<u>2,14,611</u>	<u>18,275</u>	<u>43,328</u>	<u>11,277</u>
[Grand Total]	53,58,214	30,27,234	4,63,453	13,75,690	4,74,769

This leaves out of account the population in few *mouzas* in Jamunamukh and Samaguri Thanas in Nowgong District through

which contiguity of Muslim *thanas* in Nowgong is to be obtained with the District of Cachar.

HILL DISTRICTS

(K. & J. Hills, Naga Hills, Lushai Hills and Garo Hills)

The question arises how are the Hill Districts to be allocated? Neither Caste Hindus nor Muslims form more than 2 to 10 per cent. of the population of the Hill Districts which are overwhelmingly tribal. The population figures are as follows:

[Districts]	Total	Muslims	Scheduled Castes	Caste Hindus	Tribals
K. & J. Hills	1,18,665	1,555	63	12,676	1,03,567
Naga Hills	1,89,641	531	45	4,153	1,84,766
Lushai Hills	<u>1,52,786</u>	<u>101</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>2,425</u>	<u>1,47,042</u>
[Total]	4,61,092	2,187	130	19,254	4,35,375
Garo Hills	<u>2,23,569</u>	<u>10,398</u>	<u>789</u>	<u>13,518</u>	<u>1,98,474</u>
[Grand Total]	6,84,661	12,585	919	32,772	6,33,849

On the grounds of contiguity, commercial intercourse, long historic association, need for strategic defence and the interests of tribal people themselves, the Hill Districts should be amalgamated with the Muslim area.

REMNANT ASSAM

Let us examine what remains of Assam after the Muslim areas have been separated. As neither Muslims nor Caste Hindus, as such, can claim the Hill Districts on population basis, we may leave out of account the Hill Districts in determining the relative position of the two communities in the province. Position thus stands as follows:

[Districts]	Total	Muslims	Scheduled Castes	Caste Hindus	Tribals
British territory	10,204,733	34,42,479	6,76,291	36,36,932	24,84,996
Hill districts	<u>- 6,84,661</u>	<u>- 12,585</u>	<u>- 919</u>	<u>- 32,772</u>	<u>- 6,33,849</u>
Deduct	95,20,072	34,29,894	6,75,372	35,04,160	18,51,147
Assam Plains	<u>- 50,62,683</u>	<u>- 28,12,632</u>	<u>- 4,45,178</u>	<u>- 13,32,862</u>	<u>- 4,62,892</u>
Deduct Muslim ■■■ excluding Nowgong, Darrang Thanas & Hill Districts	44,57,389	6,17,271	2,30,194	21,71,298	13,88,255

Deduct Nowgong &
Darrang Muslim
Thanas

- 2,95,531 - 2,14,611 - 18,275 - 43,328 - 11,277

[Grand Total] 41,61,858 4,02,660 2,11,919 21,27,970 13,76,978

The Muslim areas will contain 53 lakh of population of Assam Plains ■ against 41 lakh in remnant Assam. Apart from other considerations, on this ground also, the 4 Hill Districts should go with the Muslim area. 21 lakh of Caste Hindus can hardly claim them with any justification.

¹Some of the calculations here and hereafter, in the original, are incorrect.

²Stands for percentage.

183

R. E. B. Willcox to M. A. Jinnah

F.485/13

CROSBY HOUSE, 36-37 GREAT ST. HELENS,
LONDON E.C. 3,

20 June 1947

Dear Sir,

We confirm our letter of the 21st April¹ and beg to enclose statement relating to disbursements made to and on behalf of the Muslim India Information Centre, amounting to £989-7-11, for which amount we shall be pleased to receive your remittance.

Yours faithfully,
R. E. B. WILLCOX

¹No. 333, Vol.I, Part I, 578-9.

Enclosure to No.183

F.485/14

CROSBY HOUSE, 36-37, GREAT ST. HELENS,
LONDON, E.C.3,
19 June 1947

DRS. TO R. E. B. WILLCOX & CO.
STATEMENT OF THE ACCOUNTS OF THE MUSLIM
INDIA INFORMATION CENTRE
UP TO THE 19TH JUNE 1947

Disbursement to and on behalf of the Centre.

Details of Expenditure

Balance brought forward from Statement dated 18th April 1947				£ 665	12	3
Expenses during period 19th April to 19th June 1947:						
Stenographer's salary	£ 46	2	1			
Salary Mr. Suleri	£ 38	-	-			
Office Equipment—Chairs, Tables, Steel Shelves, etc., and Duplicating Machine	£ 97	10	10			
Rent	£ 39	-	-			
General Office Expenses	£ 58	4	2	£ 278	17	1
[Total]				£ 944	9	4
Cash in hands of Mr. Suleri				£ 44	18	7
Due to us				£ 989	7	11
				R. E. B. WILLCOX		

184

Mrs Zakia Akhtar to M. A. Jinnah

F.682/308

RAILWAY OFFICERS' FLATS,
M. & S. RAILWAY RANGAPURAM, MADRAS,
20 June 1947

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

With reference to your appeal through the press,¹ I enclose Rs. 100, my mite, towards the Pakistan Fund. May God give you long life and good health to guide the destiny of our rising nation.

Yours sincerely,
MRS. ZAKIA AKHTAR

¹No. 128.

185

Durgadas B. Advani to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F.778/1-3 & 29

KARACHI,
21 June 1947

M. A. Jinnah, Esq., New Delhi.

Orient Press interview with you leads me request your intervention Sind University controversy. I met you with colleagues at Karachi. You kindly promised help. Act¹ passed in rather [sic for utter] disregard minorities viewpoint. Recent negotiations approaching completion were terminated without reason by Minister.² Consequently educational institutions continuing affiliation Bombay University. Minister now giving threats withholding grants, scholarships, resumption land. Actions unjustified as minorities have always evinced keen desire for honourable compromise. Recent admissions Government Medical College show downright undue preference in [sic for for] Muslims. Even non-Sindhi Muslims preferred to Hindus with far higher qualifications. Minorities feel urgent need having their own University. Kindly extend your support in our endeavour.

DURGADAS B. ADVANI
Chairman,
Citizens' Committee

¹See Nos. 11, 19 and 71, Vol. I, Part I, 33-40, 63, 162-4, respectively, and also No. 143.

²Pir Ilahi Bakhsh, Sind Minister for Education.

186

Syed Aslam to M. A. Jinnah

F.162/38

9980 PUL BANGASH, DELHI,
21 June 1947

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,
Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I have made ■■■■ attempts during the past period [sic] to get ■ few

minutes' interview with you but due to your pre-occupation on most vital matters, I did not think it proper to disturb you.

My sole aim in life is to do some service towards my fellow brethren in India and abroad. With this object in view, I have formulated a scheme, a brief gist of which I beg to enclose herewith for your kind perusal.

All that I need at your kind hands in this connection is your kind patronage and blessings. Some important brief details remain to be explained to you and I shall be highly grateful if an interview at your convenience is granted to me.

Yours obediently,
SYED ASLAM
M.B.B.S.
Pathologist and Physician

Enclosure to No.186

F.162/39-40

THE MUSLIM NATIONAL INFORMATION BUREAU
With its branches in most Muslim countries

OBJECT(S)

1. To enlighten the masses, Muslims in particular
2. To elucidate the Muslim League viewpoint
3. To organise Muslims under one banner
4. To further friendship among Muslim countries
5. To evolve a perfect instrument of public contact
6. To establish an organ of Muslim national propaganda
7. To provide opportunities for the free expression of opinion and unprejudiced and unbiased description of events

POLICY

The management is responsible to the President of the All India Muslim League, or any such body appointed by him.

ORGANS

There will be two organs issued from each of its branches:

1. Daily paper of standard size with local supplements, if needed
2. A bi-monthly magazine of eighty pages in fourteen inches by eleven inches size

MEDIUM

The language of the country is to be employed as the medium of expression. In case of Pakistan, Urdu will be printed with [sic] iron letters. A search is already in progress to get as close to *nasta'leeq* as possible. Large-scale, clear, legible, and quick printing is not possible otherwise.

PRIORITY

Branches will be installed in most of the Muslim countries in the following order of priority:

1. Pakistan
2. Egypt—Cairo
3. Turkey—Istanbul or Ankara
4. Iraq—Baghdad
5. Iran—Tehran
6. To be considered as opportunity arises and the material [is] available

CAPITAL

Authorized capital Rs. 3,000,000

Issued capital Rs. 3,000,000

TOTAL AND PRESENT ISSUE

All the 300,000 ordinary shares of Rs. 10 each will be offered for public subscription. The issue will be at par.

Rs. 2-8-0 on application

Rs. 2-8-0 on allotment

Rs. 2-8-0 on first call

Rs. 2-8-0 on second call

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

1. The President of the All India Muslim League or any person or persons, up to the limit of three, appointed by him
2. Qualified share-holders
3. Heads of certain branches of the management
4. Certain technicians

DIRECTORS' QUALIFICATIONS

The qualification of a Director is the holding of shares of the nominal value of Rs. 5,000 in the concern.

DIRECTORS' REMUNERATION

All the Directors [will] get agreed sum of money [for the] meetings attended. All the share-holding Directors [will be] interested only in so far as they hold shares in the concern and receive fees.

TRANSFER OF SHARES

The transfer of shares is restricted at the discretion of the Directors.

BANKERS

Habib Bank, [or] as agreed upon

AUDITORS

As appointed

MANAGEMENT

After [every] five years the management is to be re-elected by the Board of Directors.

MACHINERY

Most modern electric printing machines are to be employed.

MATERIAL

An endeavour will be made to procure the best products. In the meanwhile what best is available will be employed.

COMMUNICATIONS

Teleprinters are to be used, while auto-sets are always kept in mind and first opportunity is to be availed [to introduce them].

SYED ASLAM

187

*F. A. Dignum to Louis Mountbatten
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)*

F.674/3-5

7 SUDDER STREET, CALCUTTA,
21 June 1947

MEMORANDUM SUBMITTED ON BEHALF OF THE ANGLO-INDIAN
LEAGUE, BENGAL, CLAIMING SEPARATE RECOGNITION
FOR THE ANGLO-INDIAN COMMUNITY IN THE
SETTLEMENT OF INDIA'S POLITICAL DESTINY

The Council of the Anglo-Indian League, Bengal, beg to draw Your Excellency's attention to a grave omission which has been made in His Majesty's Government's award.¹ It has not recognised the existence of the Anglo-Indian community as a political entity. The entire scheme of the transfer of power formulated by His Majesty's Government is

based on the fact that it recognises the existence of only two major communities in India, namely the Muslims and the Hindus, although it has recognised the need of a separate homeland for the Sikhs. My Council holds that a division of India into Muslim and non-Muslim communities is not based on realities. There are communities other than Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs, who should be given the democratic right of deciding whether to live in Pakistan or in Hindustan, according to the contiguous areas they are placed in.

There are communities like the Parsis, Jains, Jews and a section of the Indian Christians who do not economically and politically claim separate identity or representation. My Council affirms that Anglo-Indians are a distinct community by virtue of tradition, religion and language, from other communities of India. That is why the community had claimed in the past and were accorded separate representation in the Provincial Legislatures which were created by virtue of the Government of India Act, 1935. This principle was recognised in the Calcutta Municipal Act, 1923, and Anglo-Indians have separate representation on the Corporation of Calcutta. It is therefore amazing to find that His Majesty's Government's recent announcement has completely failed to recognise the historical fact of our existence as a community.

My Council, however, submits that there is still time to rectify this wrong and remedy the injustice done to our community. This can be done by including in the terms of reference to the Boundary Commission the question of giving the Anglo-Indian community the right of choosing their own destiny by deciding to live either in Pakistan or in Hindustan.

From the population figures given below² it will be evident that the largest concentration of Anglo-Indians in the whole of India is in Calcutta where they number 20,141. Calcutta's present position and prosperity has been built up by many nations and several communities of India, including the Anglo-Indians who have given unstinted service to the building of this great city. Calcutta has not been built up by the efforts of Bengali Hindus alone and cannot, therefore, be handed over to them. It is a cosmopolitan city and the history of its development leaves no alternative to His Majesty's Government but [to] declare it an international city.

The population of Anglo-Indians in the whole of India is 140,422, out of which 31,619 live in Bengal. They are intensely interested in the future of the city of Calcutta where there are 20,141 Anglo-Indians besides the large numbers settled in the other contiguous areas.

My Council, therefore, requests that Your Excellency will give us an

opportunity of explaining our viewpoint personally with the hope that Your Excellency will be pleased to bring this Memorandum to the notice of His Majesty's Government.

F. A. DIGNUM

M.B.E.

President,

Anglo-Indian League, Bengal

¹No. 1.

²Enclosure.

Enclosure to No. 187

F.674/6-7

CENSUS 1941

Anglo-Indians

Total population 140,422

Bengal 31,619

DETAILS BY DIVISIONS

Burdwan Division 6,876

Presidency Division 21,043

Rajshahi Division 1,569

Dacca Division 379

Chittagong Division 1,752

Total 31,619

BURDWAN DIVISION—DETAILS BY DISTRICTS

Burdwan 2,377

Birbhum 28

Bankura 4

Midnapore 2,043

Hooghly 184

Howrah 2,240

Total 6,876

PRESIDENCY DIVISION—DETAILS BY DISTRICTS

24-Parganas 859

Calcutta 20,141

Nadia 21

Murshidabad 17

Jessore Nil

Khulna 5

Total 21,043

RAJSHAHI DIVISION—DETAILS BY DISTRICTS

Rajshahi	9
Dinajpur	100
Jalpaiguri	40
Darjeeling	1,109
Rangpur	245
Bogra	39
Pabna	24
Malda	<u>3</u>
Total	1,569

DACCA DIVISION—DETAILS BY DISTRICTS

Dacca	314
Mymensingh	24
Faridpur	10
Bakarganj	<u>31</u>
Total	379

CHITTAGONG DIVISION—DETAILS BY DISTRICTS

Tippera	114
Noakhali	318
Chittagong	1,320
Chittagong Hill Tracts	<u>Nil</u>
Total	1,752

F. A. DIGNUM
President

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Governor-General¹ to Secretary of State for India

Telegram, F.1108/64

TOP SECRET/IMPORTANT
O.T.P. No.4854

NEW DELHI,
21 June 1947

Following telegram from Ind[ian] Embassy Nanking No. 187 of 19th June is repeated for information.² See our telegram No. 4755 of 19th June.³

Begins. The Afghan Minister Sardar Tarzi called on me⁴ this morning. He was very free with his views on Indian political situation. He said emphatically that as an Afghan he had always wished to see ■

United India. But now that India was going to be divided the claims and sentiments of Afghanistan regarding the Afghan portions of India should not (repeat not) be ignored. By Afghans he meant Pathans. Why he asked should they be forced to join either Hindustan or Pakistan? Why should not (repeat not) N.W.F.P. and Baluchistan be formed into an independent State in intimate relations with Afghanistan? The line between tribal territory in British India and in Afghanistan was an artificial one and would always give trouble. For sake of India the British had waged three wars⁵ against Afghanistan and deliberately kept her weak as a buffer State. This was not only an immoral but foolish policy because it did not even ensure peace on Indian Frontier (group omitted?). Afghanistan now expected recompense for all wrong done to her in last century. What exactly the recompense was he did not define but one thing Afghanistan would insist on was an outlet to sea. Tarzi said that these were his personal views and that he was speaking to me as brother to brother.

2. I merely said that we regarded the present division of India as a temporary expedient and that we would always welcome and support the existence of a strong, friendly and independent Afghanistan as our neighbour. *Ends.*

⁵Telegram sent by External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations Department. Also see *TP*, XI, No. 395, note 2, 731.

⁶Telegram was repeated to His Majesty's Minister at Kabul.

⁷See *TP*, XI, No. 140, note 2, 263.

⁸K.P.S. Menon, Indian Ambassador in China.

⁹1838-42; 1878-81; March-August 1919.

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G.I.P. Railway¹ Weekly Gazette Extraordinary

F.1124 [MF] Register]

No. 26

21 June 1947

OPTION TO EMPLOYEES TO SERVE IN PAKISTAN OR [IN] THE REST OF INDIA

With a view to implementing the orders of Government on the partition of India, the Railway Board desire that every individual employee of the Railway in India should be given the option of serving in the future Pakistan State or in the rest of India. This option should be exercised before 30th June 1947, and recorded in the form of questionnaire printed

as Annexure "A"² to this notification. The entire G.I.P. Railway system will be included in the rest of India area. Employees who are unable to make up their minds finally within this period, should fill in the form provisionally as ■ further opportunity will be afforded to them to make a final choice within six months from the date of transfer of power.

2. It should be clearly understood that the existing terms and conditions of service are guaranteed by the representatives of both the future Governments, and that a provisional choice now exercised will not in any way prejudice the employees' seniority or other conditions of service.

3. To enable staff to record their decision within the prescribed period, Zonal Committees consisting of two officers each will be set up, who will tour the area allotted to them and record all employees' options, irrespective of the department concerned. One of the two members of each committee will be a Muslim officer. [If a Muslim officer] is not available, a Muslim upper subordinate will be selected.

4. For the sake of economy and saving of labour, it has been decided that only the employees who desire to exercise their choice in favour of Pakistan should use the questionnaire form (Annexure "A") individually. All others electing to continue to serve in the rest of India will not use this questionnaire form, but will be required to affix signature or thumb impressions on a separate list, Annexure "B".³ These staff will also have the right of treating the choice as provisional or final.

5. All staff should get into touch with their immediate superiors, who will ensure that their decision is recorded.

6. These instructions do not apply to "casual labour" engaged on market rates.

7. All subordinate supervisory staff should give this matter the widest publicity, and should personally explain to all employees under them, especially the illiterate staff, the implications of these orders. They should ensure that the work of the Zonal Committees is facilitated in order that the recording of all employees' decisions is completed by 30th June 1947.

W. HOOD
General Manager

¹Great Indian Peninsular Railway.

²Enclosure.

³Not available in QAP.

*Enclosure to No.189*RAILWAY BOARD
ANNEXURE "A"

D. O. No. 47/57-SECY.

19 June 1947

QUESTIONNAIRE

(All answers to be in block letters)

1. Name (in full)
2. Service and/or Dep[artmen]t
3. Substantive Appointment
4. Present Appointment

(Answers to all the questions asked below should be in ■ simple affirmative or negative)

1. Do you elect to serve in Pakistan?
2. Do you elect to serve in the rest of India?
3. Is your choice final?
4. Is your choice provisional?

Note. 1. If your choice is provisional, you will have an opportunity to reconsider and indicate your final choice within a period of 6 months from the date of transfer.

2. All Government servants are assured that their existing terms and conditions of service are guaranteed by the representatives of both the future Governments.

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Habib Bank Ltd., Delhi, to M. A. Jinnah

F.682/311

CHANDNI CHOWK, DELHI,
21 June 1947

Dear Sir,

Re: Bihar Relief Fund

We acknowledge receipt of your letter of 19th June and enclosures,¹ and thank you for the same.

The receipt of the cheque of Rs. 90 will be issued as desired.

The name of the donor of Rs. 10,000 is not mentioned. We shall be grateful for instructions about the issue of the receipt of this amount.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. SIDDIQUI
Agent

'No. 162.

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*Habib Bank Ltd., Delhi, to Messrs Maharaja
Hosiery Mills, Ludhiana*

F.682/314

CHANDNI CHOWK, DELHI,
21 June 1947

Dear Sir,

With reference to your letter of 18th June,¹ we have to inform you that your draft for Rs. 1,950 (Rupees one thousand nine hundred and fifty) was realised and credited to the Bihar Relief Fund on 27th December 1946.

We have already acknowledged receipt of your cheque of Rs. 50 (Rupees fifty) only in our letter No. 3492 of 19th June 1947,² which we hope has been received by you.

Yours faithfully,
[M. A. SIDDIQUI]
Agent

Copy: Quaid-i-Azam M. A. Jinnah, 10 Aurangzeb Road, in continuation of this office endorsement on its letter No. 3162 dated 31.5.47³ to Messrs Maharaja Hosiery Mills, Nurgunj, Ludhiana.

M. A. SIDDIQUI
Agent

^{1, 2 & 3}Not available in QAP.

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*Yusuf A. Haroon to M. A. Jinnah**F.274/325*

786 NAPIER ROAD, KARACHI,
21 June 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I have been asked by the Government of India¹ to serve on the Industrial Liaison Committee for three years.

In view of the change created by the announcement of 2 June [*sic* for 3 June],² will you kindly advise me as to what course I should adopt in this matter.

Thanking you,

Yours respectfully,
YUSUF A. HAROON

¹Enclosure.

²No. 1.

Enclosure to No.192

*Director, Council of Scientific and Industrial Research, Delhi, to
Yusuf A. Haroon*

F. 274/326

NO.103-IRU (5)

MILITARY BARRACKS, THE MALL, DELHI,
16 June 1947

Sir,

I am directed to inform you that in pursuance of the decision of the Government [*sic* for Governing] Body of Council of Scientific and Industrial Research, the Industrial Research Utilization Committee has been abolished with effect from 1.4.[19]47, and its functions have been taken over by a newly constituted Committee called Industrial Liaison Committee. The Honourable Member for Industries and Supplies Department¹ in his capacity as the President, Council of Scientific and Industrial Research, has been pleased to nominate the following to act as members of the said Committee for a period of three years with effect from 1.4.[19]47 to 31.3.[19]50:

1. Director,
Scientific & Industrial Research Member
2. Director General,
Industries & Supplies
Department ex-officio Member
3. Sir Shri Ram,
22 Curzon Road,
New Delhi Member
4. Mr. Y. A. Haroon, MLA
786 Napier Road,
Karachi Member

The Committee will be presided over by the Honourable President, Council of Scientific and Industrial Research himself.

I shall be obliged if you will kindly communicate to this office your acceptance of the membership of the Industrial Liaison Committee.

I am to forward herewith for your information a copy of the Progress Report on Industrial Research Utilization Committee² up to March 1945, which will give you an idea of the functions of the late Industrial Research Utilization Committee and its activities. The functions of the newly created Committee of which you have been nominated a member remain much the same.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,
for DIRECTOR

Mr. Y. A. Haroon, MLA,
786, Napier Road,
Karachi

¹Chakravarti Rajagopalachari.

²Not available in QAP.

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M. A. Jinnah to Moeen Uddin Arif

F.682/304

NEW DELHI,
21 June 1947

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of 19 June 1947,¹ and I beg to inform

you that I cannot authorise anybody, directly or indirectly, to have anything to do with the Pakistan Fund that has been opened by me.

Those who wish to help and send their donations and subscriptions should send them direct to the Habib Bank Ltd., Chandni Chowk, Delhi, earmarked for Pakistan Fund.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Moeen Uddin Arif, Esq.,
The U. P. Union Bank Ltd.,
Meerut Sadar Branch,
Meerut

¹No.154.

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M. A. Jinnah to Habib Bank Ltd., Delhi

F.682/302

21 June 1947

Re: Pakistan Fund

Dear Sir,

With reference to your letter of 19 June 1947,¹ I am enclosing herewith the specimen signature cards, duly signed, and the account opening form, duly filled in and signed by me.

I also hereby acknowledge receipt of the pay-in slip and cheque book enclosed with your letter under reply.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

The Agent,
Habib Bank Ltd., Chandni Chowk,
Delhi

¹No. 157

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Iven Mackay¹ to M. A. Jinnah

F.474/5

REF: 37/19/3

AUSTRALIA OFFICE, CONNAUGHT PLACE,
NEW DELHI,
21 June 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am addressing you on the subject of the forthcoming Conference in Canberra relating to the Japanese Peace Settlement.

I have read in the *Statesman* today the paragraph which stated that you might go to Canberra to attend the Conference in August, and I hope that this may be so, for it would give the Australian Government very much pleasure to welcome you to our country. The paragraph referred to says that you "may be invited" to the Conference. If there is any technical difficulty in regard to the issue of an invitation, may I now remove that by formally extending to you an invitation on behalf of the Australian Government to attend the Conference in Canberra?

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
IVEN Y. MACKAY
High Commissioner¹Lt. General Sir Iven Mackay, High Commissioner for the Commonwealth of Australia in India.

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Abdulkarim Yakubsaheb Magdum to M. A. Jinnah

F.682/312

MIRAJ,
21 June 1947

Respected Sir,

I am enclosing herewith a cheque (cross[ed] order) No. Y 076976 dated 21 June 1947, for Rs. 1,012-4-0 drawn in your favour on the Bombay

Provincial Co-operative Bank Ltd., Bombay, along with the list of the persons¹ who have contributed towards the Pakistan Fund.

Kindly acknowledge and credit the amount towards the Pakistan Fund and oblige.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

A. Y. MAGDUM

President,

Miraj State Muslim League

¹Enclosure.

Enclosure to No. 196

F.682/313

LIST OF PERSONS FROM MIRAJ WHO HAVE CONTRIBUTED
TOWARDS PAKISTAN FUND

No.	Name	Amount		
		Rs.	As.	Ps.
1.	V. Mahamad Hanifsaheb	140		
2.	A. Y. Magdum, President, ML, Miraj	101		
3.	V. Abdul Rahiman	100		
4.	M. Abdulla	100		
5.	S. Mahamadshaffi Mahamadyar	100		
6.	C. M. Husen & Co.	100		
7.	M/S. Meman Jamat	51		
8.	M/S. M. A. Satar & Co.	50		
9.	Sultan Nabisaheb Dayravardi	50		
10.	Haji Kamalsaheb Patawegar	25	4	0
11.	Chand Kassam Bagwan	25		
12.	Haji Abasaheb Kamalsaheb Bhokare	25		
13.	Abbas Rajubhai, Biri Merchant	25		
14.	Musabhai Dadamuyya Saudagar	25		
15.	G. Samashoddin Bhatakalli	15		
16.	Abdul Karim Ismaile Bepari	15		
17.	Sayad Kasam Dadamiyya, Watch Maker, Vice-President, ML, Miraj	10		
18.	Malik Inayatulla	10		
19.	Mahibub Allisaheb Bhokare, D.L.B. Councillor	10		

20. V. Abdulgaffar, Skin Merchant, Jt. Sec., State ML, Miraj	5
21. Mahamad Husen Nikade	5
22. Allabux Khadirsahab Bagwan	5
23. Kasim Babaji Bajwan	5
24. Mahebubsaheb Mushrif, Guard	5
25. Mirasaheb Hajubhai Jafar, Municipal Councillor	5
26. Lukaman Ghudubhai Tamboli	5
Total	1,012-4-0

(Rupees one thousand and twelve and annas four only)

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H. C. Morris to M. A. Jinnah

F.910/325

LANDS, HIRINGS & DISPOSALS SERVICE,
BRUNTON LINES, KARACHI,
21 June 1947

Subject: Bungalow No. 241 Staff Lines

Dear Sir,

In reply to your letter dated 8 June,¹ it is confirmed that arrangements were made whereby rentals would be paid to the credit of your account with the Bank of India Ltd., Karachi. Perhaps, at the time of making these arrangements it was not explained that the regulations require a pre-receipted bill to be rendered before any such payment can be made and any inconvenience to you on this account is very much regretted.

2. However, with your subsequent letter dated 14 June² a bill has been received, covering the months of February to May 1947 inclusive, and the amount concerned will be paid to your Bankers at the earliest possible moment.

3. If you will be good enough to arrange for future bills to be rendered monthly or quarterly as you desire, you may be assured of prompt settlement through your Bankers.

Yours faithfully,

H. C. MORRIS

A. H. O.

for DAD, Lands, Hirings & Disposals Service

¹ ²Not available in QAP.

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Mrs K. L. Rallia Ram to M. A. Jinnah

F.487/77-8

ELYSIUM HOTEL, SIMLA,
21 June 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

This is a very significant clipping¹ for the League High [*sic*] Boundary Commissions. It gives you a clue to the mental working of the Hindu-Sikh junta. The Chenab boundary line slogan is drummed day in and day out. The League High Powered Committee has to take note of their arguments and prepare to meet them. I wish the Sikhs would understand once for all that their salvation lies in allying themselves with the Muslims and stop talking of the partition of the Punjab. They should let Jullundur be the dividing line and let Ambala go to Hindustan as was originally suggested by you. But the subtle arguments of Brahmans have ruined the simple Sikhs and broken their solidarity for ever. In the new Province of Delhi, of [*sic*] which the Hindus are contemplating of [*sic*] including [in] Eastern Punjab, they will be reduced to an insignificant minority. And, of course, the Hindus have made them believe that Muslims would be very unfair to them, which is not true. I wish somebody in the League even now could convince them of a better position in a full-fledged Pakistan than in a broken one. I feel sure they may [*sic*] now see sense in giving up this senseless claim of partitioning the Punjab. Instead of making press appeals, as Sir Firoz and one or two other League leaders have done, I wish they could sit together and talk of this matter either to Giani Kartar Singh or even Tara Singh, but the latter is in the clutches of Sardar Baldev Singh who has allied himself to the Brahman leader Patel who does not see to [*sic*] the interests of the masses. Maybe, this move is too late now.

Long may you live.

Sincerely yours,
MRS. K. L. RALLIA RAM

¹Not available in QAP.

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Sujan Singh to M. A. Jinnah

F.189/30

LAHORE CANTT.,

21 June 1947

Most Revered Sir,

To you, the pride of Muslims of India and a unique personality, may I most respectfully request your good self [*sic*] to bless All India Prem Sabha. I am proud to say that this non-political and non-communal body has got the blessings of Hon'ble Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Hon'ble Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, Doctor John Matthai, Hon'ble Baldev Singh and dozens of Assembly Members and leaders of all communities. My *Khidmat-i-Khalq* programme and speeches in Badshahi Mosque, temples and *gurdwaras* have been appreciated by the people and the entire press.

By your blessings, the popularity and prestige of this institution will immensely be enhanced.

May I congratulate you on behalf of All India Prem Sabha on [the] establishment of Pakistan Dominion. May *Allah* bless you and grant you long life so that you may serve your community and [the] country.

With best wishes and kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
SUJAN SINGH

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Sujan Singh to M. A. Jinnah

F.189/31

LAHORE CANTT.,

21 June 1947

Dear brother,

May I appeal to you to patronize my All India Prem Sabha, ■ unique body to serve the humanity in every sphere of life. It celebrates festivals jointly, keeps strict vigilance on food commodities, sanitation, *tongas*, buses, railways and every other department of public utility. It grants monthly stipends to poor widows irrespective of caste and creed.

You are a philanthropist and by your joining in [sic] this institution, its popularity and prestige will immensely be enhanced. Its membership exceeds 20 thousand and no subscription [has been] taken so far. Any donation from your good self will be gratefully accepted.

Yours gratefully,
SUJAN SINGH
*Founder, All India Prem Sabha*¹

¹All India Prem Sabha, founded by Sujan Singh, was a non-political and non-communal body, with *Khidmat-i-Khalq* [service to humanity] as its creed. Other office bearers were: General Secretary: Abdullah Butt, M. A.; Joint Secretaries: S. Mubarak Singh, M. A.; Lalit Kumar, M. A.; Dyal Chand, M. A.; Jagan Nath Azad, M. A.

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I. S. Andrews to M. A. Jinnah

F.162/41

37 READYMONEY BUILDING, CLARE ROAD,
BYCULLA, BOMBAY,
22 June 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

You had known me in the twenties when I used to call to interview you in my capacity as the Chief Reporter of the *Indian Daily Mail*, Bombay. I have since travelled extensively in Europe and America as a journalist and have acted as the Indian correspondent of certain European and American newspapers and news agencies.

I have been following your political career with intense interest and feel happy over the new State you have created for the Muslims of India who can now forge ahead breaking the bonds of slavery and helpless dependence that would have been their lot under the rule of the majority. I had always felt and professed publicly that the Hindus and the Muslims were two distinct nations having nothing in common.

And now I would like to place my services at your disposal and serve Pakistan in its infant stages before it reaches adolescence. I can organise publicity and propaganda in Europe and America on behalf of the State of Pakistan, setting up cultural, economic and political contacts with the western world. Please consider my offer and let me know at your convenience.

Wishing Pakistan Godspeed and with my profound respects for you,

Yours sincerely,
I. S. ANDREWS

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*Imdad Altaf Hussain to M. A. Jinnah**F.961/22*

CENTRAL OFFICE,
DARYA GUNJ, DELHI,
22 June 1947

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

The Council of All-India Muslim Students' Federation¹ which met on 12 June 1947 has appointed a Sub-Committee for re-drafting the Constitution of the Federation, in the light of the latest political developments which have taken place in the country.

The matter is so delicate that it is rather difficult for the members to make a final decision without taking advice from you.

Could you please be kind enough to spare some time to meet ■ delegation on behalf of A.I.M.S.F. to discuss the matter.

Yours most humbly,

I. A. HUSSAIN

General Secretary,

All-India Muslim Students' Federation

¹Raja of Mahmudabad was the President of the Federation.

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*H. L. Ismay to M. A. Jinnah**F.2/77*

SECRET/PERSONAL

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE, NEW DELHI,
22 June 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

About ■ week ago the Viceroy, after a talk with you, sent a telegram to the Governor of the NWFP¹ representing that, with reference to the Referendum—

- a. Each side should have equal facilities in the matter of the supply of petrol.

- b. There should be an amnesty for political offences, and people who had been convicted for League agitation should be released, except where they had been sentenced for serious criminal offences.

Sir Olaf Caroe has replied² that he has discussed these matters with his Premier,³ who has promised, as regards (a), that both parties shall be treated equally as regards the supply of petrol.

Sir Olaf adds, however, that the second point raises many difficulties. He says that whereas it might be possible to release persons convicted in connection with League agitation, and that, in fact, almost all such cases have already been released, he feels it only right to support Khan Sahib's contention that it is out of the question to release persons under trial who are charged with violence, or to agree to the withdrawal of such cases. As examples of these cases, the Governor quotes the mob near the Assembly Hall on 10 March when the troops had to open fire,⁴ the murder of Hindus and Sikhs in the Kohat and Hazara Districts,⁵ and cases of murder and arson during the grave disturbances in Dera Ismail Khan and Tank.⁶

The Viceroy has asked me to let you know that he does not think that he should attempt to overrule the Governor and his Government on the stand that they are taking in this matter, and, indeed, that he has no legal right to do so.

Your sincerely,
ISMAY

¹Annex 1.

²Annex 2.

³Dr Khan Sahib.

⁴Annex 3.

⁵In his telegram dated 13 March 1947, Caroe informed Mountbatten about the measures taken to control the situation in Hazara following communal disturbances sparked by the return of a converted Sikh girl married to a Muslim to her relatives. See TP, IX, No. 528, 930-1. Also see No. 29, Vol. I, Part I, 79-81.

⁶Annex 4.

*Annex I to No. 203
Louis Mountbatten to Olaf Caroe
Telegram, IOR, R/3/1/151*

CONFIDENTIAL/IMPORTANT
No. 1428-S

NEW DELHI,
13 June 1947

Jinnah represented to me last night that the following points should be given special attention by the Governor with reference to the Referendum:

1. Each side should have equal facilities in the matter of supply of petrol;
2. There should be an amnesty for political offences, and those convicted in connection with League agitation should be released except where they have been sentenced for serious criminal offences.
2. I agree with (1) and think some concession on the lines of (2) should be made.
3. Request your remarks.

[MOUNTBATTEN]

Annex II to No. 203
Olaf Caroe to Louis Mountbatten
Telegram, IOR, R/3/1/151

CONFIDENTIAL/IMPORTANT
 No. 1675-S
 GA-116

[PESHAWAR],
 15 June 1947

Your telegram 1428-S of June 13th.¹ I have discussed with Khan Sahib who has promised both parties shall be treated equally in the matter of supply of petrol. There are of course innumerable other ways, mostly through control of essential commodities and issue of arms licenses, in which party in power is in a position to distribute unequal treatment.

2. Point (2) raises many difficulties. While it might be possible to release persons convicted in connection with League agitation, and in fact almost all such [persons] have been so released, I support Premier in making it clear that it is out of the question to release under-trials charged with offences with element of violence, or to agree to withdrawal of such cases. Specimen cases of the kind in question are mob near Assembly Hall on March 10th when troops had to open fire,² murder of Hindus and Sikhs in Kohat and Hazara Districts,³ and cases of murder and arson arising out of very serious disturbances in Dera Ismail Khan and Tank.⁴

3. In above connection I have received request from Abdul Qaiyum that certain persons evading arrest in cognisable cases such as Abdullah Shah and Khurshid Anwar should be given freedom until after referendum. This, too, I agree with Premier would be improper. Proper course for them is to surrender and to take their chance before the court.

4. Abdul Qaiyum recently reported to have threatened minorities not to take part in referendum. In context of recent disturbances this, if established, might well constitute offence of undue influence under Section 171 (c) and (f) I.P.C. if penal provisions relating to elections are applicable to referendum. At Ministry's request I shall shortly be submitting Ordinance on these lines for previous sanction.

[CAROE]

¹Annex 1.

²Annex 3.

³See No. 203, note 5.

⁴Annex 4.

Annex III to No. 203

TROOPS OPEN FIRE ON PESHAWAR CROWD¹

Demonstration Before Assembly Chambers

Deputy Commissioner Pleads For Peaceful Means

PESHAWAR, March 13: As a result of about five cases of stabbing which occurred here yesterday, the atmosphere in the city still continues to be tense. Reports of forcible conversion, arson and burning of places of worship in Matani area, in Peshawar District, and in a few other places in Hazara District have been received here.

The military fired on an unruly crowd of demonstrators on Monday, March 10, when the Budget session of the Frontier Assembly began, says a delayed message from Peshawar received in Lahore today.

The crowd collected on the railway line near the Assembly Chamber and tampered with the railway track. A few men were injured in the firing.

The Deputy Commissioner of Peshawar, in an appeal issued to the citizens of Peshawar, said: "If at all you want to stage demonstrations against the Government in power then adopt peaceful ways and means, which are more effective. At all times you can get chances to lay your grievances before the Government through your representatives."

TEXT OF APPEAL

The following is the text of the Deputy Commissioner's appeal:

My respected, affectionate and grief-stricken brethren! The hearts of all the Muslims are extremely shocked due to to-day's (Monday) incident. Whatever has happened will be lamented by me through tears of grief.

Brethren! Most respectfully I say that the lives of all of you are a

national trust. These should not be destroyed or wasted. You should not attack the police or troops on duty.

You were duly informed last night that the Government has posted military guard around the Assembly Chamber and you should not go there. In spite of all this, a crowd collected on the railway line and tampered with the railway track.

PERSUASION EFFORTS FAIL

The magistrates tried to persuade them through requests and appeals, but nobody listened to them. It was repeatedly said that they should not compel the troops to resort to firing. Right from 9 a.m. to 1 p.m. troops were checked from firing. But the crowd did not agree. The train had to return.

At last some irresponsible persons instigated the crowd not to listen to the magistrates. The mob attacked the troops and started stoning at [*sic*] the police and troops. The military was then compelled to fire twice. Nine rounds were fired. The police had to resort to *lathi*-charge and tear-gas. It is learned that a few persons were injured in the firing. It is very very sad that a brother was injured and wounded by a brother.

¹*Civil & Military Gazette*, 14 March 1947.

Annex IV to No. 203
Olaf Caroe to Louis Mountbatten
IOR, L/P & J/5/224
[Extract]

D.O. NO. GH-46

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, PESHAWAR,
21 April 1947

4. I am going off tomorrow to Dera Ismail Khan and Tank to see the extent of the damage and to encourage the minorities and our officers, who have had, and are having still, an extremely trying time. The fires in Tank have burnt out practically the whole town owing to strong winds which spread the conflagration widely, and other essential commodities, which it may be impossible to replace. This will react on South Waziristan, which depends on Tank for its supplies. I shall have Messervy¹ with me, and we will try to see what more we can do to restore confidence in the Derajat, where the most serious problem now is agrarian. We have arranged for another Battalion from Zhob to deal with the agrarian trouble.

O. K. CAROE

¹General Officer Commanding-in-Chief, Northern Command.

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*A. M. Jafri to M. A. Jinnah**F.162/140*

RAIPUR, C. P.,

22 June 1947

Sir,

I have retired about 3 years back as an Extra Assistant Commissioner after 30 years' service. If a man of my experience in Revenue, Criminal, Administrative and General duties is needed in Pakistan, I beg to offer my services.

I come of a respectable family of Syeds several members of which have held and are still holding high and responsible posts. I am strong and healthy and very keen on outdoor duties.

Yours obediently,

A. M. JAFRI

(ALIG.)

Extra Assistant Commissioner (Retd.)

C. P. Civil Service

205

*M. A. Jinnah to Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah**F.286/34*

22 June 1947

My dear Ghulam Hussain,

I have received your letter of 17 June¹ and beg to inform you that although it may not be easy for us to utilize the 60 jeeps that are available to you from Disposals, Delhi, I think it is worth our while to secure them on behalf of the Sind Government. Therefore, my advice to you is to buy as many jeeps as you can approximately at the cost of Rs. 2,000 each. Also buy all 3-ton trucks Cheverolet Class 1 and 2; their price will be about Rs. 5,100 each and my information is that there won't be more than 30 trucks available.

If you will authorise someone to do this on behalf of your Government, I think it can be conveniently done. The Governments have priority and facilities are given to them. Apart from the Frontier Referendum I think

your Government will collar these vehicles. We have already made sufficient arrangements here for the Frontier Referendum. Please let me know as soon as possible what help I can give you in this matter.

Hoping you are well and with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Mr. Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah,
Premier of Sind,
Karachi

¹No.134.

206

M. A. Jinnah to H. L. Ismay

F.2/78

22 June 1947

Dear Lord Ismay,

I am in receipt of your letter of 20 June 1947¹ and I have nothing more to add to the various suggestions I made to His Excellency over a week ago; and Mr. Abell was then instructed to examine those suggestions and get in touch with me, but I have heard nothing from him so far.

And now you write to inform me that His Excellency desires that a reference should be made to the same body as before, viz. the members of the *Shahi Jirga* (excluding the *Sirdars* nominated by the Kalat State) and the non-official members of the Quetta Municipality.

I regret I am unable to approve of this course, as paragraph 12 of the Statement of 3 June² contemplates a reference to a more representative body than on the last occasion.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

¹No. 173.

²No.1.

207

M. A. Jinnah to Patrick Lacey

F.162/42

22 June 1947

Dear Mr. Patrick Lacey,

I am in receipt of your letter of 4 June¹ and thanks [sic] you for your good wishes.

I still remember one of your articles which amongst various other opinions expressed at that time was included in ■ pamphlet issued by me known as *India's Problem of her Future Constitution*;² and I always felt that you agreed with me with regard to the principle of Pakistan.

It is very difficult for me to understand what led His Majesty's Government to come to the conclusion of partitioning Punjab and Bengal. In my opinion it is a mistake and I quite agree with you. But now we have accepted the plan as a whole and I feel confident that we shall make ■ good job of it.

Thanking you again for your good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Patrick Lacey, Esq.,
Tanglewood Cottage,
Allum Lane,
Elstree, Herts.,
England

¹No. 17.

²The pamphlet including Lacey's article, "Two Indias" with ■ preface by Jinnah was published by AIML. See AIML Printed Material No. 76 (AFM), 1940. Also see Annex to No. 17.

208

Abul Fazal Mohammad Mokarim to M. A. Jinnah

F.682/315-6

P. O. MAHENDRU, PATNA,
22 June 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am sending to you a cheque of Rs. 50 only for the Pakistan Fund.

This is my personal contribution to the fund. The amount, though very small, is sent to you with a sense of duty and responsibility. I wish I could have sent you something more but the circumstances through which I am passing do not permit me to send a bigger amount. Please accept the amount and oblige.

I offer my humble services for the coming referendum in the various provinces. As I am going to appear in the ensuing competitive examination of the Indian Administrative Service, I will be free after 9 July 1947. My examination commences from 1 July and terminates on 9 July. I will be then quite free to work for the referendum. My examination centre is Allahabad where I will be staying up to the 10th of the next month. If you like to requisition my services please inform me at the address given below.¹

I will deem it a great privilege if I am allowed to work. I have got experience of the previous central and provincial elections conducted in my province. A line in reply will be highly encouraging.

With respectful regards,

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
ABUL FAZAL MOHAMMAD MOKARIM
Secretary, M.S.F.,
Law College

¹Omitted.

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S. A. Unus to M. A. Jinnah

F.886/237

E. C. ROAD, KARANPUR, DEHRA DUN, U.P.,
22 June 1947

PAKISTAN ZINDABAD

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

On 7 June 1947, I sent you a very humble present (a cigar box) by registered parcel on the New Delhi address, from Dehra Dun. I am only anxious to know that it has been delivered to you.

With the deepest gratitude and homage from a youngman,

S. A. UNUS
c/o M. Unus & Sons,
Musical Instruments Repairers

210

*Durgadas B. Advani to M. A. Jinnah**F.1083/2-3*

20 LAXMI INSURANCE BUILDING,
KARACHI,
23 June 1947

Dear Sir,

I attach hereto a copy of a telegram despatched by me on 21 June 1947¹ to you at New Delhi and have to add that a peculiarly distressing state of circumstances has compelled my Committee to draw your attention to the doings of the Sind Ministry with respect to the education and culture of the minorities in Sind. The Sind University Act, passed in the teeth of the opposition of the minorities in Sind, is being forced upon their educational institutions which are threatened by the Education Minister with the withdrawal of Government grants and scholarships and even the resumption of the lands on which these institutions are built, if they do not submit to this Act. The minorities have done their best to have a compromise regarding this Act and at one time it seemed as if a settlement had been reached, but things suddenly took a dramatic turn and the Ministry terminated all talks of ■ compromise and insisted that the minorities must accept the Act as it is. The minorities find that no honourable way now exists for them save to have ■ University of their own. If, as it has been repeatedly alleged, the Hindus and the Muslims are two different nations and have different cultures, the claim of the Hindus and other minorities to have their institutions continue affiliation to the University of Bombay, till such time as they establish a separate University of their own, must be conceded by the Sind Government, and must receive Government backing and support.

The conduct of the Education Minister in shutting out even First Class Hindu students from the Government Medical College and filling it with Sindhi as well as non-Sindhi Muslims of third-rate attainments, in declaring that Urdu shall be the medium of instruction in the Sind University, and in giving away all administrative appointments in the Sind University to Muslims, leaves no option to the Hindus and minorities in Sind save to hold to their decision to have nothing to do with the Sind University.

Some of my colleagues and I had waited upon you in Karachi in

March last² before the Sind University Act was passed and we had represented to you our viewpoint and you had been pleased to promise sympathetic consideration. Since then things have become very much worse and necessitate your early and effective intervention. Your statement³ as given by the Orient Press that the minorities in Pakistan areas will receive not only just but generous treatment gives us a hope that you will be pleased to step in and prevent the Sind Ministry from adopting a high-handed attitude towards the minorities in the matter of their education and culture. The minorities want bare justice, nothing more. It is their fundamental right to choose the educational system or agency best suited to advance their cultural interests, and my Committee confidently hope that you will see that it is recognised.

Yours faithfully,
 DURGDAS B. ADVANI
 M.I.E.
Chairman,
The Sind University Bill
Citizens' Committee

¹No 185.

²The interview actually took place on 19 February 1947. See No. 11, Vol. I, Part I, 33-40.

³Annex.

Annex to No. 210

PAKISTAN MINORITIES HAVE TO BE TREATED GENEROUSLY¹

LUCKNOW, June 16: "The minorities have to be treated not only justly but generously in Pakistan. The same should be expected from the Congress Ministries."

This remark was made by Mr. Jinnah when he discussed the recent measures of the Sind Government regarding the fixation of the share of Hindus in services on their population ratio with the Sind Muslim League delegation to the All India Muslim League Council meeting at Delhi, according to a U. P. delegate to the Council, who returned here yesterday.

He said that Mr. Jinnah strongly criticised the Sind Government's move in this direction, as such a policy would result in great loss to the Muslims of the Hindu-majority provinces.

The delegate added that the League President had asked the Sind Ministry to revise its attitude in this connection and rectify the wrong done to the Muslims indirectly.

Mr. Jinnah, it is further learnt from the same source, maintained that the achievement of Pakistan and all that the League had accomplished so far, was due to the far-sightedness of the Muslims of Hindu-majority areas, who actually worked as pioneers of the new Muslim League that came into existence in 1936.

Interests of the Muslims of these provinces could not be jeopardised, Mr. Jinnah held.— OPI.

¹*Pakistan Times*, 17 June 1947.

211

Moeen Uddin Arif to M. A. Jinnah

F.162/45

MEERUT CANTT.,
23 June 1947

Dear Sir,

I am highly obliged for your very kind letter of 21 June 1947¹ and beg to say that it was very kind of your good self to inform me so early.

I am not disheartened to know that you cannot authorise our purely Muslim institution or anybody, directly or indirectly, to have anything to do with the Pakistan Fund opened by you, because I hope that you will certainly be reckoned with [*sic*] our institution whenever you will consider the building of economic structure of our nation.

I very sincerely pray for your long life, sound health and overwhelming success in establishing our national state, *Pakistan*.²

With my very best regards,

Yours sincerely,
MOEEN UDDIN ARIF
Publicity Officer,
The U. P. Union Bank Ltd.,
Meerut Sadar Branch

¹No. 193.

²Underlined in the original.

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*Moeen Uddin Arif to M. A. Jinnah**F.162/46*MEERUT CANTT.,
23 June 1947

Sir,

Most humbly I beg to submit the following for your kind and favourable attention:

That I am ■ smart young man of 30 years of age and come of ■ respectable family of U. P. That I have had 9 years' administrative experience. At present I am serving in the U. P. Union Bank Ltd. as Publicity Officer at the rate [sic] of Rs. 130 plus Rs. 12-8-0 per month. That I earnestly desire to serve in the Pakistan State under you for my whole life.

I, therefore, request your honour to give me any suitable job under your own kind control.

With my humble regards,

Obediently yours,
MOEEN UDDIN ARIF
Publicity Officer,
The U.P. Union Bank Ltd.,
Meerut Sadar Branch

213

*Confidential Assistant to Finance Member to M. A. Jinnah**F.2/84*

GUL-I-RAANA, 8-B HARDINGE AVENUE,
NEW DELHI,
23 June 1947

Sir,

I am directed by the Hon'ble Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan to forward

herewith the papers regarding the recommendations etc. by the Steering Committee¹ and other papers² for your kind information.

Yours most obediently,
N. A. FARUQI
*Confidential Assistant to
the Hon'ble the Finance Member*

¹Enclosure 1.

²Enclosure 2.

Enclosure 1 to No. 213

F.2/86

H. M. Patel to Member for Finance and Other Members of Special Committee

No.135/C.F./47

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA,
CABINET SECRETARIAT,
NEW DELHI,
21 June 1947

The undersigned is directed to circulate to Honourable Members of the Special Committee for their approval a note by the Steering Committee recommending changes in the personnel and additions and changes in respect of the terms of reference of certain committees.

If no comments are received by 1 p.m. on Tuesday, the 24th June 1947, the approval of the Special Committee will be assumed to these recommendations.

H. M. PATEL
Cabinet Secretary

To

Honourable Members for Finance, Home, Food & Agriculture and Communications

Copy with a copy of the enclosure forwarded to the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy, for information.

V. H. COELHO
Under-Secretary to the Cabinet

Annexure to Enclosure 1 to No. 213

F.2/87-91

NOTE BY THE STEERING COMMITTEE

With reference to the decisions reached at the meeting of the Special Committee of the Cabinet held on Monday, the 16th June 1947, approving of the setting up of the Expert Committees and Sub-Committees with the personnel recommended by the Steering Committee and the decision that changes could be made with the approval of the Hon'ble Members of the Special Committee of Cabinet, it has now been found necessary to make changes in the personnel and additions and changes in respect of the terms of reference of certain committees. The Steering Committee accordingly recommend for the approval of the Hon'ble Members of the Special Committee the following:

1. TERMS OF REFERENCE

a. Expert Committee No. I

To the terms of reference as laid down for Expert Committee No. I the following clause to be added in the case of Departmental Sub-Committees for Communications and Railways:

To make recommendations for such arrangements as may be necessary for the inter-change of traffic between the territories of the two Governments.

b. Expert Committee No. III

The following, namely—"To make recommendations for the collection and allocation between the two Governments of revenues from customs, central excises, income tax, salt, opium and stamps for the current year," to be substituted for existing item (1) of the terms of reference which reads, "To make recommendations for the collection and distribution of income tax, customs and central excises for the current year."

c. Expert Committees No. V (i) and (ii)

The following terms of reference to be prescribed for Committees No. V (i) and V (ii):

V (i) "Currency, Coinage and Exchange

1. To make recommendations regarding currency and coinage arrangements consequent on partition for the two Governments.
2. Consistent with the recommendations under (1) above, to formulate proposals in regard to the division of the assets and liabilities of the Reserve Bank of India, and the organisational consequences of partition in respect of its administrative machinery.

3. To make recommendations consequent on partition regarding exchange control for the two States.
4. To report on the position of the two States consequent on partition in regard to the membership of the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank.

V (ii) Budget and Accounts

To make recommendations:

1. Regarding the financial, budgetary, accounting and auditing arrangements for the two Governments for the current financial year.
2. Regarding the adjustments between the two governments in respect of services rendered in future by one Government to the other."

d. In addition to these main Expert Committees, V (i) and V (ii), Departmental Sub-Committees of Expert Committee No. V (ii) should be set up to deal with (1) Railways and (2) P & T with the following terms of reference.

To make recommendations:

1. Regarding the financial, budgetary and accounting arrangements for the Railway/P&T systems for the two Governments for the current financial year.
2. Regarding adjustments between the two Governments in future in respect of traffic running over both States and of services rendered by one Government to the other.

2. COMPOSITION OF COMMITTEES

- a. Expert Committee No. I
Mr. Z. H. Khan in place of Mr. Yakub Shah
- b. Departmental Committee No. 4 of Expert Committee No. I
Mr. A. K. Roy in place of Mr. R. L. Gupta
- c. Departmental Committee No. 5 of Expert Committee No. I and Expert Committee No. III (i)
Mr. Sathyanathan during the absence of Mr. Ranganathan, now on special duty at Geneva in connection with the Trade Conference
- d. Departmental Sub-Committee No. 13 for Railways under Expert Committee No. I
Mr. S. M. Hasan in place of Mr. Z. H. Khan
- e. Expert Committee No. II
Mr. V. S. Sundaram (non-official) in place of Mr. Rangachari as member of the main Committee and Mr. Rangachari in place of Mr. Negi as Secretary

- f. Departmental Sub-Committee for Railways of Expert Committee No. II
Mr. K. C. Lall in place of Mr. S. S. Ramasubban as Secretary
- g. Expert Committee No. VI
Mr. R. L. Gupta in place of Mr. Vishnu Sahay
- h. Expert Committee No. VII (Economic Relations Trade).
Mr. K. K. Chettur in place of Mr. Saxena

We are not in a position yet to make recommendations regarding composition of Expert Committees No. V (i) and (ii). This will be done within a day or two.

H. M. PATEL
MOHAMAD ALI

Enclosure 2 to No. 213

F.2/85

GOVERNORS-GENERAL¹

1. *Should there be one Governor-General or two?*

*The proposal to have a common Governor-General for the two Dominions of Pakistan and Hindustan is inappropriate and opposed to the constitutional practice of the British Commonwealth.*² Each Dominion has its own Governor-General who is appointed on the advice of the Dominion Government. The Crown is the only connecting link between the Dominions. The appointment of one Governor-General for the two Dominions would mean a link between them at the Governor-General's level and not at the Crown level.

2. The only possible reason for suggesting one Governor-General for both Dominions is that the affairs of the two Dominions are at present mixed together and it will take some time to disentangle them. This requirement can be met without doing violence to constitutional practice by the appointment of a Supreme Authority for the interim period when the division of the administration is taking place. He will be His Majesty's Representative for the exercise of the functions of the Crown in its relations with the two Dominions (and also with Indian States). His main functions will be to effect the complete transfer of power in a smooth and speedy manner to the two Dominions and to supervise the division of the Civil and Military administration between the two Dominions.

3. He would in effect act as arbitrator between the two Governments whether he is formally asked to fulfil such a role or not. On the other hand, a common constitutional Governor-General

who is confronted with conflicting advice from the two Dominion Governments will find himself in a difficult and awkward position.

4. Since the Supreme Authority would be appointed with a specific function for a limited period, the disappearance of the appointment would in no way upset or alter the constitutional position of the two Dominion Governments. This would make for continuity of relations between the two Dominions and His Majesty's Government.

¹The authorship of this document is not known. For background, see Appendix 1X. 3, para. 6.

²Underlined in the original, probably by Jinnah.

214

E. A. Dadabhoy to M. A. Jinnah

F.682/317

JOHANNESBURG, TRANSVAAL,
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA,
23 June 1947

Dear Quaid Sahib,

We are indeed very happy and proud to note that at last Pakistan, which we have been aspiring for all this time, has been achieved, although not fully to the extent as we would have wished for to have acquired [*sic*]. The main thing is that the principle has been established and that the Indian Muslims have something to look forward to, as their own, under your eminent guidance and illustrious leadership through the support of the All India Muslim League.

We know that if it had not been for your foresight, tenacity, sagaciousness [*sic* for sagacity] and strength of character, throughout our struggle, the Hindus with their deep-rooted Muslim hatred, their cunning and inconsistencies, coupled with their alliance with Muslim traitors, rejects and money-grabbers [*sic* for grubbers], might have crushed and degenerated [*sic*] the Muslims of India as a nation, into serfs and labourers and prostrated and ruined [them] for all times to come.

We thank the Creator for producing in you, the saviour of the Indian Muslims from the hands of their enemies. There are decades in the lives of nations, when men gifted with genius and extraordinary powers are born

into the world at intervals, to redeem, rescue, deliver and liberate those who are on the threshold of imminent dangers and frustrations. Men whose golden deeds are embellished [sic] in the annals of the various nations of the world [sic]. We unhesitatingly record that God, in His Wisdom, has chosen to send you to us in that capacity. We earnestly pray for your long life, that you may see the child of your creation thrive into glorious adolescence and noble manhood.

Your appeal has come to us as a clarion call in the service of Pakistan. It is our duty to respond. While endeavouring to collect further sums, we have pleasure in enclosing our initial draft of Rupees 4,296-0-8 in your favour and trust you will kindly acknowledge receipt of same at your convenience.

We beg to remain, as proud Pakistanis,

Yours ever in the service of Islam,

E. A. DADABHOY

215

Farooqui to M. A. Jinnah

F.682/319

137 GREY STREET, DURBAN,
23 June 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am enclosing a bank draft for the sum of Rs. 1,176-7-0, for Muslim League Relief Fund.¹

I am glad to report that we have started the campaign for funds through the columns of the *Indian Views*² in response to your recent appeal,³ and we are confident that Muslims in South Africa will respond as generously as they did on previous occasions.

Wassalaam,

Sincerely yours,
FAROOQUI
Sub-Editor, *Indian Views*

¹Refers to the Bihar Relief Fund.

²Also see No. 26.

³No. 128.

216

L. C. W. Hyne to M. A. Jinnah

F.162/47-8

R.I.N. OFFICE, VITHAL HOUSE,
MINT ROAD, BOMBAY,
23 June 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am due for release from the Royal Indian Navy in October of this year after six and a half years' service, initially as Naval Armament Supply Officer (until December 1945) and since that date as Naval Provost Marshal, throughout holding the rank of Commander R.I.N.V.R.

My connection with India and particularly with the Punjab dates however from 1916 when I served as an Officer, R[oyal] A[rtilillery], in Rawalpindi and Jhansi and toured the province fairly considerably (buying *Kutchas* from [sic] Mountain Batteries).

2. I have good experience of police work, having served on Provost staff in Alexandria and Baghdad and organised the Provost side of the R.I.N. of which I am still in charge.¹

3. I am desirous of remaining in India in a working capacity and particularly wishful [sic] to serve in the Punjab. I can offer administrative experience, tact, common sense, loyalty and initiative, have not had ■ day's illness since I last arrived here in May [19]41. I feel sure that Rear Admiral Rattray, Flag Officer, Bombay, under whom I have worked throughout this last commission, will be willing to answer any questions regarding my capabilities, conduct and personality and I offer you my services in all sincerity.

I remain,
Yours faithfully,
L. C. W. HYNE
Commander (SP), R.I.N.V.R.,
Naval Provost Marshal

¹Rest of para. 2 regarding qualifications omitted.

217

H. L. Ismay to M. A. Jinnah

F.2/83

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE, NEW DELHI,
23 June 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have received your letter of 22 June¹ on the subject of arrangements to ascertain the wishes of British Baluchistan. I will place it before the Viceroy immediately he returns from Kashmir.

I ought to add that we have just had a telegram from Prior² begging that he may be given a decision today at latest, since many members of the *Shahi Jirga* live in remote areas.

Yours sincerely,
ISMAY

¹No. 206.

²Lt. Col. Sir Charles Geoffrey Prior, Agent to the Governor-General in Baluchistan.

218

M. A. Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F.682/321

COURT ROAD, AMRITSAR,
23 June 1947

Dear Sir,

In response to your appeal for Pakistan Fund¹ I respectfully attach herewith a cheque for Rs. 25 only as my first instalment.

I beg to suggest that if *Bayt al-Maal* may be named after the word Pakistan, i.e. *Pakistan Bayt al-Maal*, this would have a psychological effect on the fanatic [*sic*] Musalmans because the magic attraction that the words *Bayt al-Maal* possess the word Fund does not. For example sake [*sic*], the words Muslim India are not so attractive to the common man as is the word Pakistan.

And along with this I would suggest that Musalmans should be enjoined upon to tender their *Zakat* in the *Pakistan Bayt al-Maal*.

I hope you will, no doubt, agree to the above suggestion and let there be a statement saying: that Pakistan Fund is to be treated or named as *Pakistan Bayt al-Maal* in which *Zakat* can also be tendered.

Yours obediently,

M. A. KHAN

Merchant and Insurance Adviser,
Manager, The Standard Agency

'No. 128.

219

Kazi Khalid Mahmood to M. A. Jinnah

F.682/318

GHQ, 2ND ECHELON SEALF,
CPO SINGAPORE, MALAYA,

23 June 1947

Beloved Quaid-i-Azam,

I am enclosing herewith crossed cheque for Rs. 500 for the Muslim League *Bayt al-Maal*. It is *Zakat* money and you have the discretion to spend it in any manner best suited under the present circumstances, for the *Millat*.

I am proud to say that members of my family, both male and female, have been taking an active and leading part in the agitation against "Dr. Khanchand" Ministry.¹ I hope and pray that the League will win with overwhelming majority in the coming Referendum.

With prayers for your long life,

Your humble admirer,
KAZI KHALID MAHMOOD
Capt.

OI/C, No. I, R. Group

¹Refers to the Ministry of Dr Khan Sahib and Mehr Chand Khanna in NWFP.

220

Mohammed Makki to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F.560/61

100 BRICKFIELD ROAD, DURBAN,
SOUTH AFRICA,

23 June 1947

Kindly cable message to us—Muslims in South Africa through [sic] our Muslim Magazine, *Ramadan Annual*. Very urgent.

MOHAMMED MAKKI

221

Squire,¹ Kabul, to Foreign, New Delhi²

Telegram, F.2/144-5

SECRET/IMMEDIATE
No. 51

KABUL,
23 June 1947³

I have just had further interview with Afghan Foreign Minister who assures me that Afghan interest in North West Frontier is purely *ideological*.⁴ They do not consider Pathans to be Indians and are anxious that they should have utmost freedom to decide their own future. Afghan Government have given no thought to political, economic or security implications of independent *Pathanistan* alternatives.

2. They do further earnestly wish to make their position clear and have, therefore, allowed their press and radio considerable liberty. But they have not discussed the matter with Russian Embassy as they are fully aware of dangers of such a course nor have they even consulted American Legation, as matter is purely one for friendly settlement with His Majesty's Government and Government of India.

3. In order to explain their attitude and to inform themselves of real feeling in North-West Frontier and Delhi they now wish to send very urgently Mission consisting probably of Abdul Majid Khan, Najibullah Khan and Abdus Samad Khan of Afghan Foreign Office to India to have informal talks with political leaders such as Dr. Khan Sahib, Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar in Peshawar and Pandit Nehru

and Mr. Jinnah in Delhi.⁵ They also hope that His Excellency the Viceroy would give them an interview. Ali Muhammad asked me to ascertain urgently whether Government of India (group omitted) and *whether they would prefer visit to be official, semi-official or purely private (as guests of Afghan Consul-General in Delhi). They are anxious to send Mission this week if possible.*

4. If Government of India with all this [*sic* for their] present pre-occupations *could find time to receive Mission*, I consider it would be wholly beneficial in removing ambiguous misunderstandings. Grateful for urgent telegraphic reply.

⁵Sir Giles Frederick Squire, British Minister at Kabul.

²External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations Department, Government of India. This telegram was repeated to Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, London, and NWFP.

³The telegram was sent on 23 June 1947 (Time of Origin: 1900 hrs.) and received on 28 June 1947 (Time of Receipt: 2030 hrs.).

⁴In capital letters here and hereafter in the original.

⁵Underlined here and hereafter, probably by Jinnah.

222

R. E. B. Willcox to M. A. Jinnah

F. 485/15

CROSBY HOUSE, 36-37 GREAT ST. HELENS,
LONDON, E.C.3,
23 June 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I thank you for your letter of 8 June¹ which you so kindly wrote to my firm and would like to assure you that we are only too pleased to render any help possible. We shall continue to supervise the finances of the Centre along the lines which you outlined in paragraph three of your letter.

I fully understand that you must be working under high pressure at the moment and would like to add that any little thing we can do here to help gives us the greatest pleasure.

Kindest regards and best wishes at this particular time,

Yours sincerely,
R. E. B. WILLCOX
for R. E. B. Willcox & Co.

¹No. 56.

223

*R. A. Bozer to Bajwa**F.1092/445*

33 NORTH STREET, WILTON,
SALISBURY, WILTS.,
24 June 1947

Dear Mr. Bajwa,

As a result of our conversation of yesterday and a study of the facts as presented by you I have prepared a note¹ which I send you as my professional opinion as to the best way to go about your problem.

I have prepared it in duplicate as I feel that, on the question of the instructions to be given to the Commission, there is no time to be lost.

I offered to help you in getting names of suitable people to help you. However, while making discreet enquiries in the best quarters I find that they have already been approached through the intermediary of your Member of Parliament, so you will doubtless receive their suggestions through him.

My wife is most grateful to you for the beautiful roses. She gave them a reviver and now they are quite refreshed and really lovely.

Yours sincerely,
R. A. BOZER

¹Enclosure.

Enclosure to No. 223

F.1092/446-9

NOTE ON BOUNDARY COMMISSIONS

Boundary Commissions are usually provided with instructions by the Authority appointing them.

These instructions lay down the powers which the Commission will possess in regard to the modification which the Commission may make to a provisional line. Thus the provisional line may be given as the existing boundary between the two provinces, which the Commission may alter so that effect may be given to the wishes of the people, and the local economic and geographical considerations, on each side of the frontier.

Now here lies the first great difficulty. It is no use having a good

moral case and it is no use having the most able advocates unless the instructions given to the Commission are such that the arguments raised come within the four walls of the instructions to the Commission.

Now you see here that if the wording that I quote is likely to be followed, considerations are governed by the word local. I gather that your interest in the frontier is shared by hundreds of thousands who have no domicile in the locality.

It is, therefore, my opinion that you should, in the first place, concentrate on this vital question of the instructions to be given to the Commission.

I should require to be far better documented than I am to give specific advice on this vital point. I will give a suggested phraseology which will show what I mean:

The Commission will further have the power to alter the delimitation of the frontier in such a way as to ensure that the communities on each side of it fall within the area to which they are attracted by their religious faith and that centres of religious faith in proximity of the frontier are included within the area to which they naturally belong.

I repeat that unless the instructions given to the Commission allow consideration of your case nothing can be done towards getting your point. I cannot emphasise this too strongly.

Now a word as to tactics. The Commission is likely to consist of several Commissioners, at least three. These may be described as "Interested Commissioners" and "Non-Interested Commissioners". Every effort will be made to get the "Interested Commissioners" to agree. Then the "Non-Interested Commissioners" will, of course, also agree and the voting will be unanimous. Only when the "Interested Commissioners" disagree, will the "Non-Interested Commissioner" give his casting vote.

Now in the nature of things, this agreement between the "Interested Commissioners" will only be arrived at by a process of bargaining. The Hindu may say, if you agree to putting A in Hindustan, I will agree to putting B in Pakistan.

Finally, as to the technical presentation of your case, read carefully the instructions to the Commission. Then delineate on a map the line that you wish followed. Be modest in your proposals. If you ask too much you will annoy the Commission and may lose all. Then take each consideration separately. First, the community and religious aspect. Show on a map of the same scale the various areas occupied by different communities in appropriate colours and the population in black, in the centre of each area.

Then take communications. Show that your proposed line will not mean cutting any important road or rail connection.

Then take such other important economic points as may arise, e.g. markets, canals, irrigation, electricity, water supply. I just give headings as they occur to me; your local knowledge will suggest others. What you want to show is that your proposals will make life easier to the population affected or at any rate not more difficult. And when I say the population, I mean the whole population. Try to show that the economic life of the Hindus will not suffer by reason of your proposals. Indeed it is possible that in dealing with these different aspects you may find it advisable to make more minor modifications in your original proposals.

As to the geographical considerations, try to follow natural geographic lines or well-defined boundaries where these are available.

You will have noticed that I have emphasised the importance of illustrating your arguments on maps. The Commission will have masses of documents to read. Write as little and as succinctly as possible. The Commission will find it comparatively restful to turn to your illustrated maps. But they must be easy to digest. Colours must be bright [and] the lettering must be clear and bold. Maps should, where possible, be on the same scale; separate maps must be made for each subject. Each Commissioner must be given a separate set. Each set must be bound together in such a way that none can be lost. It must be easy to open up each map. On the outside of the folder, have your title boldly written. Inside, provide an index of the maps, each of which should be numbered.

It will probably be advisable to have many copies made of the folders for presentation to the subordinate members of the Commission.

Documentary evidence is usually a burden to those who have to wade through it. Let yours be a joy to the eye.

If you want to persuade people to buy something from you—say chocolates—we do not send them twenty sheets of closely printed matter. We draw a coloured poster of a beautiful girl munching a chocolate taken out of a box with the name of your firm on it. Now, of course I am not suggesting that you should present large posters or actual pictures. What I mean is that your draughtsmen should capture something of the spirit of this poster and of its brightness and clarity. The colours chosen to illustrate each point must be appropriate. Thus if rivers are shown in faint wobbly black on the map, go over them in blue. Important roads should be coloured brown, railways in firm black. The colours adopted for the various communities should be those generally associated [with] them.

You may think that I have laboured this point, but I have been a Commissioner and can still remember with pleasure some excellent work of this type which I have had to examine.

One last word. Your arguments will be your own but your facts should, as far as possible, be from official sources and incapable of challenge. For instance, it will be well to include in the map folder a table taken from official sources of the communities in the various areas so inserted that it can be read opposite to our map of Communities.

Maps are sometimes temporarily out of print. Order at once, say 100 copies, of each map that you may want to use, and order some copies at once of any official documents you will wish to refer to, e.g. census returns, otherwise you will find that they have all been bought up by the Hindus.

224

M. A. Jinnah to Louis Mountbatten

F.2/96

24 June 1947

Dear Lord Mountbatten,

I am in receipt of your letter dated (Srinagar) 19th June 1947¹ and I thank you for it. With regard to your suggestion that in the event of there being no agreement on the choice of the chairman of each Commission, the President of the International Court of Justice should select the chairmen, we discussed this matter last night² and, for the reasons that I have already given to you, that course will not be at all satisfactory.

I have already made my suggestions to you with regard to the chairmen of the two Boundary Commissions and with regard to the Arbitral Board [*sic* for Tribunal],³ which will finally decide the partition of assets and liabilities including Defence, Finances and Communications and I hope that you will be able to persuade the Congress to accept my suggestions which are fair and which will lead to finality in the shortest possible period.

With regard to the names for the Punjab Boundary Commission, I submit the following two names:

1. Mr. Justice Din Mohammad, ex-Judge, Punjab High Court,
- and 2. Mr. Justice Mohammad Munir, sitting Judge of the Punjab High Court.

With regard to Bengal, the two names are:

1. Mr. Justice Abu Saleh Mohammad Akram, Judge, Calcutta High Court,
- and 2. Mr. Justice S. A. Rehman, Judge, Punjab High Court.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

¹No. 164.

²Enclosure to No. 227. Also see *TP*, XI, No. 311, 580-3.

³Attached to this letter are three papers: one containing names of some Muslim Judges, probably in Jinnah's own hand and the other two of the serving and retired Muslim High Court Judges from all over India. See Enclosures 1, 2 and 3 respectively.

Enclosure 1 to No. 224

F.10/160

1.	Justice Din Mohammad	Punjab
2.	Justice [Muhammad] Munir	Punjab
3.	Justice [Muhammad] Sharif	Punjab
4.	Justice [A. S. M.] Akram	Bengal
5.	Justice Ismail, retired	U.P.
6.	[Muhammad] Wasim	
7.	Justice S. A. Rehman of Punjab	Bengal

Enclosure 2 to No. 224

F.10/160A

MUSLIM RETIRED JUDGES OF HIGH COURTS

High Court	Name	Remarks
Calcutta	Sir Syed Suhrawardy	Father of Bengal Premier. Too old
Karachi	Hatim Tayabji	Bar-at-Law, just retired
	M. A. Haweliwala	Retired 7 or 8 years ago
Lahore	Din Mohammad	Retired recently. At present Chief Justice Bahawalpur. Until recently Chairman of the Air Transport Licensing Board
	Sir Abdul Qadir Niamatullah	Retired long ago. Probably too old
Allahabad		Retired some years ago. Had a great reputation as a Judge
	Mohammad Ismail	
	Sir Iqbal Ahmed	Recently retired as Chief Judge
Lucknow	Sir Wazir Hasan	Ex-Chief Judge
	Ziaul Hasan	
Patna	Khwaja Mohammad Noor	Very old
Peshawar	Sadudin Khan	Ex-Judicial Commissioner
Federal Court	Sir Zafrulla Khan	

Enclosure 3 to No. 224

F.10/161

MUSLIM SERVING JUDGES OF HIGH COURTS

High Court	Name	Remarks
Calcutta	Abu Saleh Mohammad Akram Amiruddin	
Patna	Syed Jafar Imam	Bar-at-Law
Bombay	Mohammad Ali Currim	Bar-at-Law
Karachi	H. G. Aga	Provincial Service Class I
Quetta	Nil	
Nagpur	M. Hidayatullah	
Madras	Shahabuddin	I.C.S.
	Khan Bahadur Yahya Ali	P.C.S.
Peshawar	Khan Bahadur Ibrahim Khan	Judicial Commissioner, P.C.S.
Lahore	Sir Abdur Rashid	Chief Judge, Bar-at-Law
	Sir Abdur Rahman	
	Mohammad Munir	
	Mohammad Sharif	
	S. A. Rehman	I.C.S.
Allahabad	Mohammad Waliullah	B.C.L., LL.D., Bar-at-Law
Lucknow	Ghulam Hasan	Chief Judge
	Mobashir Husain Kidwai	Addl. Judge, Bar-at-Law
Federal Court	Sir Syed Fazli Ali	(Previously Chief Justice, Patna High Court), Bar-at-Law

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M. M. A. Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F.1108/77

B-15/288 LODI ROAD, NEW DELHI,
24 June 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

The achievement of Pakistan is a miracle. It is entirely due to your selfless, untiring and unyielding personality. May God grant you health and peaceful life to see Pakistan a very prosperous, well-established and true Islamic State. *Aameen!*

The time of your fulfilment of duty has now come. Yours will be the most busy life now. Kindly see that Pakistan becomes a Muslim State of *Khulafa-i-Rashideen* pattern and not of modern type as Turkey or Iran. Our guide will be our holy *Qur'an* and holy Prophet. I am sure you know that the *Qur'an* and *Sunnah* are competent forever to meet

every need of every time. We should take *no other*¹ guide! Also please take note of the unpopularity of top-rankers and opportunists. Only people of high talents, vision, sincerity and Islamic background should be chosen for high posts and nation-building tasks. At least Provincialism must be eradicated.

In Army especially, we should be careful to raise, re-organise and establish ■ cent. per cent. Muslim Army on very sound footing. We can't run the risk of revolt or disloyalty now. We may compensate the non-Muslims who may elect to join the Pakistan Army by giving them weightage in civil services or retaining a few in minor technical jobs. I have arranged for a very comprehensive and valuable note on the formation of Pakistan Army with statistics and comparative tables by a Muslim officer to reach you very shortly.

I hope you will excuse me for my interference.

Soliciting the favour of an early reply,

Pakistan Zindabad!

Yours sincerely,
M. M. A. KHAN

¹Underlined in the original.

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Z. Kidwai to M. A. Jinnah

F.162/58-9

CONFIDENTIAL

CAWNPORE,
24 June 1947

Respected Sir,

I, being one of the senior-most Muslim Mechanical Engineers in the Ordnance Factories, consider it to be my duty to apprise you with [*sic* for of] some important points to be considered in the division of the Ordnance Factories.

2. I have worked in these factories for the last 26 years and have had the chance of receiving training in mass production methods in Army Factories in England through the Defence Department and if my opinion and experience counts [for] anything, it is here for the benefit of Pakistan.

3. The Ordnance Factories form an integral part of Defence Department. They manufacture majority of Army's requirements, such as rifles, bren and tommy-guns of various calibres, shells, cartridges, bombs, hand grenades, gun powder, gun carriages, personal equipment of soldiers, clothing [for] men, and material for dropping parachutes, etc., etc.

4. There were originally 8 Factories before the last War, but during the Second Great War some new Factories and a few branches of the Ord[nance] Factories came into existence. On the cessation of hostilities many of the new off-shoots [sic] have been closed but a few, it was understood, were to be kept on.

Old Main Factories were:

i.	Metal & Steel Factory)	at Ichapur about 20 miles
ii.	Rifle Factory)	east of Calcutta
iii.	Gun and Shell Factory	at Cossipore in Calcutta
iv.	Gun and Carriage Factory	at Jubbulpore, C.P.
v.	Cordite Factory	at Aruvankadu, Madras
vi.	Ammunition Factory	at Kirkee, Bombay
vii.	Harness & Saddlery F[actory]	at Cawnpore, U.P.
viii.	Clothing F[actory]	at Shahjahanpore, U.P.

New Factories which so far are in working condition:

- i. Ordnance Parachute Factory, [at] Cawnpore, U.P.
- ii. Ordnance Factory, [at] Cawnpore, U.P.
- iii. Ordnance Factory, at Katni
- iv. Bren-gun Factory, at Hyderabad, Deccan

5. In my opinion the following are the most important points which deserve consideration:

(a) Since Pakistan will have no Steel or Metal Factory of any significance, while Hindustan will have many big and small, such as Tatas, Mysore, Kulti, Cawnpore, etc.

(b) Manufacture and supply of arms and ammunition for the maintenance of Pakistan Army and Police, etc.

(c) Misc[ellaneous] requirements of Army and Police.

6. From my personal experience of potentialities of these Factories, capabilities of expansion not limiting to Army's requirements only but to meet civil demands, I would suggest if the 3 Factories, namely Metal and Steel Factory, Rifle Factory and Gun and Shell Factory, all situated at Calcutta, be taken over as Pakistan's share. These Factories

can be re-organised to make them not only self-supporting but into a paying concern.

7. The method of division of the Ordnance Factories in my opinion, could be done by apportioning the sum total of book values of buildings, machinery, Factory Estates, etc., as on 1 April 1947 or whatever our best accounts brain in Mr. M. Shoaib, now a member of Expert Committee No. 2, may suggest.

8. I can assure that if these factories are taken over, they can, with some addition, meet Pakistan Army's essential requirements. The Machinery and Plants of these 3 Factories, if it does not come in Pakistan, can be shifted easily to Eastern Pakistan but with great difficulty to the Western Pakistan, as these factories are situated on Hoogly River bank, transport facilities are greater [as also] rebuilding the Factories on the most modern and economic lines.

9. Being [*sic* for As] a policy, the responsible personnel of the Ordnance Factories have been mostly Europeans but only lately Indians were given a chance to prove their worth. It is, therefore, unfortunate that there are only four or five [Muslim] officers amongst 128 officers in all the Ordnance Factories, *vide* names given below:

i.	Mr. Muhammad Shafi	Stores & Admn.	26 years service
ii.	Mr. S. M. Shariff	Stores & Admn.	26 years service
iii.	Mr. S. A. Hameed	Leather Expert	26 years service
iv.	Mr. Z. Kidwai	Mechanical Engineer	26 years service
v.	Mr. Qudrat-Ulla	Clothing Expert	24 years service

10. My suggestions are in brief and may require clarification in detail for which, if required, I will welcome an opportunity to discuss them with the person entrusted with division of army factories.

Yours faithfully,

Z. KIDWAI

Assistant Works Manager,

Government Harness and Saddlery Factory, Cawnpore, U.P.

Copy forwarded for information to:

- i. Hon'ble Liaquat Ali Khan, Member for Finance, New Delhi
- ii. Hon'ble Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, Member for Communications, New Delhi

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*Shah Pasand Khan Mahsud to the Dawn, Delhi**(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)**Telegram, F. 896/70*

24 June 1947

Abdulghani son of Abdulghaffar arrived in Waziristan 23rd to visit Ipi Faqir to bribe him to join them. This visit bring [s] bad effect upon Ipi Faqir's reputation amongst tribesmen. Hoped Ipi Faqir will avoid Khan Brothers misleading suggestions. *Azad Qabail* support *Pakistan*¹ reject *Hindustan* or *Pathanistan*. If unfortunately Ipi Faqir join[s] Khan Brothers tribesmen shall dethrone him certainly. *Azad Qabail* consider Muslim first and Pathan after.

[SHAH PASAND KHAN MAHSUD]

Col[onel]

¹In capital letters here and hereafter in the original.

227

Eric Mieville to M. A. Jinnah

F.2/93

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE, NEW DELHI,

24 June 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

On the Viceroy's instructions I am sending you herewith a table of the conclusions which you reached with His Excellency when you came to see him last night.¹ Would you be good enough to let me know if you think this is an accurate record of what took place.

Yours sincerely,
ERIC C. MIEVILLE

¹See Appendix IX. 5.

*Enclosure to 227**F.2/94-5*CONCLUSIONS OF A MEETING BETWEEN THE VICEROY AND
JINNAH HELD AT 7 P.M. ON MONDAY*23 June 1947*

1. Mr. Jinnah promised to give early consideration to the question of who he wished to have as Governor-General of Pakistan and Governors of the Pakistan Provinces when the transfer of power took place. He promised to let the Viceroy have his views in the next two or three days.

2. *Boundary Commission*¹: Mr. Jinnah accepted the terms of reference which had been put up by the Congress leaders² based on H.M.G.'s statement of June 3rd³. Mr. Jinnah promised to let the Viceroy have the names of his nominees for the two Boundary Commissions within the next two or three days.⁴ Mr. Jinnah felt that the Chairman of both Commissions should be a senior member of the Bar from England. He thought that one Chairman could act for both Commissions, and subsequently perhaps as Chairman of the Arbitral Tribunal.

3. *Bengal*: Mr. Jinnah agreed with the Viceroy's suggestion that the Government in Bengal should remain in being and that a shadow Cabinet should be formed in West Bengal with a right of veto over decisions on matters affecting West Bengal.

4. *British Baluchistan*: Mr. Jinnah agreed that he would not press the Viceroy to alter the existing proposal whereby the views of the people in British Baluchistan should be obtained through the non-official members of the Quetta Municipality and the members of the *Shahi Jirga*⁵ (except the *Sirdars* of Kalat State).

5. Mr. Jinnah proposed and the Viceroy agreed that a suggestion should be made to Sir Evan Jenkins⁶ that he should issue a statement in the near future to say that he would not tolerate any longer the violence and bloodshed that was going on in the Province and that he intended to stop it. Mr. Jinnah pressed the point that this applied equally to members of all communities.

6. Mr. Jinnah said that he must have a Commander-in-Chief in Pakistan for operational purposes before August 15th and that whoever was selected for the post should be under the orders of the Pakistan Government. The Viceroy agreed, although he added that for administrative purposes both the Dominion armies would still be under the present Commander-in-Chief until the partition of the armies had become an established fact.

7. Mr. Jinnah said that he would like to hold the first meeting of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly in Delhi and that he hoped that the Legislative Assembly Chamber might be available for the purpose.⁷

¹Underlined, here and hereafter, in the original.

²See Appendix IV. 2.

³No. 1.

⁴No. 224.

⁵See No. 173, note 3.

⁶Governor of the Punjab.

⁷See No. 255, note 1.

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Louis Mountbatten to M. A. Jinnah

F.2/92

NO.592/34

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE, NEW DELHI,

24 June 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I took up the question of the statement attributed to Pandit Nehru in the *Indian News Chronicle* of 23rd June, about which you quite rightly complained.¹ He assured me that he had not given any statement to the press, nor had he seen any reporters. He could only assume that some reporter had interviewed refugees with whom he had had conversations and had misrepresented the tenor of his remarks. I told him I would let you know this.

I wonder if you would allow me to send you a suggestion for a flag for Pakistan. I have taken your present Muslim League flag and placed in the upper canton a small Union Jack.² The normal size Union Jack in the case of the other Dominions—Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa—is one quarter the total area of the flag. I have taken the liberty of making yours only one ninth; not only because there is not enough room to fit in a bigger Jack but because I felt that you might not wish to stress the British connection quite as strongly as in the case of the other Dominions. But that of course is entirely a matter for yourself.

My principal excuse for sending you this is that I was for ten years a Signal Officer in the Royal Navy, whose speciality, as you probably know, is flags!

I need hardly tell you that if you adopted this flag to begin with, there would be nothing to prevent your changing it after your new constitution had been adopted.

Yours sincerely,
MOUNTBATTEN OF BURMA

¹Annex.

²See at end of Volume.

Annex to No. 228
Record of Interview between Louis Mountbatten
and Jawaharlal Nehru, Mountbatten Papers,
Viceroy's Interview No. 151¹

TOP SECRET

24 June 1947,
11 a.m.-12.30 p.m.

I showed him the article in the *Indian News Chronicle* of the 23rd June, in which he was reported to have made the following statements at Hardwar:

1. The Frontier Congress will, in all probability, decide to boycott the proposed referendum.
2. In the event of a one-sided referendum, the present Ministry will resign and fight elections afresh on the issue of Pakistan *versus* Free Pathanistan.
3. Whatever may be the immediate future of the Province, the freedom-loving Pathans will continue their struggle for an independent Pathan State.

I told him that Mr. Jinnah had last night protested to me about this, on the ground that statement No. 2 was a highly improper remark to make coming from ■ leader of Congress who had accepted that there should be no alternative for the N.W.F.P. except to join Hindustan or Pakistan.

Pandit Nehru defended himself by saying that he had made no statement to the press, nor had he seen any pressmen. This statement appeared to have been extracted by a reporter from refugees with whom he had been in conversation, and did not represent either what he said or his views. I told him I would inform Mr. Jinnah accordingly.

[Paras 2-6 omitted]

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Khwaja Nazimuddin to M. A. Jinnah

F.162/49

52 SYED AMEER ALI AVENUE, CALCUTTA,
24 June 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

You asked us to give you names of persons whom we may consider suitable for the filling up of various posts under the new regime.

I would like to suggest the name of Mr. K. Ali Afzal, Secretary, Bengal Legislative Assembly, for the post of Secretary of the Constituent Assembly. Late Sir Azizul Haque had suggested his name to Mr. Menon for one of the posts in the Constituent Assembly, and I know that the Government of Bengal also was going to suggest his name for the "C" Group.¹ I am enclosing herewith papers² about his merit and qualifications, and I can state from my personal knowledge that he has been a very efficient Secretary of the Legislative Assembly; he has been studying the constitutional problems from the time of the Cabinet Mission Scheme. I very strongly recommend him for your favourable consideration.

I have asked Nawabzada to ask you to issue a statement asking the voters of Sylhet to solidly vote for joining the Eastern Pakistan. I hope you will issue this statement³ as soon as possible.

Yours sincerely,
KHWAJA NAZIMUDDIN

¹Refers to the Group Scheme envisaged in the Cabinet Mission Plan in which Bengal and Assam were placed in Section 'C'. See Appendix III.1, Vol. I, Part II, 32-42.

²Not printed.

³See No. 268.

230

G. A. Parwez to M. A. Jinnah

F.10/88

37 TURKMAN ROAD, NEW DELHI,
24 June 1947

Respected Sir,

As promised in my previous letter,¹ I enclose herewith a list of the

Muslim staff in the Secretariat who are expected to be the real servants of our Pakistan Government. The list is moderate and can be augmented later, if necessity arises.

2. So far as my information goes, almost all the Muslim staff, with a few exceptions, have given their option in favour of going to the Pakistan Secretariat. This is good; but, as you will, I hope, agree, not all of them will prove an asset to the Pakistan Government. On sentimental grounds we should, if the total number does not exceed our requirements, take with us all of them, but that will affect our efficiency considerably. This is why I had suggested in my previous letter that the committee responsible for making the final selection should co-opt members of the staff in the various Departments who personally know the men concerned. Senior members in the enclosed list, such as Assistant Secretaries or Superintendents, can be of much help to us for this purpose.

3. In the Home Department, to which I belong, there is not a single Muslim officer, except one retired Provincial Civil Service officer of the U.P. This Department will be of much importance and special care should be taken in making selection of officers therefor.

With all respects,

Yours obediently,
G. A. PARWEZ

'No. 151.

Enclosure to No. 230

F.10/89-98

LABOUR DEPARTMENT

Name	Post held
A. A. Shaheed	Research Officer
Nasiruddin	Superintendent
Ghulam Hussain	P. A. to Secretary
Mohammad Sadiq	Stenographer
Shamusuddin	Assistant
Ikhtiar Ahmad	Assistant
Abdul Latif I	Assistant
Mohammad Yousaf Khokhar	Assistant
Abdul Latif II	Assistant
Badiuddin Ahmad	Assistant
Abdul Hamid Khan	Assistant

RESETTLEMENT DIRECTORATE

M. A. Latif	Deputy Secretary
M. Fahim	Assistant Secretary
H. K. Gore	Deputy Director of Vocational Training
S. Hamidullah	Chief Resettlement Advice Officer
Mohammad Iqbal	Superintendent
Noor Mohammad	Superintendent
M. S. Qureshi	Superintendent
O. K. Sherwani	Superintendent
G. A. Siddiqi	Assistant
Huq Nawaz	Assistant
M. Aslam	Assistant
A. D. Khan	Assistant
Abdul Hamid	Assistant
Sardar Muhammad	Assistant
H. A. Bhatti	Assistant
A. R. Deemo	Assistant
Azam Shah	Assistant
Abdul Hamid	Assistant
S. J. Haye	Assistant
M. A. Salim	Assistant
M. A. Hakim	Stenographer
Nusratuddin	Stenographer
Bahsir Ahmad	Stenographer
A. F. Zia-ul-Din	Deputy Director Resettlement ¹

CENTRAL PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT

A. H. Noon	Superintending Engineer
M. Y. Moghal	Executive Engineer
A. I. Patel	Executive Engineer
Mohammad Shafi	Executive Engineer
A. G. Sadiq	Electrical Engineer
A. Aziz Awan	Superintendent
S. Mohammad Yaqub	Superintendent
D. M. Daud	Assistant
Rizwanul Hassan	Assistant (Estate Office)

COMMERCE DEPARTMENT

Ikramullah	Joint Secretary
M. Hilaly, I.C.S.	Deputy Secretary
A. A. Said	Deputy Secretary
M. Ayub, I.C.S.	Deputy Secretary

M. A. Ghani	Assistant Secretary
I. A. Shaikh	Officer on Special Duty (Merchant Shipping Law)
S. M. Ellahi	Superintendent
K. A. Faruqi	Superintendent
Amir Ali	Superintendent
Rashid Ahmad Khan	Assistant
S. M. Shah	Assistant
Azizul Hassan	Assistant
Sulaman A. Ali	Exhibition Officer

ECONOMIC ADVISER'S OFFICE

S. M. Huda	Assistant Economic Adviser
Maqsud Khan	Research Officer
Ziaul Hassan	Research Officer
Niaz Mohammad	Research Officer
Majibur Rahman	Economic Investigator

ADMINISTRATIVE INTELLIGENCE ROOM

Siddiqui	Research Officer
Aslam Hayat	Research Officer

CHIEF CONTROLLER OF IMPORTS

Mohammad Ismail	Joint Chief Controller
Mohammad Sharif	Assistant Chief Controller
Sajjid Hussain	Executive Officer

CHIEF CONTROLLER OF EXPORTS

M. E. Rahman	Chief Controller
F. M. Shafta	Deputy Controller
Moinuddin Ahmad	Deputy Controller
Iftakharullah	Assistant Chief
M. Hassan	Licensing Officer

SEAMEN WELFARE DIRECTORATE

Khawaja S. Mahmud	Deputy Director
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FINANCE DEPARTMENT

Nawab Din	Assistant Financial Adviser
Nasiruddin	Assistant Financial Adviser (I & S) ² (Delhi Province)
Ghulam Sarwar	Assistant Secretary
Shamoon Ahmad	Assistant Secretary
Hafiz Hassan	Assistant Secretary
Abdul Hamid Qazi	

(K[han] S[ahib])	Assistant Secretary (Retired)
B. Zaman	Superintendent
Mujtaba	Superintendent
Ghulam Sadiq	Superintendent
Ataullah Khan	Superintendent
Maqbul Khan	Superintendent
S. M. Badaruddin Shah	Superintendent
Ghulam Jillani	Superintendent
Syed Khalil Shah	Superintendent

MILITARY FINANCE DEPARTMENT

Mohammad Ali, CIE, OBE	Financial Adviser
Mumtaz Mirza	Deputy Financial Adviser
M. Shoaib	Chief Controller of Factory Accounts
Mohammad Ashraf	Assistant Financial Adviser
Zahiruddin Ahmad	Assistant Financial Adviser
Ausaf Ali Khan	Deputy Assistant Financial Adviser
Arif Mohsin	Superintendent
K[han] S[ahib] Mir (S.M.)	Assistant Financial Adviser

MILITARY ACCOUNTANT GENERAL

S. D. Sheikh	Deputy Assistant Military Accountant General
M. A. Mirza	Accountant, Administration Section
Mohammad Bashir	Accountant, Accounts Section

RAILWAY BOARD

Kh. Ubaidullah	—
Abdul Rahman	Divisional Accounts Officer
Hafizullah	Assistant Director, Clearing Accounts Office
Ch. Ghulam Sarwar	C.S.O.
Mohammad Khalil	C.S.O.
Fazal Mohammad Khan	Wireless Branch
Sirajul Haque	Assistant Director
M. R. Carr Hall	Deputy Director
Mohammad Hassan	Superintendent (Establishment Expert)
Sh. Ikramullah	Assistant-in-Charge (Finance)
Mohammad Sadique	Assistant-in-Charge (Mechanical)
Mohammad Salimullah	Assistant-in-Charge (Budget & Mechanical)

Fazal Elahi	Assistant-in-Charge (Stores & Traffic)
Sube Sadiq	Assistant-in-Charge (Establishment)
Said Ahmad	Assistant-in-Charge (Finance)
Zafar Ali	Assistant-in-Charge (Traffic)
Z. A. Qureshi	Assistant-in-Charge (Establishment)
Mohammad Yousaf	Assistant-in-Charge (Drawing)
Nasiruddin	Assistant-in-Charge (General)
Noor Mohammad	Assistant-in-Charge (Cash)
Ihsanul Haque	Assistant-in-Charge (Accounts)

INDUSTRIES & SUPPLIES DEPARTMENT

K. S. Mohammad	—
Nasrullah Khan	Deputy Secretary
Abdul Hakim	Under Secretary
Khan Sahib Azizul Haque	Assistant Secretary
Muhammad Yaqub	Superintendent

DIRECTOR GENERAL (I & S)

M. M. Farookhi	Director of Supplies (ISM)
Dr. Ali Mohammad	Additional Development Officer
M. A. Rafi	Director of Supplies, New Delhi
Mohammad Iqbal	Assistant Director of Supplies
N. M. A. Qureshi	Assistant Director of Supplies
Nawabuddin	Assistant Director of Supplies
S. M. Ayub	Assistant Director of Supplies
A. Sattar	Assistant Director of Supplies
Munawaruddin	Deputy Assistant Regional Commissioner (Disposal)
I. A. Sethi	Assistant Director
Rahmat Ali	Assistant Director of Disposal
M. Rafee	Assistant Director of Supplies
M. A. Tur	Assistant Director of Supplies
Mohammad Salim Lore	Superintendent
Ali Akbar	Superintendent
A. R. Butt	Superintendent
Niaz Hussain	Superintendent
Syed Hassan	Superintendent
Syed Asghar Ali Shah	Superintendent
Rahmatullah	Superintendent
Mohammad Salim	Assistant (Disposal)

Habibur Rahman	Assistant (I & S)
Abdul Rashid	Assistant (I & S)
Zakauddin	Assistant (I & S)
Usman Ali Kazmi	Assistant (Disposal)
Imid Ahmad	Clerk (3rd Division)

INFORMATION & BROADCASTING DEPARTMENT

Ghalib Ali Shah	Assistant
Altaf Hussain	Assistant
Abdul Rashid Faruqui	Assistant
Inam Ali	Assistant-in-Charge
Bashir Ahmad	Superintendent
Ghulam Hussain	Assistant
Syed Ghulam Nasir	Clerk
Tasleem Ahmad Siddique	Typist
Abdul Hamid	Typist
Mohammad Aqil Qureshi	Typist
Mohammad Suleiman Khan	Food Department
Mohammad Afzal	C.R. Department

DIRECTOR GENERAL, ALL INDIA RADIO

Capt. A. Haque	Public Relations Officer
A. D. Shaikh	Assistant Director (Admn.)
Bashir Ahmad Khan	Superintendent
Ataullah Khan	Superintendent
M. H. Hydri	Assistant
M. H. Shah	Assistant
Wali Dad	Assistant
Ikhtikhar Hussain	Assistant
Inayatullah	"A" Grade Clerk
Shaukat Ali	"B" Grade Clerk
A. A. Khan	"B" Grade Clerk
Mirajuddin	Stenographer
Sadar Khan	Stenographer

CENTRAL NEWS ORGANIZATION

Mohammad Sarferaz	News Editor
Ihsanul Haque	News Editor
M. H. Hashmi	Assistant News Editor
Saeedul Haque	Assistant News Editor
S. A. Alvie	Sub-Editor
S. H. Arzu	Sub-Editor
Abdul Hafeez Khan	Assistant Monitoring Officer
Agha Mohammad Baqir	Supervisor, Hindustani News

S. Barkat Ahmad	Translator / Announcer
Ahmad Hassan	Translator / Announcer
K. Hydari	Arabic Supervisor
Moulana Abdul Qadir	Supervisor, Pashto
Mian Syed Rasool Raza	Commentator, Pashto
Anwar Badshah	Assistant, Persian
Abdul Wadood	Translator / Announcer, Persian
Mohammad Sharif	Technical Assistant (Engineering)
M. A. Kidwai	Technical Assistant (Engineering)
Nadir Hussain	Mechanic
Khurshid Ahmad Mukhtar	Superintendent
T. H. Barny	"A" Grade Clerk
Mohammad Alam	"B" Grade Clerk
A. I. Abbasi	Stenographer
A. A. Khan	Stenographer
Mohammad Amin	Stenographer
Aghais Mirza	Stenographer
Inamur Rahman	Stenographer
M. H. Zaidi	Stenographer
M. A. Hamid	Stenographer

DELHI STATION, ALL INDIA RADIO

Rashid Ahmad	Station Director
Tajuddin	Programme Executive
S. M. Tahir	Programme Supervisor
Zia Nisar Ahmad	Programme Assistant
Ijaz Hussain Batalvi	Programme Assistant
M. Aziz Mahmood	Transmission Assistant
Waqar Hussain	Studio Executive
A. Nabi Qureshi	Assistant Engineer
W. A. Qureshi	Mechanic
Amiruddin	Mechanic
Ghulam Nabi	Superintendent
Rais Ahmad	Stenographer
H. S. Ahmad	Inspector, Rural Broadcasting
Jamil Ahmad Khan	Technical Supervisor
Fiaz Mohammad Khan	Mechanic

LUCKNOW STATION, ALL INDIA RADIO

N. M. Rashid	Assistant Station Director
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ENGINEER-IN-CHARGE, HIGH POWER TRANSMITTER,
ALL INDIA RADIO

Bashir Ahmad	Deputy Engineer Incharge
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I. A. Ansari	Assistant Engineer
Mohammad Mukhtar	Senior Mechanic
Najmul Hussain	Senior Mechanic
Nazir Hussain	Senior Mechanic
Maqbool Ali	Mechanic
Abdul Rahim	Mechanic
Khalil Khan	Mechanic
Bashir Ahmad	Accountant
Mohammad Yasin	Store Keeper
Wajud Hussain	Clerk Grade I

LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT

Habibullah	Assistant
Sultan Mahmood Butt	Officiating Assistant
Masud Ali Zedi	Officiating Assistant
Mohammad Taqi	Temporary Assistant
Nazir Hussain Ansari	Head Translator
Qaim Hussain Wasti	Assistant Translator
Abdul Majid	Typist (Temporary)
Iqbal Hussain	Typist (Temporary)
Irshad Ali	Clerk (Temporary)
Shamshad Ali Wasti	Clerk (Temporary)
Mahboob Ali	Clerk (Temporary)
Mashooq Ali	In-charge, Issue Branch
Mohammad Siddiq	Council Reporter (Permanent)
Ziaullah Shah	Temporary Clerk & Typist

POLITICAL DEPARTMENT

K[han] S[ahib] Z. H. Burney	Assistant Secretary
K[han] S[ahib]	
Sufi Ghulam Qadir	Superintendent
Mohammad Asad Khan	Assistant-in-Charge
Mohammad Ibrahim	Assistant
G. H. Malik	Assistant
S. M. Lohani	Assistant
Habibullah	Assistant
Sardar Mohammad	Assistant
Mujib-ur-Rahman	Assistant
Mohammad Ayub Khan	Assistant
Hasnat Ahmad Chishti	Clerk "A" Grade
Farooq Ahmad	Clerk "A" Grade
Karim Bukhsh	Assistant (re-employed)

Shamsher Ali	2nd Division Clerk
Z. H. Siddiqi	3rd Division Clerk
Iftikhar-ul-Haque	3rd Division Clerk
G. H. Khan Yousufi	3rd Division Clerk
M. H. Siddiqi	3rd Division Clerk
Sher Mohammad Khan	3rd Division Clerk
Mansur Ahmad	3rd Division Clerk
Abdul Waheed	3rd Division Clerk
Aziz Ahmad	3rd Division Clerk
Mohammad Sadiq	3rd Division Clerk
M. Yusuf	3rd Division Clerk
Abdul Aziz	3rd Division Clerk
Najmul Haque	3rd Division Clerk
Aurangzeb Khan	3rd Division Clerk
Masud Ahmad Khan	3rd Division Clerk

INFORMATION & BROADCASTING DEPARTMENT
(PRESS INFORMATION BUREAU)

S. M. Jafari	Assistant Information Officer
A. R. Khan	Superintendent
M. I. A. Mufti	Superintendent
Anwar Ahmad	Superintendent
Nisar Hassan Khan	Assistant-in-Charge
M. Jamil Ahmad Khan	Assistant-in-Charge
Mohammad Iqbal	Assistant
M. Jamil Khan	Assistant
S. M. Shafi	Assistant
Ghulam Mohammad	Clerk
S. Akhtar Ali	Clerk
Mohammad Ibrahim	Clerk
Zia-ul-Haque	Clerk
Aslam Hayat Mufti	Clerk
E. H. Siddiqi	Stenographer
M. N. Ahmad	Stenographer
S. R. Qureshi	Stenographer
Zahoor Ahmad	Stenographer
Ziauddin Kirmani	Information Assistant
Ziauddin Ahmad	Information Assistant
Mirza Afzal Beg	Information Assistant
R. K. Durrani	Translator
A. S. Razmee Ansari	Translator
Abdul Majid	Translator
B. R. Khan	Urdu Typist

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT

A. M. Ashraf	Assistant Education Adviser
Dr. M. H. Rahman	Education Officer
S. M. Asim	Education Officer
Dilawar Hassan	Superintendent
Aziz-ur-Rehman	Assistant-in-Charge
Riaz-ur-Rehman	Assistant

AGRICULTURE DEPARTMENT

Aziz Ahmad, I.C.S.	Deputy Secretary
S. S. Haider	Under-Secretary
Imam Ahmad	Deputy Agriculture Production Advisor
Nazir Ahmad	Superintendent
Q. M. Y. Adhami	Superintendent
M. A. Majid	Assistant-in-Charge
M. L. Naqsh	Assistant-in-Charge
M. A. Ghani	Assistant-in-Charge
Shaiq Husain	Assistant-in-Charge
S. M. Naqvi	Assistant-in-Charge

HEALTH DEPARTMENT

G. A. Madani, I.C.S.	Deputy Secretary
K[han] S[ahib] Nazir-ul-Hasan	Assistant Secretary
Fazal Mohammad	Superintendent
Mohammad Akbar	Superintendent
M. I. Dhamee	Superintendent
I. H. Qureshi	Superintendent

TRANSPORT DEPARTMENT

Abdur Rashid	Assistant Secretary
S. Sharaf-ul-Haq	Assistant Secretary

DEFENCE DEPARTMENT

Akhtar Ali Khan	Officer Supervisor
Abdul Aziz	Superintendent
Ghulam Mohammad	Assistant

PENSION BRANCH

Iqbal Husain, P.C.S.	Deputy Secretary
Abdur Rabb	Assistant Secretary
Mohammad Rafiq	Superintendent
Mohammad Shafi	Superintendent
Mohammad Tufail	Superintendent
Afzal Husain	Assistant

ESTATE OFFICE

Rizwan ul Hasan	Assistant-in-Charge
Abdul Ghani	Assistant
Hafiz Ahmad Kalyan	Assistant
Mohammad Amin Qureshi	Assistant
Naseem Qureshi	Assistant
Abdul Wahab Khan	Clerk
Abdur Rauf	Clerk
Khalil Ahmad Khan	Clerk
Mohammad Jamil Ahmad	Clerk
Talat Husain	Clerk

RENT OFFICE

Mirza Mahmud Beg	Accountant
Mohammad Anis-uz-Zafar	Accountant

COMMUNICATIONS DEPARTMENT

Ali Ausat	Assistant Secretary
Nasir ud Din Malik	Superintendent
Ch. Mohammad Ali	Stenographer
Mohammad Afzal	Stenographer

HOME DEPARTMENT

G. A. Chaudhari	Superintendent
F. M. Subhani	Assistant
K. M. Murtaza	Assistant
Mohammad Ismail	Stenographer
Mohammad Siddiq	Stenographer

SECRETARIAT OF THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL (PUBLIC)

Mohammad Mukhtar	Superintendent
M. A. Hafiz	Cashier

C-IN-C'S OFFICE

Abdul Ghafur	Cashier
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¹Abbreviated designations, here and hereafter, have been given in full.

²Industries & Supplies.

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*H. M. Patel to Member for Finance¹**F.1/68*

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA,
CABINET SECRETARIAT,
NEW DELHI,
24 June 1947

NO.135/C.F./47

The undersigned is directed to circulate to Hon'ble Members for their information a copy of the proceedings as approved by His Excellency the Viceroy, of the meeting of the Special Committee of the Cabinet, held on Monday, the 16th June 1947.

H. M. PATEL
Cabinet Secretary

[Copies] to

The Hon'ble Members for Finance, Home, Food & Agriculture, Communications and Defence (relevant cases)

D[eputy] Sec[retary], Partition Office (decisions only)

Chief of the General Staff (decision of the relevant cases only)

Copy with four copies of the enclosures forwarded to the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy, for information.

V. H. COELHO
Under-Secretary to the Cabinet

¹This was an extra set for the Finance Member.

*Enclosure 1¹ to No. 231**F.1/69*

MEETING OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE OF THE CABINET HELD
ON MONDAY, THE 16TH JUNE 1947 AT 6 P.M.

SECRET

PRESENT

His Excellency the Viceroy

The Hon'ble Member for Finance

The Hon'ble Member for Home

The Hon'ble Member for Food & Agriculture

The Hon'ble Member for Communications

The Hon'ble Member for Defence
The Chief of the Viceroy's Staff
The Principal Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy
The Chief of the General Staff
The Secretary to the Cabinet
(The Financial Adviser, Defence & Supply)
The Deputy Secretary to the Cabinet

MINUTES

His Excellency said he hoped he was correctly interpreting the views of both parties in saying that it was their common desire that the partition should be carried out in a spirit of friendship and goodwill and with a sincere desire to part as friends. If so, he suggested that the Committee should agree to this being placed on record as a broad statement of the spirit in which the work would be done. By making known their views on this matter they would exercise a valuable psychological effect on the Expert Committees.

DECISION

The Special Committee directed that the work of partition should be undertaken in a spirit of friendship and goodwill, and with the desire to give a fair deal to both sides.

¹This copy of the document bears No. 3A.

Enclosure 2¹ to No. 231

F.1/70-4

MEETING OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE OF THE CABINET HELD
ON MONDAY, THE 16TH JUNE AT 6 P.M.

SECRET

[PRESENT]

His Excellency the Viceroy
The Hon'ble Member for Finance
The Hon'ble Member for Food and Agriculture
The Hon'ble Member for Communications
The Hon'ble Member for Defence
The Chief of the Viceroy's Staff
The Principal Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy
The Chief of the General Staff
The Secretary to the Cabinet
(The Financial Adviser, Defence & Supply)
The Deputy Secretary to the Cabinet

PAPER PREPARED BY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF² ON THE
RECONSTITUTION OF THE ARMED FORCES IN INDIA

MINUTES

His Excellency said that the Commander-in-Chief had at first been gloomy about the probable effects of the division of the Army on the discipline and morale of the troops. However, as a result of the lead given by the leaders that the country should accept the partition in the proper spirit, he was now optimistic and confident that he could produce at the earliest reasonable moment two Armies each of which would be as efficient as the existing one, provided the advice of the experts on the question of division was given due consideration.

PARA. 2. RESPONSIBILITY OF THE COMMITTEE

It was explained that the name of the Committee had been deliberately chosen by the Commander-in-Chief for psychological reasons. It implied division, which would be followed by reconstitution. The Committee agreed that the name suggested by the Commander-in-Chief should stand and the responsibilities of the Committee should be as set out in para. 2 of the paper prepared by the Commander-in-Chief.³

PARA. 3. COMPOSITION OF THE COMMITTEE

His Excellency said he had looked at the panel of names of Indian officers who were considered by the Commander-in-Chief competent to act as members of the Sub-Committees and he had noticed that, for circumstances beyond control, none of them was of great seniority or had any high level experience. There was a world of difference between command experience and high level experience. He suggested, therefore, that Sir Chandulal Trivedi,⁴ who had been Secretary of the War Department for three years during World War II and who had a good inner knowledge of the working of the Armed Forces, might be co-opted or called in for consultation by the Armed Forces Reconstitution Committee. The Committee agreed that a wire should be sent to Sir Chandulal Trivedi inviting him to serve on the main Committee.

PARA. 3 (B). SUB-COMMITTEES

The Hon'ble Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan suggested that each Sub-Committee should have two Secretaries, one from each community. Continuing, he said that most of the officers were unknown to the two parties and he suggested that they should be given some time to make recommendations regarding the composition of the Sub-Committees. They should also be enabled to interview any officer about whose suitability they were in doubt.

His Excellency suggested that the Chief of the General Staff might be asked to depute a senior officer from each service, who would be in a position to express impartial views on all the officers under consideration for appointment to the Sub-Committees and who would advise the Congress and the League members. If they wished to interview any of the Indian officers, facilities should be provided.

PARA. 4. TERMS OF REFERENCE

His Excellency said that the main point of difference between the terms of reference suggested by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief on the one hand and the Hon'ble Members for Home and Food & Agriculture on the other was that the latter desired that the plan for division should be completed not later than the 22nd July 1947.

In the course of subsequent discussion the following points were made:

1. It would be possible to have an outline plan together with a certain amount of detail ready by the 22nd July, but the task was so big that even with the utmost good-will it would not be possible to settle all the details by that date. It was understood, for example, that ordnance items alone, not including Engineer stores, etc., numbered as many as 4,50,000. The work would, however, be done with the greatest speed possible. It was essential, however, to maintain the morale and discipline on the one hand, and to keep in view the needs of internal security on the other. That and the fact that the work had to be done through the Sub-Committees necessarily imposed certain limitations.

2. It was important to know what the position of the Army would be on the 15th August. Unless the division were completed by then, there would be no Army under the control of either Government. It was pointed out that this difficulty could be overcome by placing the troops located in each successor State under the operational control of the respective Governments, who would give their own orders to the Commander-in-Chief regarding movements, disposition of troops, etc., within their own borders. The Commander-in-Chief would, of course, for a time have to retain administrative control.

3. It was not clear what the position of the Commander-in-Chief would be in the event of conflicting orders being given to him by both States. The point required consideration and it may be that some sort of Defence Council would have to be evolved to deal with such cases.

4. If the number of troops now in the Northern Command, which more or less covered the N. W. Pakistan area, could be ascertained, as well as their community-wise composition, it would be possible for those units which were wholly or mostly composed of Muslims to be kept in Pakistan

(both Western and Eastern) and units which were wholly or mostly composed of other communities to be moved to the rest of India before the 15th August. The Armed Forces Reconstitution Committee should, therefore, immediately work out proposals to ensure that the disposition of the Army on the 15th August, or as soon thereafter as might be possible, should be such that the maximum number of troops would be located in the State to which they belonged, that is, in either of the two Pakistan States [*sic*] or in the rest of India.

5. It would not be possible to work out the numbers of troops to be in position in each State on the 15th August without knowing the basis on which the present Army was to be divided. It was explained that it would be necessary for alternative schemes to be prepared by the experts each based on different premises.

6. It was necessary to give the Sub-Committees a lead on the question whether, in making recommendations on the division of the Armed Forces, they should consider the needs of defence against external aggression or of internal security. The Committee agreed that they should primarily take into account the needs of internal security, the possibility of trouble from the tribes and as an alternative plan also from Afghanistan.

7. It was important to know by what date British troops were to be withdrawn. After H.M.G.'s views were known, the two successor Governments could be consulted on this question.

DECISION

The Committee of the Cabinet agreed:

1. That Sir Chandulal Trivedi should be invited to serve on the Armed Forces Reconstitution Committee.

2. That each Sub-Committee of the Armed Forces Reconstitution Committee should have two Secretaries, one from each community.

3. That the Chief of the General Staff should direct a senior officer from each service who would be in a position to advise the Congress and the League members of this Committee on the suitability of the officers for appointment to the Sub-Committees. The two parties would be enabled to interview any officer about whose suitability they were in doubt.

4. That the Chief of the General Staff should consult Sardar Patel, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan and Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar and endeavour to draw up agreed terms of reference for the Armed Forces Reconstitution Committee.

5. That H.M.G. should be consulted as to their intention regarding the date of withdrawal of British troops.

6. That the Armed Forces Committee should immediately work out proposals to ensure that disposition of troops on the 15th August, or as soon thereafter as possible, shall be such as to contain the maximum number of units of the State to which they are eventually going to belong, i.e. by endeavouring as far as possible to have the majority of Muslims in Pakistan and the majority of non-Muslims in the rest of India.

7. That the aim should be to give operational control over the units in each State to the Government of that State, the administrative control remaining with the common Commander-in-Chief.

¹This copy of the document bears No. 3A.

²Field Marshal Sir Claude Auchinleck.

³See Enclosure 2 to No. 121.

⁴Governor of Orissa.

Enclosure 3¹ to No. 231

F.1/75-8

MEETING OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE OF THE CABINET HELD
ON MONDAY, THE 16TH JUNE 1947 AT 6 P.M.

SECRET

PRESENT

His Excellency the Viceroy
The Hon'ble Member for Finance
The Hon'ble Member for Home
The Hon'ble Member for Food and Agriculture
The Hon'ble Member for Communications
The Chief of the Viceroy's Staff
The Principal Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy
The Secretary to the Cabinet
(The Financial Adviser, Defence and Supply)
The Deputy Secretary to the Cabinet

RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE STEERING COMMITTEE
IN REGARD TO THE EXPERT COMMITTEES, THEIR TERMS
OF REFERENCE AND PERSONNEL

MINUTES

EXPERT COMMITTEE NO. 1

His Excellency said that he would suggest the inclusion of a "stand-still" proviso in the draft directive in accordance with which it was proposed that Expert Committee No. 1 should make recommendations for

the division of officers and staff. This was that after every Government servant had elected which Government he wished to serve, the cadres would be separated accordingly but actual transfers would have to be arranged over a period of time and in the meanwhile a "standstill" agreement should be made so that the efficiency of the organisations might be preserved.

In the course of subsequent discussion the following points were made:

1. In view of the existing abnormal conditions and the consequent difficulty which an officer might find in making a final choice in the matter, a reasonably long period, say, one or two years, should be allowed to officers within which to exercise their option.

2. Unless the final choice was made within a short time it would not be possible for either Government to go ahead with recruitment to its services. Moreover, it would be detrimental to retain for any length of time in the Administration officers whose loyalty might lie with another State.

3. These difficulties could be overcome by one of two methods:

- (a) By arranging mutual transfers later on, or (b) by stipulating that officers who chose to serve a State other than the one in which they were at present, should be retained until such time as it was possible to recruit others to take their place.

4. It was only to provide for those officers who felt that they could not make a final choice, because of the prevailing abnormal conditions, that a chance should be given to them to re-consider their decision. This should, of course, be done before either State commenced fresh recruitment to its services on any considerable scale.

His Excellency said that H.M.G. were examining the question as to which party should be recognised as inheritor of the present Government for the purpose of preserving continuity of diplomatic representation abroad and other such matters. He thought that when H.M.G.'s decision on this point had been communicated it might be easier to agree on the terms of reference of this Committee.

EXPERT COMMITTEE NO. 2

His Excellency said that in certain cases where physical assets were uprooted their value might be lowered and he felt that the interests of Pakistan might best be served if Pakistan obtained financial compensation for purchasing new machinery and if India agreed to give Pakistan equal facilities for servicing in such cases until such time as Pakistan acquired its own machinery.

The following points were made in the course of discussion:

1. It was important that the administration and services in both States should run efficiently. This could not be done unless there was ■

division of physical assets. The Armed Forces, for example, could not do without Ordnance Factories.

2. The division of all physical assets might result in neither State having efficient plants.

3. The Steering Committee might not experience much difficulty once they got down to the job. It might, therefore, work on the general principle that the greatest good of both the new States should be secured; but if there were disputed claims by Pakistan for fixed assets like plant and machinery, the removal of which might be detrimental to the interests of the other Government, the facts of each case should be reported to the Partition Council for consideration.

The Hon'ble Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan said that it might be necessary to make some changes in the membership of the Expert Committees if, for example, certain officers who had been proposed to serve on them were not available. The Steering Committee should be authorized to make such changes subject to the approval of the Partition Council. He wished to include in Expert Committee No. 2 a retired official for the reason that there were no Muslim officers of sufficient seniority and experience to serve effectively on that Committee.

DECISION

The Committee agreed:

1. to the setting up of the Expert Committees with the personnel recommended in the note prepared by the Steering Committee;²

2. that as a special case Sir Ghulam Mohammed though non-official should be allowed to serve on Expert Committee No. 2 (Assets & Liabilities),

3. that the terms of reference of the Committees should be as recommended by the Steering Committee, except in regard to Expert Committees Nos. 1 and 2,

4. that the terms of reference of Expert Committee No. 1 should be settled after H.M.G. had announced their decision regarding the authority to be treated as successor to the present Government for purposes of continuity of foreign representation etc. It was desirable, however, that the work of the Committee should not be held up and that the Steering Committee should endeavour to give suitable instructions to enable the Committee and its Sub-Committees to get on with their work,

5. that the directive in accordance with which the Expert Committee No. 1 would make recommendations regarding the division of officers and staff should be as follows:

Every Government servant should be given the opportunity to select which Government he wished to serve.³ This option should

be exercised within a period of, say, 10 days. If, however, any Government servant desired the right to reconsider his decision he should make a specific request to that effect at the time he makes his choice and be allowed six months in which to make his final choice. When the option has been exercised, the cadres will be separated accordingly. But actual transfers will have to be arranged over a period of time and in the meanwhile a "stand-still" agreement should be arranged so that the efficiency of the organisations may be preserved.

6. that the Steering Committee should endeavour to evolve agreed terms of reference for Expert Committee No. 2, failing which it should proceed with its work subject to the adoption of the broad principle of securing the greatest good of the two states, and that in the event of disputed claims for fixed assets like plant and machinery, the removal of which might be detrimental to the interests of the other Government, the facts of each case should be reported for consideration by the Partition Council,

7. that changes in the personnel of the Expert Committees could be made by the Steering Committee subject to the approval of the Congress and the League members of the Special Committee (later Partition Council).

¹This copy of the document bears No. 3.

²Enclosure 1 to No. 121. Also see Annexure to Enclosure 1 to No. 213.

³Annex to No. 121.

Enclosure 4¹ to No. 231

F. 1/79

MEETING OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE OF THE CABINET HELD
ON MONDAY, THE 16TH JUNE 1947 AT 6 P.M.

SECRET

PRESENT

His Excellency the Viceroy

The Hon'ble Member for Finance

The Hon'ble Member for Home

The Hon'ble Member for Food and Agriculture

The Hon'ble Member for Communications

The Chief of the Viceroy's Staff

The Principal Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy

The Secretary to the Cabinet

(The Financial Adviser, Defence & Supply)

The Deputy Secretary to the Cabinet

GUARANTEE BY PAKISTAN GOVERNMENT TO MEMBERS OF THE
SECRETARY OF STATE'S SERVICES

Regarding the draft letter to be addressed to Provincial Governments and members of the Secretary of State's Services, the Hon'ble Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan said that the Pakistan Government would extend to the members of the Secretary of State's Services the same guarantees as had been given to them by the Government of India.

¹This copy of the document bears No. 3A.

Enclosure 5¹ to No. 231

F.1/80

MEETING OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE OF THE CABINET HELD
ON MONDAY, THE 16TH JUNE 1947 AT 6 P.M.

SECRET

PRESENT

His Excellency the Viceroy
The Hon'ble Member for Finance
The Hon'ble Member for Home
The Hon'ble Member for Food and Agriculture
The Hon'ble Member for Communications
The Chief of the Viceroy's Staff
The Principal Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy
The Secretary to the Cabinet
(The Financial Adviser, Defence & Supply) .
The Deputy Secretary to the Cabinet

PRESS NOTE ON MACHINERY FOR PARTITION

MINUTES

The Committee took into consideration the draft press note prepared in the Partition Office explaining the machinery which had been set up for giving effect to the Partition. H. E. suggested that mention should be made in it (i) that a Partition Council would be set up to replace the present Committee of Cabinet as soon as the vote of the Provincial Legislatures made it clear that there would be partition, and (ii) that the Special Committee of Cabinet had directed that the work of partition should be carried out in a spirit of mutual goodwill and equity.

DECISION

The Committee agreed that the proposed press note should be issued explaining the machinery which had been set up for giving effect to the partition, amplified in the manner suggested by H.E.

¹This copy of the document bears No. 3A.

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H. M. Patel to Liaquat Ali Khan

F.1/59

SECRET/IMMEDIATE
NO. 135/C.F./47

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA,
CABINET SECRETARIAT,
NEW DELHI,
24 June 1947

The Cabinet Secretary presents his compliments to the Hon'ble Member for Finance and is directed by His Excellency the Viceroy to request that he will attend a meeting of the Special Committee of the Cabinet to be held at the Viceroy's House on Thursday, the 26th June 1947 at 10 a.m.

AGENDA

1. Procedure for the appointment of Governors of Provinces (No papers)
2. The replacement of the Special Committee of the Cabinet by the Partition Council (No papers)
3. Preliminary arrangements for the setting up of the Central Pakistan Government in Karachi (Note attached)
4. A note by the Commander-in-Chief on the retention of British officers in India (Attached)
5. Letter regarding option to Secretary of State's Officers issued in anticipation of approval (Attached)

H. M. PATEL
Cabinet Secretary

*Enclosure 1¹ to No. 232**F.1/60-1*STEPS TO BE TAKEN FOR THE TRANSFER OF OFFICES AND
PERSONNEL FROM DELHI TO KARACHI IN ORDER TO
SET UP THE PAKISTAN GOVERNMENT

It is urgently necessary to initiate action preliminary to the forthcoming transfer of offices and personnel to Karachi for setting up the headquarters of the new Central Government there. *Inter alia*, immediate action is necessary in regard to the following:

1. Construction of hutments and other temporary accommodation for certain offices;
 2. Provision of necessary building material such as cement, coal, sanitary and other fittings for the above;
 3. Repairs to existing buildings that will be requisitioned from private parties in Karachi;
 4. Steps to be taken to secure from the Armed Forces any accommodation that may be available with them at or near Karachi at present;
 5. Installation of telephones;
 6. Purchase of furniture for offices and some residences;
 7. Provision of stationery etc.;
 8. Printing of forms;
 9. Provision of transport for the personnel and baggage and Government records going to Karachi;
 10. Provision of transport for the reception of the above at the Karachi end;
 11. Establishment of an Estate Office at Karachi to take charge of (a) temporary accommodation to be built and (b) requisitioned buildings;
 12. Opening of Reception Offices at Karachi to receive and give guidance to incoming officers and personnel;
 13. Opening of Accounts Office in Karachi to deal with disbursement of pay and allowances of the staff arriving there;
 14. Provision of accommodation, recruitment of staff, supply of stationery, etc., for the new Constituent Assembly.
2. The above list is not exhaustive as a number of other essential requirements will have to be attended to as they come up. Obviously, as the new Government will not come into being until the date of transfer of power, all this preliminary work can only be undertaken by the various Departments of the Government of India concerned. Requests based on such requirements will be presented by Mr. Mohamad Ali to

the Steering Committee which, in consultation with the Departments concerned (and after submission to the Partition Committee where necessary), will request Departments concerned to undertake the work and to authorise the expenditure involved.

3. Such expenditure will be booked separately and taken into account in the financial adjustment between the two Governments.

4. The Partition Committee of Cabinet is requested to approve the procedure outlined above.

¹This copy of the document bears No. 3.

Enclosure 2¹ to No. 232

F.1/62-3

RETENTION OF BRITISH OFFICERS
COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF'S PAPER OF

TOP SECRET

No. 4/47

23 June 1947

1. It will be remembered that at a meeting of the Defence Committee (India) on Friday, 25 April last, it was agreed that the total nationalization of the Armed Forces, originally planned to be completed by June 1948, would be held up until a political decision had been taken on the main issue of separation.

2. I have always stated my firm conviction that it is not practicable to reconstitute the Armed Forces as required by the Partition decision and to give effect to the complete nationalization of their officer cadres at the same time.

Therefore, the services of a number of British officers and also of certain British other ranks and ratings must be retained with all three Services during the process of reconstitution.

To regularise the situation and to enable me to ascertain to what extent British officers and other ranks would be willing to continue to serve with the Indian Armed Forces during their reconstitution, I request that a public announcement be made by the Partition Committee on behalf of the two new Dominion Governments to be set up, that those Governments will desire to retain the services of a number of British officers and other ranks during the process of the reconstitution of the Armed Forces.

3. The numbers of British officers now serving in the Indian Armed Forces are approximately:

R.I.N. ²	RIN (Regular)	150
	RIN (Reserve)	70
	RN (on loan)	<u>20</u>
		240
ARMY	Indian Army—Regulars	2,500
	ECOs ³	2,000
	British Service att[ache]d	<u>3,700</u>
		8,200
AIR FORCE	General Duties)	
	Technical)	
	Other Branches)	<u>360</u>
		360

4. To ensure the wholehearted co-operation of such British officers and other ranks as it may be necessary to retain, it is essential that they should serve as volunteers and not be subjected to any form of compulsion. I consider that the number of British officers required, initially at any rate, will approximate to the totals given in paragraph 3. Whether this number of volunteers will be forthcoming it is not yet possible to say.

5. There is every reason to believe that, in the present circumstances, many serving British officers are not really desirous of continuing their service in India. This attitude is the result of the frequent and emphatically expressed desire of Indians of various shades of opinion to be rid of the British officer element in the Armed Forces; and the markedly unfriendly and mistrustful attitude frequently adopted towards them by some Indians; and their disappointment that, for political reasons, the forces—of which they are so justly proud—are to be remoulded into separate entities.

6. It must be appreciated, therefore, that it is asking a great deal of the British officer, after hearing the cry "Quit India" reiterated so loudly and so often in the past, to acquiesce readily to [*sic* for in] a request to stay. For this reason, I think Indian leaders must say publicly that they need the help of British officers. Such a statement should encourage the officer to hope that he will be respected and trusted and treated as a friend which is what he desires.

7. This paper refers to officers. There will be problems of a similar nature affecting some of the British ratings and other ranks serving with the Indian Armed Forces whose retention will be required, but I assume that their treatment will follow the same lines as that accorded to the officers.

C. J. E. AUCHINLECK
F[ield] M[arshal]
C-in-C in India

¹This copy of the document bears No. 3.

²Royal Indian Navy.

³Emergency Commissioned Officers.

*Enclosure 3¹ to No. 232**F.1/64-5*

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, PARTITION OFFICE,
NO. P.O. A-1(3) II
NEW DELHI,
21 June 1947

1. All Chief Secretaries of Provincial Governments
2. All Secretaries of Departments of the Government of India
3. All Chief Commissioners

Sir,

As you are aware, in consequence of His Excellency the Viceroy's announcement of the 30th April 1947² regarding the withdrawal of the Secretary of State's control over his Services and more particularly the latest announcement of His Majesty's Government on the 3rd June 1947³ regarding the impending transfer of power, it has become necessary to ascertain from all officers of the Secretary of State's Services whether or not they desire to continue in service after the transfer of power in order that suitable arrangements may be made to retain those that wish to continue and to replace those that desire to leave. Accordingly, the Government of India in their Home Department letter No. 160/47/R. R. dated the 18th June 1947⁴ (and its enclosures) have requested you to ascertain the wishes of every individual officer in this regard as well as in respect of any possible change of province that individual officers may be seeking consequent upon the present political situation.

2. I am now directed by the Partition Office set up under the Partition Committee of Cabinet to enquire specifically.

i. how many of these officers (Indian or European) would wish to serve under the future Government of Pakistan in continuation of their permanent service and under the terms of the guarantees specified in para. 1 of the Home Department letter No. 160/47/R. R. dated the 18th June 1947 which was addressed to individual officers (of course with the modification that in regard to disciplinary matters it will be the Central Public Service Commission of Pakistan that will be consulted).

ii. If any of the officers of non-Asiatic domicile who intend to retire after taking compensation and proportionate pension would wish to serve the future Government of Pakistan thereafter on the basis of a contract for a period of time and on terms to be mutually agreed upon.

3. I am to request you kindly to send immediately to every officer belonging to any of the Services noted in the margin⁵ and serving

under your Provincial Government under your administrative control
 ■ copy of the enclosed letter and to forward at a very early date a consolidated list of those who send to you a copy of their reply to the question asked in sub-para. (i) of para. 2 above together with the comments of the Provincial Governments, if any.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

A. HILALY

Deputy Secretary to the Government of India

¹This copy of the document bears No. 3.

²Annex.

³No. 1.

⁴Not available in QAP.

⁵The Indian Civil Service, Indian Police, Indian Agricultural Service, Indian Educational Service, Indian Forest Service, Indian Forest Engineer Service, Indian Veterinary Service, Indian Service of Engineers.

Annex to Enclosure 3 to No. 232

PREMATURE TERMINATION OF SEC[RETAR]Y OF STATE'S SERVICES' LIABILITY FOR PENSIONS ACCEPTED BY GOVERNMENT OF INDIA HIGHEST COMPENSATION OF £ 8,000

NEW DELHI, April 30: The Viceroy this evening made the long-awaited statement on compensation for premature termination of the services of members of the Secretary of State's Services in India and to regular officers and British Warrant Officers of the Indian Armed Forces.

According to the announcement, His Majesty's Government "accept the obligation to see that they are duly compensated for the termination of their careers consequent on the transfer of power" in June, 1948.

Compensation would not ordinarily be admissible to those who retire before the date of the final transfer of power, though there may be a staggering of releases.

The Government of India have stipulated that compensation should be payable only to such Indian officers as are not invited to continue to serve after the transfer of power, or those who can satisfy the Governor-General that their actions in the course of duty have damaged their prospects or unsatisfactory appointments are offered them, and, finally, those who can show to the Governor-General that they have legitimate cause for anxiety regarding their future in the province where they are serving.

The Government of India have undertaken that those members of the Secretary of State's Services who continue to serve under the Government of India after the transfer of power shall do so on their present terms as to scales of pay, leave, pensionary rights and safeguards in matters of discipline, and that provisions to this effect should be made in the treaty to deal with matters arising out of the transfer of power.

The Government of India accept liability for pension and proportionate pension earned by service under the Secretary of State, whether by civilians or by members of the Defence Services.

British members of these services who accept appointment to another Crown Service on a permanent pensionable basis will receive a resettlement grant of £ 500 instead of cash compensation.

The highest compensation of £ 8,000 is payable to I.C.S. officers and military and police officers in the Indian Political Services with 16 years' service. Those with over 32 years' service in the I.C.S. and those in the other services mentioned above over 53 year of age will not be entitled in any compensation.

FULL TEXT

The following is the full text of the announcement by the Viceroy:

His Majesty's Government have announced their intention that the British Government's authority in India will be finally transferred to Indian hands by June, 1948. It is the aim of His Majesty's Government that the transfer of power should be effected in an orderly and regulated manner, so that the new authorities may assume their responsibilities in conditions conducive to the best interests of India and maintenance of good relations with Great Britain. His Majesty's Government are confident that during this period of transition the services and all those who man them, whether British or Indian will respond to this call.

To those serving under covenant or other form of agreement with the Secretary of State for India, or who hold commissions from His Majesty the King, the transfer of power will mean premature termination on that date of a career under the ultimate authority of His Majesty's Government and the British Parliament and for many there is added to the heavy call of present duty the burden of anxiety for their own future and that of those who depend on them.

GREAT ANXIETY

The Government of India are naturally and rightly most anxious and His Majesty's Government share their anxiety—that the administration shall not be weakened by the loss of experienced officers.

To this end the Government of India have undertaken that those

members of the Secretary of State's Services who continue to serve under the Government in India after the transfer of power shall do so on their present terms as to scales of pay, leave, pensionary rights and safeguards in matters of discipline and that provisions to this effect should be made in the treaty to deal with matters arising out of the transfer of power.

The Government of India will now propose to the provincial Governments that they should give similar assurances to members of the Secretary of State's Services who agree to join provincial services.

The Government of India recognise that some Indian members of the Secretary of State's Services may be genuinely anxious about their prospects under the provincial administrations where they are at present employed and every effort will be made to arrange suitable transfer in such cases.

The Government of India agree that compensation should be payable to such Indian officers of these services as

1. Are not invited to continue to serve under the Government of India after the transfer of power; or

2. Can satisfy the Governor-General that their actions in the course of duty during their service prior to the transfer of power have damaged their prospects or that the appointments offered to them are such as cannot be regarded as satisfactory in the altered circumstances; or

3. Can show to the satisfaction of the Governor-General that they have legitimate cause for anxiety about their future in the province where they are now serving and that no suitable transfer can be arranged.

But the Government of India feel that sentiments of patriotism will naturally impel Indian officers to continue to serve their country and in the light of the undertaking that they have given and the consideration that, in fact, Indian members of the services will have improved prospects, there is no ground, save these special cases, for payment of compensation to Indian officers on account of the transfer of power.

His Majesty's Government have been reviewing the whole position. They have noted the undertaking which the Government of India have given in regard to officers whom they desire should continue to serve under the Government of India.

They recognise the force of the Government of India's arguments and they agree that to Indian officers compensation should not be admissible except in the cases which I have just mentioned.

Many Indian members of the Secretary of State's Services will however become members of the provincial services and in their cases His

Majesty's Government's agreement that they need not be compensated is conditional upon the provincial Governments guaranteeing the existing terms of service. If they are not prepared to do so, His Majesty's Government reserve the right to reconsider the matter.

With these reservations I am now authorised by His Majesty's Government to inform members of the Secretary of State's Services that they accept the obligation to see that they are duly compensated for the termination of their careers consequent on the transfer of power.

British members of these services who accept appointment to another Crown Service on a permanent pensionable basis will, however, receive instead of cash compensation a resettlement grant of £ 500. His Majesty's Government also undertake that members of the Secretary of State's Services who retire will be secured in their rights to the leave then due to them.

NEW SERVICES

In pursuance of their wish to give all possible help to the Government of India in building up the new services, His Majesty's Government agree that their obligation covers the claim to ultimate compensation of those British members of the services who are asked to serve on in India and decide to do so.

If such officers decide at any time after the transfer of power that they wish to retire, they will receive any compensation to which they are entitled. This will be determined according to the published tables by the date on which active service ceases and service both before and after June, 1948, will be taken into account.

Compensation will be payable in addition to such retiring or proportionate pension as is admissible under the existing rules to European officers and other ranks of the Royal Indian Navy, Indian Army and Indian Medical Service whose services under the Crown in these forces are brought to an end by reason of the transfer of power.

I am authorised to announce the acceptance by His Majesty's Government of a similar obligation. For some it will be possible to pursue their profession in the corresponding British service and for them a lower scale of compensation for loss of an Indian career is provided.

Compensation will not ordinarily be admissible to those who retire before the date of the final transfer of power, but, in the interest of a smooth transfer, it may be desirable to spread releases over a period, and if I am satisfied that in the public interest any civilian officers should be released with entitlement to compensation in at the date of his retirement [sic].

I am glad to be able to announce that the Government of India

accept liability for pension and proportionate pension earned by service under the Secretary of State, whether by civilians or by members of the Defence Services.

The scales of compensation to be granted to civil and military officers whose appointments are terminated on account of the transfer of power and who are not appointed to a civil service under His Majesty's Government, will be published at once. An announcement will be made separately of the conditions to be applied in the case of officers who may obtain permanent pensionable employment in a civil service under His Majesty's Government.

Following is a summary of the table of compensation:

I.C.S. [and other services]

Eligibility for compensation begins with five years' service and the amount of compensation is £ 2,500. Thereafter there is an increase of £ 500 per year until the apex is reached at £ 8,000 for those with 16 years service. Thereafter it declines by £ 500 per year of service until those with 32 years' service get no compensation.

The same scales apply to military and police officers in the Indian Political Service as for members of the I.C.S. with the difference that instead of years of service the age of the person is the criterion, instead of five years' service a man must be 28 years of age to be entitled to the compensation of £ 2,500 and those over 53 years get none.

For "officers of the Secretary of State's Services," those who are 24 years of age will be entitled to £ 375 as compensation and the amount increases thereafter by £ 375 per year reaching a maximum of £ 6,000 for those aged 39 and then declines by the same amount per year until those over 53 get no compensation.

Scales of compensation for regular officers of the Royal Indian Navy, the Indian Army and the Indian Medical Service, excluding officers of the special list of quarter-masters and departmental officers of the India unattached list will be the same as those for "officers of other Secretary of States Services" with the following exceptions: those 20, £ 75, those 21, £ 150, those 22, £ 225 and those 23, £ 300. After that the scale will be the same. The last age group to receive compensation will be 54 with £ 375.

For special list of Quarter-Master Indian Army, beginning with £ 250 for those aged 24, with an annual increase of £ 250 till the maximum of £ 4,000 is reached; for those in the age group of 39 and declining by £ 250 per year until those aged 55 get no compensation.

For officers of the India Unattached List and Commissioned War-warrant Officers the table of compensation is the same. Those aged 24 are eligible for the minimum compensation of £ 187½. Thereafter the

amount increases annually by £ 187½ till the maximum is reached or those aged 39 with a compensation of £ 3,000 and then declines by the same amount till those aged 55 are ineligible for compensation.

Finally for Warrant Officers of the India Unattached List and Warrant Officers those 24 years of age will get the minimum of £ 125 and the annual increase will be £ 125 with a maximum of £ 2,000 for those aged 39 and the amount of compensation will then decline by £ 125 per year till those aged 55 will be ineligible.

The following is the statement of conditions to be applied to officers of the Secretary of State's Services who obtain permanent pensionable employment in a civil service under His Majesty's Government.

An officer appointed to a permanent pensionable post in a civil service under His Majesty's Government:

1. will be entitled to leave salary due in respect of service in India in addition to pay of his new appointment,

2. with effect from completion of his leave will receive in addition to his pay in his new appointment the ordinary or proportionate pension from the Indian revenues which he has earned in respect of his service in India,

3. will not be entitled to any lump sum compensation under the scales published, but,

4. will receive in lieu of compensation a lump sum payment of £ 500 payable on his arrival in the United Kingdom,

5. family pension will be governed by Rules 13 to 15 of the Premature Retirement Rules in case of officers who retire under those rules, and otherwise by ordinary rules. Steps will be taken to make provision for cases of such military officers as become entitled to retire on proportionate pension but are not covered by existing rules,

6. provident fund accounts will be settled under provisions of the ordinary rules.

As regards re-employment under His Majesty's Government:

7. Salary—Officers selected for the home or foreign services will, in most cases,—unless below appropriate age—be appointed in grade of principal (or equivalent) in the home civil service or in equivalent grading in the foreign service. The point in salary scale of the grade at which they will enter will be adjusted to their qualifications and they will be eligible for promotion under the rules of the service concerned.

The initial salary of officers entering Colonial Service will be calculated with due regard in each to their previous service in India.

8. Pension—In addition to any pension earned by Indian service, a second pension (or gratuity) will be earned by service in the new

appointment. In general an officer does not qualify for pension by less than ten years' service. In case of retirement, before completion of that period he may qualify for gratuity in lieu thereof.

9. detailed information with regard to the conditions governing salary and pensions will be furnished before an officer is called upon to decide whether to accept an offer of appointment made to him.

Officers who retire voluntarily before date of the transfer of power and without a certificate of release from the Governor-General as provided in the main announcement will be entitled to leave, pension, family pension and provident fund under arrangements set out in paragraphs 1, 2, 3, 5, and 6 above but will not be entitled to compensation nor to resettlement grant mentioned in paragraph 4.—API.

¹*Civil & Military Gazette*, 1 May 1947.

Enclosure 4 to No. 232

F.1/66-7

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, PARTITION OFFICE,
NEW DELHI,
21 June 1947

P.O. A-1(3)/1

ALL OFFICERS OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE'S SERVICES¹

Sir,

You will have received the Government of India, Home Department's letter No. 160/47/R.R. dated the 18th June 1947 (addressed to you individually) in para. 1 of which certain guarantees have been extended to those officers of the Secretary of State's Services who wish to continue in service. I am to reiterate that both the future Governments (viz. of Pakistan and of the rest of India) accept those guarantees and are prepared to give the terms indicated in that letter as regards pay, pension and disciplinary matters (of course with one modification, namely that in disciplinary matters the Government of Pakistan will consult their own Central Public Service Commission).

2. In para. 3 of the same letter you have been asked, if you desire to continue in service, to indicate whether you wish to ask for a transfer from the province to which you now belong. In continuation thereof I am now desired by the Partition Office set up under the Partition Committee of Cabinet to enquire in particular from you whether you wish to serve under the Government of Pakistan (and if so, in which

province) on the existing terms and conditions of service as defined by the guarantees referred to in para. 1 above. If you wish to do so, I am to request you to intimate to this office as early as possible and in any case by the 10th July 1947. A copy of your reply should simultaneously be sent to the Chief Secretary of your Provincial Government or, if you are at present serving under the Government of India, to the Secretary of your Department.

3. If, with reference to para. 2 of the above mentioned letter of the Home Department of the Government of India, you have decided to ask for pension to retire from service on the terms already announced by His Excellency the Viceroy in his statement of the 30th April 1947 (viz. on payment of compensation and pension or proportionate pension) I am directed to enquire whether after retiring on compensation and pension or proportionate pension, you would like to accept re-employment under the future Government of Pakistan on the basis of a contract for a number of years; and if so, on what terms and conditions and for what period. Replies to this question may be kindly sent to me direct by the 10th July 1947.²

4. I am to request you to note, however, that reply to this letter does not dispense with the necessity of replying to the Home Department letter No. 160/47/R.R. dated the 18th June 1947 and its enclosures.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

A. HILALY
Deputy Secretary

¹Indian Civil Service, Indian Police, Indian Agricultural Service, Indian Educational Service, Indian Forest Service, Indian Forest Engineers Service, Indian Veterinary Service, Indian Service of Engineers.

²This para. was meant for "officers of non-Asiatic domicile only."

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H. M. Patel to Member for Finance¹

F.1/84

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA,
CABINET SECRETARIAT,
NEW DELHI,
24 June 1947

NO.135/C.F./47

The undersigned is directed to circulate to Honourable Members of

the Special Committee for their approval a note by the Steering Committee recommending additions and changes in the personnel of certain committees.

If no comments are received by 1 p.m. on Thursday, the 26th June 1947, the approval of the Special Committee will be assumed to these recommendations.

H. M. PATEL
Cabinet Secretary

[Copies] to

Honourable Members for Home, Food & Agriculture and Communications

Copy with four copies of the enclosure forwarded to the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy

V. H. COELHO
Under-Secretary to the Cabinet

¹Extra copy No. 3A for Member for Finance.

Enclosure to No. 233

F.1/85-7

NOTE BY STEERING COMMITTEE REGARDING THE COMPOSITION AND TERMS OF REFERENCE OF EXPERT COMMITTEES AND SUB-COMMITTEES¹

A. Composition of Committee No.V

The terms of reference of Expert Committee V (i) and (ii) have recently been prescribed. We recommend that the composition should be as follows:

V (i) Currency, Coinage & Exchange

Composition
Sir Ghulam Mohammed
Mr. Zahid Hussain
Mr. Ambegoakar
Mr. B. K. Nehru
Dr. A. I. Qureshi
Mr. M. V. Rangachari

Secretaries
Mr. Anwar Ali
Mr. Negi

V (ii) Budget & Accounts

Mr. Seshu Iyer
 Mr. Bashir Ahmad
 Mr. A. Subrahmanyam
 Mr. M. Shoaib
 Mr. M. V. Rangachari
 Mr. Anwar Ali

(Secretaries to be selected by the committee itself from amongst its own members)

Sub-Committees of Committee No. V (ii)
 Sub-Committee for Railways

Mr. I. S. Puri
 Khan Bahadur Ubaidullah

Sub-Committee for P & T

Mr. Sen Gupta
 Mr. M. Hashim

It has been agreed in consultation with the Governor of the Reserve Bank that the role of the Bank should be that of expert Advisers to Expert Committee No. V. They would send in the first instance memoranda giving expert advice on the problems that arise from partition and depute officers to Delhi if necessary for tendering expert advice. It has also been suggested that the Committee V (i) may perhaps find it advantageous to go down to Bombay for consultation with the officers of the Reserve Bank.

B. We recommend that the following further arrangements should be made in order to assist Expert Committee I and II to deal with the work of the following:

SECRETARIAT OF THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL (PUBLIC)

The Home Department Sub-Committee should be asked (through an additional clause in their terms of reference) to consider and make recommendations regarding the consequences of partition on the work being done in this Secretariat.

OFFICE OF THE REFORMS COMMISSIONER

The Departmental Committee of the Legislative Department should, by means of an additional clause in their terms of reference, be asked to make recommendations regarding the arrangements to be made, consequent on partition, for the work done at present in the Office of the Reforms Commissioner.

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY DEPARTMENT

A fresh departmental sub-committee should be set up under Expert Committees I and II having the following composition:

Mr. Rafi
Mr. Kaul

C. We recommend the following changes in the composition of existing Committees:

1. Mr. Ilmuiddin in place of Mr. Rahman on Departmental Committee No. 5 (Central Board of Revenue) of Expert Committee No. I, on Expert Committee No. III(i) (Central Revenues) and on Expert Committee No. VII (Economic Relations, Trade).
2. Mr. Ismail in place of Mr. Rahman on Expert Committee No. VI (Economic Relations, Controls).
3. Messrs. C. S. Jha and Ikramullah should be added as members of Expert Committee No. IX (Foreign Relations).
4. Departmental Sub-Committee No. 12 (Political) of Expert Committees No. I and II.

Mr. Mumtaz Hasan should be made the member in place of Major Shah. Messrs. G.K.S. Sharma and Ikramullah should be added as members. The Committee should be informed that they are expected to make recommendations regarding the assets and liabilities that may have been created for the discharge of the functions of His Excellency the Crown Representative.

¹This copy of the document bears No. 3A.

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Muhammad Rafi to M. A. Jinnah

F.10/99-100

COUNCIL HOUSE, NEW DELHI,
24 June 1947

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I understand that in spite of your multifarious engagements you have very kindly taken upon yourself the task of organization of the office of the Constituent Assembly. If so, I wish to bring the following facts to your notice.

Unlike other Departments of the Government of India no Committee for the separation of records and personnel has been appointed by the Steering Committee for my Department [Legislative Assembly Department].

The Muslim staff employed in my Department have volunteered for service in the Pakistan area. They will have to be absorbed somewhere in the Pakistan State. Their proper place, however, would be in the corresponding office of the Pakistan Legislative Assembly, as these gentlemen have spent many years for acquiring knowledge and experience of the working of the Central Legislature.

You are already aware that the Constituent Assembly for each Dominion will be vested with powers to act as a sovereign legislature for that Dominion. As such the office which will be set up for the Constituent Assembly will, side by side with the constitution-making, have to do the work connected with the legislative functions of that body.

In the circumstances the men of my Department, who have volunteered for the Pakistan area, should properly be absorbed in the office of the Constituent Assembly; otherwise, I am afraid, their valuable experience will be lost to the Pakistan Government and they will be misfits in other Departments just as much as the persons, who will be taken in the Consenbly [for Constituent Assembly] in their place, will be misfits for doing the work of the Consenbly as a legislative body.

I may point out that the work of the Legislative Assembly is of a technical character and only men who are fully conversant with the practice and procedure of the Legislative Assembly can give satisfaction. I would, therefore, press the claims of the following members of the staff in particular for the posts shown against them:

1. Mr. Hasan Mohammad Khan, Assistant Secretary

He is a first class graduate of the Punjab University and has been employed on work directly connected with the business of the Legislative Assembly in all its branches for a period of over 25 years. He is Superintendent of the Assembly Branch, which is entrusted with the work connected with the business of the Assembly. During sessions of the Assembly he acts as Assistant Secretary. His prospects in the Department are very bright and he is likely to be promoted to the post of Assistant Secretary.

2. Syed Mahmud-ul-Hasan, Superintendent

He is a graduate of the Aligarh Muslim University, and is one of our brilliant Assistants. He has 21 years service to his credit. He has worked creditably in all branches of the Department and officiated as Superintendent of the Assembly Branch during the last Budget session. He also officiated as Assistant-in-Charge of

Establishment Branch. His special qualification is that he knows how to work the result of elections held under the single transferable vote.

3. Mr. Iqbal Mohammad Khan, Superintendent

He is a graduate of the Punjab University and has put in 21 years of service. Since 1929 he was employed in the Assembly Branch on work directly connected with the business of the Assembly. Has acquired sufficient knowledge and considerable experience of the practice and procedure of the Legislative Assembly. Since 1940 he has been working as my Personal Assistant and during this time has given me complete satisfaction with his work. He is energetic and resourceful and a man with initiative. I wish that he could be taken as Superintendent in the new office for which post I consider him fully qualified. His promotion to the post of Superintendent will not be abnormal as many Personal Assistants are creditably doing the work of Superintendent.

4. Mr. S. A. Hayat, Librarian

He is a graduate of the Calcutta University and has been in the Department for the last 18 years. Has been employed in the Cash Section of the Department. He is fully conversant with Members' [Travelling Allowance and Daily Allowance] Rules. He has sufficient experience of the question procedure. He is a qualified Librarian of the Punjab University.

In conclusion, I would like to say that I would have considered it a privilege to serve the Pakistan Dominion, but as ill luck would have it my failing health does not permit me to do so, and I have, therefore, decided to proceed on leave preparatory to retirement.

Yours sincerely,

MD. RAFI

Secretary of the Legislative Assembly

235

Syedna Taher Saifuddin to M. A. Jinnah

F.433/2-3

PRIVATE/CONFIDENTIAL

ZAINI MAHAL, SURAT,

24 June 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I was delighted to receive your letter¹ and thank you for the same. I am

remitting Rs. 15,000 (Rupees fifteen thousand) more for the support of the Muslim League. I am really anxious for the North-West Frontier problems and earnestly pray and wish the Muslim League will certainly come out with flying colours and its success will be glorious. I have had [*sic*] telephoned to Mr. Liaquat Ali and Mr. Chundrigar to that effect and have already issued instructions to my *Jama'ats* in Rawalpindi and Multan to render all possible help for the complete achievement of this object.

My son-in-law is proceeding to Karachi with whom I have sent my views and suggestions to Mr. G. Hidayatullah and others concerned for the economic and commercial development of Sind. In a statement you had once said that Ambassadors would be appointed in Hindustan areas to look after the affairs of Muslims inhabiting those areas. Among Muslims there are few non-Leaguers who call themselves Nationalist Muslims and they may prefer to adhere to their political views in future as well. The question now arises as to how the Ambassadors would deal with them. Whether it would be advisable to treat all Muslims alike.

You are fully acquainted with my son Y. Najmuddin. How would you like if he is given a chance to render his services to the cause of Holy Islam by joining the Working Committee of the Muslim League; and you also know well Mr. Nomanbhai M. Miabhai, Sessions Judge,² who too can ably serve if he is appointed on the Pakistan Constituent Assembly.

I am always ready to do my best for the cause of the Muslim League and am eager to meet you soon when we will discuss more. I am returning to Bombay after a fortnight.

I am thinking to send some trustworthy person to see Mr. Liaquat Ali about Pakistan's important financial matters; if necessary, he may see you also.

With kind regards and benedictions,

Yours sincerely,
SYEDNA TAHER SAIFUDDIN

¹Not available in QAP.

²Also see No. 145.

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Waheed Akhtar Mian to M. A. Jinnah

F.1108/78-9

O/S TEXALI GATE,
BAGH MUNSHI LADHA, LAHORE,
24 June 1947

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

I have read your appeal for fifty crore for Pakistan Fund.¹ The appeal is most opportune and reveals the same far-sightedness, sagacity and acumen as has been displayed by very few top-rank [*sic*] leaders of the world.

You desire that the donations be sent to Habib Bank Ltd. I respect your desire but venture to point out that its Head Office is in Bombay and Hindustan Government may freeze all its funds at any time it likes, as did Hitler in Poland. All funds in this Bank will, therefore, be at the mercy of Patel and Nehru, the Hitlers of today.

My humble suggestion is that any Muslim Bank with its Head Office in Pakistan may be given the privilege of collecting the funds. There are only two such Banks, the Australasia Bank and the Central Exchange Bank. The former is more solid, well-organised and the only Scheduled Bank in Pakistan with the following sound Directors behind it:

1. Mian Mumtaz Daultana, Bar-at-Law, MLA, Lahore (Chairman)
2. Khan Iftikhar Husain Khan of Mamdot, MLA, Mamdot Villa, Lahore
3. Nawab Muzaffar Khan, Wah (Attock)
4. Syed Amjad Ali, *Ashiana*, Lahore
5. Nawab Sir Muzzaffar Ali Khan Qizilbash, Bar-at-Law, MLA, Lahore
6. S. B. Captain Ajab Khan, O.B.E., O.B.I., I.O.M., Shadi Khan (Attock)
7. Mian Muhammad Said Qureshi, Radhan (Shahpur)
8. Mian Hidyat Ali Taib, Advocate, Lahore
9. Khwaja Sharif Bakhsh, Australia Building, Lahore
10. Mian Saeed-ud-Din Ahmed, Amritsar
11. Khwaja Bashir Bakhsh (Managing Director)

Your sincere follower,
WAHEED AKHTAR MIAN

¹No. 128 wherein no amount is mentioned.

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*Anonym to M. A. Jinnah**Telegram, F.560/44*SURAT,
25 June 1947

Reply Paid. Mr. M. A. Jinnah Aurangzeb Road New Delhi.
 Congratulations for Pakistan. Wish you long and happy life.

[ANONYM]

238

*Nawab of Bhopal to M. A. Jinnah**F.603/3-4*

SECRET/PERSONAL

1 HARDINGE AVENUE, NEW DELHI,
25 June 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Further to our conversation yesterday I feel that the new Governor of Bengal should be a person who, besides possessing administrative experience, also has knowledge of, and connections with big business. That province has to be developed as quickly as possible. It possess[es] vast timber and other natural and mineral resources, and one of the finest harbours in India, and ■ Governor with business connections and experience will be an asset. The name of Tom Benthall¹ has occurred to me but I am not quite sure of his latest political loyalties. In any case you might consider him.

Another suggestion is that a man from one of the Dominions—Canada or New Zealand—may be considered. It will place Pakistan at an advantage with the Commonwealth if one of its first Governors comes from a Dominion.

As Chief Military Adviser to Pakistan the name of General Fregburg, V. C.² occurs to me. He was fighting in the desert under Wavell and I came into contact with him then. His reputation was high and I believe still is. He has fought alongside Indian troops and knows and respects them and also possesses experience of eastern countries like Egypt, Libia[Libya], Soudan [Sudan], etc.

Just one point in regard to Standstill arrangements. I am going to suggest at the appropriate time that disputes should be referable to *ad hoc* tribunals and the President should be a U.N.O. man or a person drawn from an independent country. If you are able to support this proposition we would have gained a point *vis-a-vis* the Congress. They cannot very well oppose it. As far as you are concerned you have quite recently recognised the independent character of the Indian States;³ so, I presume, there should be no difficulty in securing your support.

I should like, if I may, to come and see you at about 6 p.m. if that suits your convenience or perhaps you can come here at about 6.30 to have a drink. I will present to you a young British officer of the Political Service who is with me at the moment, and who wants to pay his respects to you. He is first class, and devoted to Pakistan.

I am,
very sincerely,
HAMIDULLAH

¹Vice-President, Bengal Chamber of Commerce.

²Lt. Gen. Bernard Freyberg. The writer noted in the margin: "I just discovered he is Governor-General of New Zealand [1946-52]. So I suppose he is out of the question."

³See Annex to No. 144.

239

B. J. Bouche to M. A. Jinnah

F.162/63-5

URGENT

ARUNDEL COTTAGE, MUSSOORIE, U.P.,
25 June 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

In common with other members of the Anglo-Indian community, I feel that emigration to Pakistan is urgently indicated.

I, therefore, write to offer my services for employment in Pakistan. Professional people will be needed in your new State and though I am in my sixtieth year, I am still capable of much [work] as a doctor, and I feel sure you can offer me an administrative appointment. I retired in May 1942 after over 34 years service in the I.M.D. in the rank of Major and settled in practice in Mussoorie for the benefit of the climate.

I have held many responsible appointments and have travelled extensively, and feel confident that with my varied experience I can be of use.

If this letter evokes any interest, I shall be glad to send particulars of my experience, if required. There is just one condition and that is that you would please consider me for work in a hill station, say Murree, in view of my age and also that I have a wife and daughter.

I was seriously considering going away to England but now that Pakistan is a *fait accompli*, I feel that I can still serve the land of my birth and upbringing and my Muslim brethren.

I imagine you will be flooded with letters of this kind, but these will not detract from my personal sincerity and loyalty.

I shall eagerly await a reply as time is now short for planning.

I enclose my card.¹

Yours sincerely,

DR. B. J. BOUCHE

M.R.C.S. (ENG.), L.R.C.P. (LOND.)

¹Not printed.

240

A. H. Darbar to M. A. Jinnah

F.682/322

P. O. BOX NO. 539,
23 AMRATOLA LANE, CALCUTTA,
25 June 1947

Dear Sir,

I beg to enclose herewith one On-Demand No.C14012 for Rs.401-4-0 on Habib Bank Ltd., Delhi, and request you to acknowledge this humble contribution from the members of the staff of the firm of Haji Sattar Haji Peermohamed, Calcutta.

I, on behalf of all my colleagues, thank you for your untiring and strenuous efforts in achieving the goal of Pakistan—a sovereign Muslim State in India—after great vicissitudes in the political life of Muslims. Further, I and all my companions pray for your long life and wish you all success for the benefit of the Muslim India.

Thanking you,

Yours respectfully,

A. H. DARBAR

B. A.

C/O HAJI SATTAR HAJI PEERMOHAMED

241

Cyril S. Fox to M. A. Ispahani
(Copy to Jinnah)

F.162/182

5 LONDON COURT,
MOIRA STREET, CALCUTTA,
25 June 1947

Subject: An "Audit" of the Mineral Wealth and Resources of the
Country of Pakistan, Southern Asia

Dear Mr. Ispahani,

Thank you for your letter of the 14th June 1947¹ which I received on my return from Bombay yesterday where I had gone on the 14th June to put Lady Fox on board the *City of Hongkong* on 23 as she is not well enough to travel by air. I am going by Pan American plane on the 8th July from Calcutta and will be in England in time to meet my wife at Liverpool when her boat arrives there in mid-July.

As regards the "Audit" or Report on the Mineral Wealth and Resources of Pakistan, I would like to explain that much of the criticism which is been [*sic* for being] spread about in the newspapers as to the paucity of your reserves can be taken quite calmly since there are great potentialities for development both in Eastern and Western Pakistan and I am confident that when these are placed before your Pakistan rulers in an audit form, their importance will be more soberly understood by all—outside and inside India.

The only problems I see which should be dealt with at an early date are the following:

- i. A general outline of the economic geology of Pakistan;
- ii. Rules for granting licences and leases for minerals;
- iii. Settlement of terms of lease and rates of royalty, etc.
- iv. Consideration of inviting capital, even foreign capital, in order to secure assistance in personnel and plant;
- v. Organisation of a practical Bureau of Mines for testing and encouraging the opening of mineral deposits such as sulphur deposits of Baluchistan, preparing chrome steel in Baluchistan, establishing port-land cement works in Sind and in the Chittagong areas, etc.

My "Audit" will of course touch on these matters but I cannot draw up the Mining Rules and outline the get-up of the Mines Bureau nor go into full details for any special project. This is a separate work and would almost certainly require personal visits to the various possible areas at an

early date, say in the cold weather of 1947-48. I would be prepared to consider an invitation to be an Adviser to the Pakistan Government and have two or three "Understudies" so that they could "carry on" after the general planning has been put up.

I have been, like many others, a great admirer of the way the Quaid-i-Azam M. A. Jinnah has conducted all his political work and so, if my services were desired, I would gladly help in the directions where my knowledge and experience would be of value. I have already explained the fees and their payment for drawing up an "Audit" of the Mineral Resources of Pakistan (£ 1,000, half paid on engagement) and you can make me an offer for the further services if they are desired by the Pakistan Government.

With my kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
(SIR) CYRIL S. FOX

M. A. Ispahani, Esq.,
51 Ezra Street,
Calcutta

¹Not available in QAP.

242

Habib Bank Ltd., Delhi, to M. A. Jinnah

F.682/328

CHANDNI CHOWK, DELHI,
25 June 1947

Dear Sir,

We have received the following Money Orders and would request you to kindly be good enough to give us detailed instruction for the disposal of the amounts, which we are holding in suspense:

1. M.O. for Rs. 41 from Mr. Mohamed Khan, Pet. Storage Platoon, R.I.A.S.C., Delhi Cantt.—for Gurgaon Relief.
2. M.O. for Rs. 65 from M. Aziz Ahmed, S.D.O., P.W.D., Khushab,¹ Distt. Shahpur²—for Muslim League Fund.

3. M.O. for Rs. 50 from M. Masud Akhtar c/o Mohd. Umar, Esq.,
Pay Accounts Officer, SPCR, Ferozepur—for A.I. Muslim League.
Thanking you,

Yours faithfully,
M. A. SIDDIQUI
Agent

¹Now a district.

²Now called District Sargodha.

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Habib Bank Ltd., Delhi, to M. A. Jinnah

F.682/324

CHANDNI CHOWK, DELHI,
25 June 1947

Dear Sir,

RE: BIHAR RELIEF FUND

With reference to your letter dated 19th June 1947,¹ we have received back Mr. K. Altaf Ali's cheque of Rs. 90 from Imperial Bank of India, New Delhi, as it is post-dated and we are holding it on for presentation on due date.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. SIDDIQUI
Agent

¹No. 162.

244

Bank of India Ltd., to M. A. Jinnah

F.83/147

KARACHI NO. 1,
25 June 1947

The Bank of India Ltd., present their compliments and beg to inform

you that your current account with this Bank has been credited with Rs. 1,742 being amount received from the Lands, Livings and Disposals Service, as per statement enclosed.¹

Agent

¹Not printed.

245

M. A. Jinnah to H. B. Gundappa Gowda

F.1084/5

25 June 1947

Dear Mr. Gundappa,

I am in receipt of your letter of 19th June,¹ enclosing a copy of the Special Resolution, adopted in the meeting of the Mysore Legislative Council held on 19th June 1947, communicating to me for my information. I thank your Council and you for the good wishes of [sic] Pakistan.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

H. B. Gundappa Gowda, Esq.,
President, Legislative Council,
Public Offices,
Bangalore

¹No. 156.

246

M. A. Jinnah to Habib Bank Ltd., Delhi

F.682/326

25 June 1947

Dear Sir,

I am enclosing herewith a cheque with pay-in slip for Rs. 1,200 (Rupees one thousand two hundred) only which amount, on realization, please credit to the Bihar Relief Fund account opened with you,

and issue receipt direct to the donor, Dr. Gulam Mustafa, I.M.O., Jedda (Hejaz).

Kindly acknowledge receipt of this letter.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

The Agent,
Habib Bank Ltd.,
Chandni Chowk,
Delhi

247

M. A. Jinnah to Habib Bank Ltd., Delhi

F.682/325

25 June 1947

Dear Sir,

I am enclosing herewith a Demand Draft for Rs. 1,000 (Rupees one thousand) only with a pay-in slip, which amount, on realization, please credit to the Pakistan Fund account opened with your bank; and also issue receipt direct to the donor:

Mirza Allah Ditta Sahib,
Director, The Gujrat Punjab Bus Ltd.,
Gujrat, Punjab.

Please acknowledge receipt.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

The Agent,
Habib Bank Ltd.,
Chandni Chowk,
Delhi

248

M. A. Jinnah to Yusuf A. Haroon

F.274/327

25 June 1947

Dear Mr. Yusuf Haroon,

I am in receipt of your letter of 21st June 1947,¹ enclosing a copy of a letter from the Director, Council of Scientific & Industrial Research, conveying to you the decision of the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research setting up a new committee called the Industrial Liaison Committee to which you have been nominated as a Member, for a period of three years with effect from 1-4-47 to 31-3-50.

How this body can be set up in view of the changes created by the announcement of 3rd June,² I am unable to understand. How can it function when it is now clear that there will be two Dominions set up on or before 15th of August. Therefore, I am unable to advise you any more because you know yourself as much as I know.

If you want to get any further information for accepting the invitation to serve the Industrial Liaison Committee for three years, please get in touch with Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, who is leader of our group in the Interim Government and he may be able to throw more light on the subject.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Yusuf Abdoola Haroon, Esq.,
786 Napier Road,
Karachi

¹No. 192.

²No. 1.

249

M. A. Jinnah to I. A. Hussain

F.961/23

25 June 1947

Dear Mr. Hussain,

I am in receipt of your letter of 22nd June,¹ and I am really pressed by urgent and crucial matters and [sic] which I have to handle from

day to day. Nevertheless will you ring up my Secretary, and I will spare some time to meet your delegation.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Mr. I. A. Hussain,
General Secretary,
All India Muslim Students Federation,
Darya Gunj,
Delhi

¹No. 202.

250

M. A. Jinnah to Iven Mackay

F.474/4

25 June 1947

Dear Sir Iven,

I am in receipt of your letter of 21st June 1947¹ and I thank you for it. While I quite appreciate your invitation and welcome the opportunity afforded to me by your Government and confirmed by yourself to visit your country, especially on the occasion of the Conference at Canberra relating to the Japanese Peace Settlement, it is impossible for me to get away from India at present. You know, very momentous developments are taking place in India and big decisions have to be taken; and the next few months are going to be very crucial. I hope, therefore, you will understand why it is not possible for me to leave India. Nevertheless, I thank you and please convey my grateful thanks to your Government for their invitation.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Lt. General Sir Iven Mackay,
High Commissioner for Australia,
Australia Office,
Connaught Place,
New Delhi

¹No. 195.

251

Statement by M. A. Jinnah¹

F.142/35

25 June 1947

It has now been decided that the referendum in Baluchistan should be held on 30th of June and I appeal to every Musalman to vote in favour of joining the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, and not the Hindustan Constituent Assembly. I hope that the members of the electorate composed of the *Shahi Jirga*, excluding *Sardars* nominated by the Kalat State, and the non-official members of the Quetta Municipality, who will be called upon to give their verdict will realize that apart from the fact that Baluchistan can only exist in Pakistan politically, geographically and economically, it would be in the interest of the people of Baluchistan to join the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, for it is Pakistan alone that can help them in their educational, social, economic and political uplift.

I can assure the people of Baluchistan that in Pakistan all classes and interests will get even justice and fairplay and I hope that they will not be misled by the propaganda of our enemies, putting class against class and one particular interest against another.

The salvation of Musalmans lies in our complete unity, solidarity and discipline and, above all, trust and confidence in the leader who has served you for the last ten years.

I hope that you, who have been called upon to take this decision, will unanimously decide in favour of joining the Pakistan Constituent Assembly.

¹*Pakistan Times*, 27 June 1947.

252

*M. A. Jinnah to Sujan Singh**F.189/32*

25 June 1947

Dear Mr. Sujan Singh,

I am in receipt of your letter of 21st June¹ and I thank you for your good wishes.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Mr. S. Sujan Singh,
India Prem Sabha,
Lahore Cantt.

¹No. 199.

253

*M. A. Jinnah to Nihchaldas C. Vazirani**F.1085/32*

25 June 1947

Dear Mr. Vazirani,

I am in receipt of your letter of 17th June¹ and I hope you will understand that I have really no time to attend [to] any other matter at present except the immediate vital and crucial issues, which have to be settled according to the Plan of the June 3rd.² I hope you will understand that just now owing to the various questions which face us, however important they may be, I cannot take them up just now.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Nihchaldas C. Vazirani, MLA,
Advocate,
Sheik Building,
Mahatama Gandhi Road,
Karachi

¹No. 143.²No. 1.

254

Iftikhar Husain Khan Mamdot to M. A. Jinnah

F.636/1-4

MAMDOT VILLA, DAVIES ROAD,
LAHORE,
25 June 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

When I met you last I informed you that Malik Firoz Khan Noon was planning to raise the question of [ML Parliamentary] Party leadership. Somehow or other neither he nor his friends raised the question in the party meeting on 21 June 1947. But, on the 23rd morning, about an hour before the Assembly meeting, when members started coming in, Malik Sahib and his friends stopped them on the way and asked them to sign a paper saying that it was for the purpose of requisitioning a meeting of the party soon after the Assembly proceedings. I got the requisition and called a meeting of the party which lasted for about two hours.¹

First of all some members spoke on the subject of partition, the boundary line, etc., and also made some suggestions. Then came up the question of election to the Constituent Assembly. One or two members belonging to Malik Sahib's group, e.g. Abdussattar Khan Niazy and Syed Mubarik Ali Shah, talked about democracy and criticised the policy of the All India Muslim League. They said, "Why should the Central Parliamentary Board interfere in our domestic affairs? We are not going to submit to the authority of the Centre in matters which are purely our own." Malik Firoz Khan got up and said, "We need not contest the Central Parliamentary Board's right to nominate members for the Constituent Assembly as it is a question of all-India importance but we cannot and shall not tolerate any kind of interference from any source in the making of the Punjab Cabinet. This is a matter which must be left to us. If at that time anybody is thrust upon us from the East Punjab we shall oppose it very strongly. This is a matter in which we shall not tolerate, and [will] even put up a strong fight, if Mr. Jinnah tried his dictatorial methods."

I am very sorry that Malik Sahib thought fit to resort to this kind of intrigue inside the party in spite of the promises he made to you before we all went to Bihar. I did not wish to bother you about these matters, especially when you were busy with more important matters.

But the fact remains that in spite of his promises he did not for one single moment give up his intrigues. Not that he has any chance of success but such intrigues and disruption in the party at this critical stage are sure to do a lot of harm to the organisation. He is playing into the hands of Malik Khizar Hayat Khan, Nawab Muzaffar Ali Khan and Sardar Swaran Singh. These remnants of the Unionist Party are now trying to capture the Western Punjab through him. Khizar Hayat Khan would rather like his own kinsman at the head of affairs so that they might use him to their best advantage and also to disrupt our organisation.

Malik Firoz Khan used to say that he had the majority with him and that I was being thrust upon them by the High Command, meaning thereby yourself. Our last budget session was to start on the 3rd of March last and according to rules we had to elect the office bearers. The party met on the 2nd for that very purpose but seeing that he had very little support, Malik Sahib asked for postponement till the 3rd. I gave him that chance in spite of a great deal of opposition from my own supporters. He and his friends tried their best and could not secure more than eleven signatures (including themselves) out of a total number of eighty. The next day he was forced to give up and I was elected leader of the party unanimously. He has always relied on his back-door method of obtaining signatures and has always failed. This time, according to press reports (copies enclosed), he has obtained the signatures of a number of members from the Western Punjab on the pretext that since Shaukat Hayat and I were sitting in the Eastern Part of the Assembly, there was nobody left to lead the Western Part. He asked the members from the Western Part to elect him leader for the specific purpose of conducting the proceedings on the 23rd. Some members saw no harm and signed, others refused to do so. One member raised this point in the meeting. He spoke in very strong terms and demanded disciplinary action against those who obtained the signatures. I pacified him by saying that it was not necessary for Malik Sahib to resort to such methods but anyhow it did not matter because it was done for the specific purpose mentioned above and for that particular day. After the meeting, pressmen were asked to give the news item, copies of which I am enclosing.

I feel that the matter has to be decided finally and by you only. As long as strong action is not taken by you, Malik Sahib is not going to stop his activities and this is going to lead to a great deal of disruption which will do the greatest harm at a time when there should not be the least doubt as to our solidarity. Not that Malik Noon will ever get a

majority but to avoid disruption one may, if ordered by you, give up ■ winning fight. Therefore, I request you to decide finally, the earlier the better. Malik Sahib is in Delhi. If you like I can also come and speak to you in his presence.

I am very sorry to worry you at a time when you should be occupied with other important matters but this too has to be done and done quickly and finally.

Yours sincerely,
IFTIKHAR HUSAIN KHAN

PS. The bearer will wait for the reply if required.

I. H. K.

¹Also see Annex.

Enclosure 1 to No. 254

F.636/5

NOON LIKELY TO BE PARTY LEADER IN WESTERN PUNJAB¹

LAHORE: As a sequel to the partition of the Punjab decided upon today, the Muslim League Members of the Western Punjab Section have been left without ■ leader as the Leader and the Deputy Leader of the Muslim League Party, Khan Iftikhar Husain Khan of Mamdot and Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan, remain in the Eastern Punjab.

It is learnt that 53 out of the 57 Muslim League Members of the Western Punjab have signed a memorandum calling upon Malik Firoz Khan Noon to assume leadership of the party.

It is understood that a meeting of the Muslim League MLAs of the Western Punjab will be held shortly to decide the question of leadership.—API and OPI.

¹Dawn, 25 June 1947.

Enclosure 2 to No. 254

F.636/6

WESTERN PUNJAB LEAGUE PARTY LEADERSHIP¹

As a sequel to the partition of the Punjab, decided upon by the Provincial Assembly on Monday [23 June 1947], the Muslim League Members of the Western Punjab Section have been left without a

leader, as the Leader and the Deputy Leader of the Muslim League Party, Khan Iftikhar Husain Khan of Mamdot and Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan, remain in the Eastern Punjab.

It is learnt that 53 out of the 57 Muslim League Members of the Western Punjab have signed a memorandum calling upon Malik Firoz Khan Noon to assume the leadership of the Party.

It is understood that a regular meeting of the Muslim League MLAs of the Western Punjab will be held shortly to decide the question of leadership.—APL.

¹*Pakistan Times*, 25 June 1947.

Enclosure 3 to No. 254

F.636/7

NOON MAY BE FIRST WESTERN PUNJAB PREMIER¹

LAHORE, June 23: Malik Firoz Khan Noon's chances of becoming the first Premier of the Pakistan province of Western Punjab brightened today when 53 Muslim League Members out of the total of 57 of the area signed a memorandum asking him to assume leadership of the party. The present leader of the Muslim League Assembly Party, the Khan of Mamdot, now belongs to the Eastern Section.

A meeting of the Western Punjab Muslim League Party is being held to make a decision.

Should Firoz Khan Noon be elected, it is presumed the League High Command will have to bow to the wishes of the party, constitutionally expressed, and he would be empowered to form a Government.

Two main courses appear possible. The Pakistan Constituent Assembly can convert the present Western Section of the Punjab Assembly into an interim legislature until the new House is elected under the new Constitution; it is also possible that the sovereign Pakistan Constituent Assembly will appoint an *ad hoc* Government, responsible to itself alone, to hold office until a representative Government can be formed. In each case the election of Firoz Khan Noon as leader of the Western Punjab group of the present Muslim Assembly should help him become Premier.

There is a fairly strong feeling in League circles that Malik Firoz Khan Noon's administrative experience is not being fully exploited by the party.

¹*The Statesman*, 25 June 1947.

Annex to No. 254
E. M. Jenkins to Louis Mountbatten

IOR, R/3/1/176¹
 [Extract]

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
 LAHORE,
 25 June 1947

[Paras. 1 to 7 omitted]

8. There are signs of dissension within the Muslim League. Jinnah has apparently made it known that Pakistan must be a militant one-party State. He will nominate the Provincial Ministries; the Provincial Legislatures will meet once a year to pass the budget, but there will be no contested elections or other political activities likely to split the party. The average Leaguer in the Punjab is an old Unionist, and thought Pakistan would give him some political influence and pickings. Firoz (who belongs to the Shahpur District)² has taken advantage of the prevailing uneasiness to obtain the signatures of 53 out of the 60 Muslim Members for the Western Punjab appointing him to be their leader. He has had his differences with Jinnah and now proposes to confront him with this paper and demand his rights—perhaps the Premiership. Mamdot belongs to the Eastern Punjab and sits for an Eastern Constituency; he is not universally liked. Khizar tells me that with free elections the League would split within four or five months—there are too many personal animosities and economic differences within it. I doubt if Firoz will win; he is not sufficiently determined. But his move is interesting.

[Rest of the para. and paras. 9 and 10 omitted]

¹Also see TP, XI, No. 339, 623-8.

²Now called Sargodha District.

255

Louis Mountbatten to M. A. Jinnah

F.2/99

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE,
 NEW DELHI,
 25 June 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am very sorry indeed to have to inform you that Pandit Nehru,

Sardar Patel and Dr. Rajendra Prasad, with each of whom I discussed the proposal to hold the Pakistan Constituent Assembly in Delhi, were strongly opposed to this idea.¹

I made it clear to them that it was my suggestion to you and that it in no way emanated from you. Thus I have in no way compromised your position, and in all the circumstances I imagine that you will now prefer to drop this proposal and hold the Constituent Assembly in Karachi, which after all is your future capital city.

May I say how much I regret my failure to get the Congress leaders to agree to what I thought was a very good suggestion. I need not tell you that I fought hard and took the trouble to see all three of them personally to try and convince them of the merits of my suggestion.

Yours sincerely,
MOUNTBATTEN OF BURMA

¹In a meeting with Mountbatten on 23 June, Jinnah told him that he would like the first meeting of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly to be held in Delhi and that he hoped that the Legislative Assembly Chamber would be available for the purpose. Mountbatten reacted favourably and sounded out Nehru who "promised to follow the matter up and let me know". Knowing that the Congress were calling their Constituent Assembly at the same time and that the Legislative Assembly Chamber would be available, Mountbatten thought it would be an excellent proposition if the two Constituent Assemblies met in different chambers and got together socially in the evenings in the interest of future happy relations between the two Dominions. Nehru, Patel, Rajendra Prasad and Gandhi, to whom Mountbatten mentioned this, however, rejected the idea out of hand. See Enclosure to No. 227 and also TP, XI, No. 311, para. 7, 583, No. 319, para. 4, 592, and No. 369, para. 41, 690-1.

256

H. M. Patel to Finance Member¹

F.1/81

NO. 135/C.F./47

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA,
CABINET SECRETARIAT,
NEW DELHI,
25 June 1947

With reference to item 3 of the agenda for the meeting of the Special Committee of the Cabinet called for 10 a.m. tomorrow, the 26th June,² regarding the preliminary arrangements for the setting up of the Central Pakistan Government in Karachi, the undersigned is directed to circulate to Honourable Members a note by the Honourable the Finance

Member which should be taken to replace the note on the subject already circulated.

H. M. PATEL
Cabinet Secretary

[Copies] to Honourable Members for Home, Food & Agriculture, and Communications.

Financial Adviser, Defence & Supply.

Copy with four copies of the enclosure forwarded to the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy

V. H. COELHO
Under Secretary to the Cabinet

¹This was an extra set for the Finance Member.

²See No. 232.

Enclosure¹ to No. 256

F.1/82-3

Subject: Establishment of the Headquarters of the Pakistan Government at Karachi

I wish to raise a matter of great importance and of the highest urgency. In order to establish the Headquarters of the Pakistan Government at Karachi within the very short time available, it is necessary to take immediate action in a number of directions.

2. The most important of these is the provision of office and residential accommodation for the offices and personnel that will be transferred from Delhi to Karachi and for the Pakistan Constituent Assembly. A survey carried out by the Sind Government has shown that even if the Sind Government move out of Karachi, the available accommodation will be far short of the requirements of the Pakistan Government. The only way of meeting the deficiency is to make military accommodation in Karachi available for the purpose. This will probably entail the vacation of Karachi Cantonment and possibly also of parts of other Cantonments such as Malir.

3. It will also be necessary to build temporary accommodation, huttet or tented. The Central P.W.D. should give the highest priority to the work and a definite quota of necessary building materials such as cement, steel, sanitary fittings, etc., should be allotted and moved to Karachi immediately.

4. Another pressing and essential requirement is the provision of ■ press for the Pakistan Government in Karachi. The Sind Gov[ernmen]t

has a small press which is already overworked. None of the private presses in Karachi could cope with the volume of printing which will be required by the Pakistan Government. It is essential, therefore, to transfer one of the Government of India presses to Karachi.

5. There are a number of other items such as installation of telephones, purchase of furniture, provision of transport, etc. Assistance would thus be required from a number of Departments of the Government of India.

6. Unless the whole weight of Government machinery is put behind this project it will not be possible to have it carried out in time. I would strongly urge that the Partition Council should issue a directive to all Departments of the Government of India, including Defence Department and the Commander-in-Chief, that they should give full assistance and provide the necessary facilities and the required priority for the establishment of the Headquarters of the Pakistan Government at Karachi.

7. The expenditure incurred on this project will be booked separately as a charge against the Pakistan Government and taken into account in the financial adjustment between the two Governments.

LIAQUAT ALI KHAN

¹This copy of the document bears No. 3A.

257

Mrs K. L. Rallia Ram to M. A. Jinnah

F.487/81-3

ELYSIUM HOTEL, SIMLA,
25 June 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Ever since the British Government declared that there would be two Dominions in India, the attitude of the Hindu Congress has become even more militant towards the League. There have been no signs of their settling down as peaceful neighbours. Beginning with the debate¹ of the A.I.C.C. in which very aggressive speeches were made against the division of India, down till today there has been no indication of any friendly spirit anywhere. They seem to be in a very revengeful and retaliatory mood. So much so that some of them, as written

by Mr. Rajagopalacharia in his article forwarded by me to you yesterday under a separate cover,² indicate that [they] are even in favour of declaring war on Pakistan immediately. Altho[ugh] Mr. Rajagopalacharia himself is as usual in a conciliatory mood, but in the article he does disclose the mind of other Hindus in the Congress. These two clippings reveal the real feelings of the Congressmen in Bihar³ and C.P. and you must be knowing what is happening in other Hindu Provinces. It portends ill for the future. Look what Mrs. Pandit writes about you,⁴ which shows they are never going to reconcile themselves about [sic for to] the division of India. It is all right to talk of the unity of India which can come about even now, but by means of different methods, which they do not seem to want to adopt. From what I have gathered, they wanted complete surrender from everybody in India to their viewpoint. They could have and even now come to honourable terms with the Muslims. If they sincerely desire unity, it is not difficult to achieve at anytime. They talk of a *"burning faith in a united India"*,⁵ but the India they dream of is where everybody except the Caste Hindus would be humiliated and live like untouchables. Why have not they liberated the 9 crores of depressed classes uptil now? The will to do it is not there. Even now the abolition of untouchability by the Congress will remain a dead letter, for the orthodox Hindus are more predominant and are likely to become even more prominent than the modern ones. There cannot be many Jawaharlals in the Congress whose voice has even now been drowned by the more militant and illiberal Hindus. What hope can there be in the future when the Mahasabhaites will capture the Congress organization as they are planning to do. Many Hindus in Lahore told me that they would rather liquidate the Congress and let Mahasabha capture the field. I have written all this in order to bring to your notice the true situation. The League should not lose sight of the fact of danger, in the triumph of having secured a Pakistan which they may lose if they forget what attitude the Hindustan adopts towards it. Should the Hindus have these sinister motives, the only alternative course for it [is] to have a military alliance with one of the powerful nations of the world at once. The British forces are withdrawing on the 15th of August. What precaution is the Muslim League going to take against any such aggression?

The shifting of Pakistan capital to Karachi is a very wise step. Lahore will become the battleground of future quarrels and conflicts, being a border town. The Sikhs will be perpetually used as tools to keep continually fighting with the Muslims. What is happening in Lahore today is just the beginning of a perpetual internecine warfare created deliberately. It is a sad beginning of a historical and great event.

Please read the articles from *Hindustan Times* on "No Lamentations" by Mr. Rajgopalacharia and another by K. Santathan.⁵ I have marked the important parts.

Hope you are keeping fit.

Praying for your long life,

Sincerely yours,
MRS. K. L. RALLIA RAM

¹Refers to the speeches made at the session of the All India Congress Committee held in New Delhi on 14 June 1947 to consider the 3 June Plan. *Civil & Military Gazette*, 15 and 16 June 1947.

²Not available in QAP.

³Enclosure 1.

⁴Enclosure 2.

⁵Enclosure 3.

⁶Not available in QAP.

Enclosure 1 to No. 257

F.487/81

BIHAR MINISTRY CHARGED WITH DIRE REPRESSION OF MUSLIMS'

PATNA: Following the announcement of the Mountbatten Plan, a variety of such measures are being taken by the Government of Bihar which very much undermine the Muslim interests, make the future of a minority of 48 lakh gloomier still, and their lot sadder and sadder every day.

Orders withdrawing the Muslims' weightage in all the services are understood to have been passed and the appointing authorities have been instructed to see that future recruitments to the services are made strictly on population basis while there is no mention of the fact that in 75 per cent. of such departments, in which Muslims are nil or negligible, they should be given their due share.

DECLARED ALIENS

A Bill introducing joint electorate in village panchayats and local bodies and suggesting such a system even to the Provincial Legislature is on the anvil and will be introduced in the forthcoming session of the Bihar Assembly at Ranchi in August next.

According to a report very much current in the political circles, notice has been given of a resolution, by one Congressman, to be discussed in the next meeting of the Congress Assembly Party suggesting that the right of citizenship should be withdrawn from the Muslims and they should be declared aliens unless they formally declare that they have nothing to do with Pakistan.

Of late, a number of Muslim houses both in Patna and other districts have been searched on the alleged charge of their being in possession of unlicensed arms but nothing incriminating was found.

HYMN OF HATE

One more case against the *Morning News* has been filed with the City Superintendent of Police under orders of the Local Government, under Section 153A, I.P.C.,² who alleges that the paper of April 1, 1947, in its article headlined as "Inside Bihar" commented on Bari's death as planned and communal and thereby tried to incite communal feelings.

It may be stated here that the *Morning News'* entry into Bihar was also very recently banned for one month from April 12 till May 12.

The weekly *Sentinel's* editor, Mohiuddin Ahmed had been arrested at Ranchi the other day and has not been released on bail yet, and there is hardly a Muslim paper published or circulated in the Province which does not stand persecuted today, while the Congress papers continue singing their hymn of hate against the minority and thereby poison every fount of Bihar's social and political life without making attempt to create better atmosphere and relations between the two communities.

SAFEGUARDS

In the light of these developments, the Muslim public opinion in Bihar was shocked to see Gandhi demanding safeguards for the Hindu minority in the Pakistan zones without caring to give any assurance to the Muslim minority in the Hindustan area and specially of Bihar, where the minority has been subject to the arrogance of his party men and nothing tangible has been done to restore the normal conditions.

Surprise is also expressed over the fact that no top-ranking leader of the Congress has yet cared to speak a good word to the Muslim minority, whereas both the Quaid-i-Azam and other League leaders have assured the Hindu minority of a fair deal in Pakistan.

[Incomplete]

¹*Dawn*, 24 June 1947.

²Indian Penal Code.

Enclosure 2 to No. 257

F.487/82

MRS. PANDIT RE-ITERATES FAITH IN UNITED INDIA

ALMORA, June 22: Mrs. Vijayalaxmi Pandit, Minister for Local Self-Government in the United Provinces, replying to an address of welcome

presented to her by the Almora Town Congress Committee yesterday, expressed the hope that the division of India would be temporary and that time would come when India would once again be united. She declared that Congress never wanted division, but, one man's obstinacy and the British policy to divide and rule in this country were chiefly responsible for all what had happened. She appealed to her countrymen to take full advantage of independence that was in sight.

Mrs. Pandit left for Khaki to-day. After a week's stay there she will proceed to Lucknow.—API.

Enclosure 3 to No. 257

F. 487/83

In view of all this, there is something to be said for those who still have a burning faith in a United India. In the context of today one really admires the vision, courage and zeal of leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal, Sardar Patel, Acharya Kripalani, Maulana Azad, Mr. Jaya Prakash Narayan, Maulana Hasrat Mohani and others who feel dissatisfied with what has happened and who are still determined to work for the India of their conception. They should only remember this that in this matter they are not alone. There are millions of Indians who think and feel like them.

[Incomplete]

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S.T.R. Salay Mohamed & Co. to M. A. Jinnah

F.683/370-1

245 MAIN STREET, COLOMBO, CEYLON,
25 June 1947

PAKISTAN FUND

Pursuant to the appeal made by Quaid-i-Azam M. A. Jinnah, the President of the All India Muslim League, to inaugurate the Pakistan Fund, the enthusiastic Piecegoods Memon Indian Merchants sponsored the said Fund and the following contributions have been received so far. The staff of the Memon Piecegoods Merchants, too, are subscribing their

donations. Still the Fund is open and more donations are expected to pour in, the list of which will be forwarded by subsequent mail:

1.	Messrs. S. T. R. Salay Mohamed & Co.	Colombo	Rs. 1,501.00
2.	Messrs. H. A. Kreem & Co.	Colombo	Rs. 1,501.00
3.	Messrs. A. A. Sattar & Co.	Colombo	Rs. 1,001.00
4.	Messrs. H. A. N. Mohamed & Co.	Colombo	Rs. 1,001.00
5.	Messrs. Moulana (S.A.M.N. Abdul Qader Sahib & Co.)	Colombo	Rs. 1,001.00
6.	Messrs. Haji Omar & Co.	Colombo	Rs. 1,001.00
7.	Messrs. Habib Valimohamed & Co.	Colombo	Rs. 1,001.00
8.	Messrs. D. A. Khan & Co.	Colombo	Rs. 501.00
9.	Messrs. H. H. Kassim & Co.	Colombo	Rs. 501.00
10.	Messrs. H. H. Karim & Co.	Colombo	Rs. 501.00
11.	Messrs. A. Bakar & Co.	Colombo	Rs. 501.00
12.	Messrs. A. M. N. Noormohamed & Co.	Colombo	Rs. 501.00
13.	Messrs. H. S. Haji Abdulla & Co.	Colombo	Rs. 501.00
14.	Messrs. Haji Abdul Gani Haji Bawa & Co.	Colombo	Rs. 251.00
15.	Messrs. H. A. Rahman & Co.	Colombo	Rs. 251.00
16.	Messrs. Kassim Osman & Co.	Colombo	Rs. 251.00
17.	Messrs. Sulaiman Bros.	Colombo	Rs. 251.00
18.	Messrs. Dawood Moti & Co.	Colombo	Rs. 251.00
19.	Messrs. Kamil Drapery Stores	Colombo	Rs. 200.00
20.	Messrs. Sakoor Co.	Colombo	Rs. 125.00
21.	Messrs. H. O. Moti & Co.	Colombo	Rs. 125.00
22.	Messrs. Ibrahim Abba & Co.	Colombo	Rs. 125.00
23.	Messrs. Aboobakar Dada	Colombo	Rs. 125.00
24.	Messrs. Jamal Haji Yousuf & Co.	Colombo	Rs. 101.00
25.	Messrs. Ismail Dawa & Co.	Colombo	Rs. 75.00
26.	Messrs. A. S. Essak & Co.	Colombo	Rs. 51.00
27.	Messrs. Ibrahim Abdul Gani	Colombo	Rs. 51.00
28.	Messrs. Hataya Stores	Colombo	Rs. 51.00
29.	Messrs. Somar Textile Co.	Colombo	Rs. 51.00
30.	Messrs. Ibrahim Aboobakar	Colombo	Rs. 50.00
Total			13,398.00

1.	Staff of Messrs. S.T.R. Salay Mohamed & Co.	Colombo	Rs. 151.00
2.	Staff of Messrs. H. A. N. Mohamed & Co.	Colombo	Rs. 151.00
3.	Staff of Messrs. H. N. Kassim & Co.	Colombo	Rs. 115.00
4.	Staff of Messrs. A. A. Sattar & Co.	Colombo	Rs. 75.25
5.	Staff of Messrs. Vally Noormohamed & Co.	Colombo	Rs. 65.25
6.	Staff of Messrs. D. A. Khan & Co.	Colombo	Rs. 68.25
7.	Staff of Messrs. Iliyas Sundry Stores	Colombo	Rs. 63.00
8.	Staff of Messrs. Haji Omar & Co.	Colombo	Rs. 51.00
9.	Staff of Messrs. Habib Valimohamed & Co.	Colombo	Rs. 40.00
10.	Staff of Messrs. H. C. Haji Abdulla & Co.	Colombo	Rs. 30.00
11.	Staff of Messrs. H. M. Karim & Co.	Colombo	Rs. 20.00
12.	Staff of Messrs. Salaymohamed & Sons.	Colombo	Rs. 17.00
13.	Staff of Messrs. Colombo Textiles Co.	Colombo	Rs. 16.00
14.	Staff of Messrs. Jamal Haji Yousuf & Co.	Colombo	Rs. 15.00
15.	Staff of Messrs. Sulaiman Bros.	Colombo	Rs. 15.00
16.	Staff of Messrs. Kassim Osman & Co.	Colombo	Rs. 10.00
17.	Staff of Messrs. A. B. H. Noormohamed & Co.	Colombo	Rs. 10.00
18.	Staff of Messrs. A. Bakar & Co.	Colombo	Rs. 7.00
19.	Mr. Aboobakar Osman Lakhani	Colombo	Rs. 5.00
20.	Mr. Ibrahim A. Rahman	Galle	Rs. 5.00
Total			833.50 ¹

¹The total is incorrect; it should be 929.75.

259

Mohammad Ali Al-Haj Salmin to M. A. Jinnah

F.162/66-7

IN THE NAME OF ALLAH, THE BENEFICENT, THE MERCIFUL

And from among you there should be a party who invite to good and enjoin what is right and forbid the wrong and it is these that shall be successful.—*Al-Qur'an*, III: 103.

MAHBUB MANZIL, B. BLOCK, TOP FLOOR,
PALTON ROAD, FORT, BOMBAY,
25 June 1947

My Most Respected Brother-in-Islam,

With the impending administrative change-over in this country, the importance of India must increase internationally, and quite simultaneously able persons will be required really to hold influential and important posts in the various Government Departments both in India, as also in various international avenues which will soon spring up in overseas countries. Most naturally able linguists with wide journalistic and publicity experience will be found suitable for filling up such likely posts, and I take this opportunity to offer my services in respect thereto [*sic*] introducing me to you as under:

I am a highly educated Muslim of middle age, born and bred up [*sic*] in Bombay with excellent connections. I possess very good command over four important languages, viz. English, Arabic, Persian and Urdu, besides having workable [*sic*] knowledge of Gujerati and Marathi languages. Already I am an author of nearly 50 books in English of universal interest, including those on Islam, and a frequent contributor of diverse articles in different languages to numerous papers and journals. I can also lecture in all the above four languages, and some years before, even edited two papers in English and one in Urdu.

Just for your information I may add that some time back I had received a call with reference to a senior appointment of an Editor in the Information Department of Government of India, New Delhi. Also, since [*sic*] last over two years I have been holding successfully the senior-most post of President of a Social and Cultural Islamic Institution in Bombay.

I possess a Diploma of ■ Literary Society of London, viz. Bachelor of Literature, for my thesis on an oriental work besides the membership of the Society of Philology, London and Doctorate in Literature of an American University.

Lastly, I may add that during last over quarter century [*sic*] I have come into contact with persons belonging to different social ranks including princes, nawabs, statesmen, leaders of different schools of thought, and without exaggeration I feel confident when I say that I can ably fill up any important post in Foreign or Inland Departments which requires tactful handling, knowledge of different languages, integrity and originality.

It will be ■ pleasure for me if I am given an opportunity to serve in the Middle East as I feel sure that my qualifications and experience can be availed of most adequately in Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Syria, Lebanon and Egypt.

I hope that this will be read by your honour carefully, and it will not be long before I am intimated to keep myself quite ready for joining any of the above-referred onerous duties. If so desired and on being intimated at least a week in advance I shall be glad to present myself personally and interview your goodself [*sic*] there.

In anticipation of hearing from you soon, [and] thanking you,

I remain,

Yours-in-Islam,

M. A. AL-HAJ SALMIN

B. Litt. (London)

Journalist and Author

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M. Shahabuddin Abbasey to Ghulam Husain Hidayatullah

F.162/141

RAJI'S COMPOUND, CHANDI-KI-TAKSAL, JAIPUR,
26 June 1947

Sir,

With due respect and humble submission I beg to say that with the establishment of the Government of Pakistan, the condition of Muslims serving in the Hindi [*sic*] Native States has become very precarious. Now they have no future prospects but to starve and exit [*sic*].

I, being a Muslim graduate of the Agra University, wish to *serve the Pakistan Government*¹ in any suitable establishment. My qualifications and experience in official work are as follows:

1. I am a first class first trained graduate of the Agra University.
2. I am well (versed) in official work—such as maintenance of records and documents, keeping of accounts and statistics, drafting and correspondence, and [have] an aptitude of administrative capacity [*sic*].
3. I am about 27 years of age, of good character (as the copies of my testimonials will show on being asked), strong and healthy and anxious to please.
4. I have some experience in journalism and political propaganda also and greatly interested in them.

Hoping to be favoured with a kind reply,

Yours most obediently,
 MD. SHAHABUDDIN ABBASEY
 C/O NOOR MOHD. KHAN
 M. A.
Librarian

The Prime Minister,
 Government of Sind,
 Karachi

¹Underlined in the original.

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Abdul Haq to M. A. Jinnah

F.162/74

ANJUMAN-E-TARAQQI-E-URDU (INDIA),
 1 DARYAGUNJ, DELHI,
 26 June 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I hope you know Dr. Muzaffaruddin Qureshi of the Osmania University, whose name I especially mentioned to you at Hyderabad. He is the man who can help the Central Government of Pakistan in the planning of industrial departments and the organisation of scientific research and higher technical education, which are inter-related. I enclose herewith¹ a brief statement of his qualifications and work, which I hope will

find favour with you, and you will give him an opportunity of serving a democratic Muslim State, in which he will be keenly interested.

Yours sincerely,

ABDUL HAQ

[President], Anjuman-e-Taraqqi-e-Urdu (India)

¹Not printed. He was a chemical engineer; held important positions in various research organisations, etc., and headed the Department of Applied Chemistry, Osmania University. Also helped Hyderabad Government in planning and establishing different industries.

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Syed Abdul Rahim to M. A. Jinnah

F.682/331

786¹

1/2 BAJANA KOIL STREET, ROYAPURAM, MADRAS,

26 June 1947

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am sending herewith a draft in your favour for Rs.1,200 (Rupees one thousand and two hundred only) being my subscription for the Pakistan Fund in response to the appeal you made not long ago. I hope by accepting the humble contribution from a humble servant of a Muslim nation, you will oblige me.

Gar qubool uftad zahe izzo sharaf

[It will be a great honour if accepted]

I assure you I will make any sacrifice you demand of me in this sacred cause.

I take this opportunity to request you—this is the desire too of the Muslims of this part of India—to safeguard the rights and interests of the Muslims of Hindu India, as you have won the legitimate aspirations of the Muslims of Pakistan. I pray to Allah that He in His infinite mercy may bestow upon you long life, in order that you may see Pakistan established on a solid and firm basis.

Tum salaamat raho hazaar baras

Har baras kay hon din pachaas hazaar

[May you live for a thousand years, each year comprising fifty thousand days]

I ever remain,
Your and the nation's obedient servant,
SYED ABDUL RAHIM

¹Stands for Bismillah 'ir Rahman 'ir Rahim.

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K. A. A. Ansari to M. A. Jinnah

F.162/68-9

13 TRAVANCORE HOUSE, CANNING ROAD, NEW DELHI,
26 June 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am sure that you have already selected or would select the right kind of men for the partition of the Archaeological Department. You may perhaps be aware that antiquities of immense value have been collected and even purchased by the Archaeological Department. They are exhibited or stored in different museums. The actual division of these antiquities should be made with care by men who know the value of things. There are a large number of manuscripts of rare value and their division should also be very carefully planned. As to the assessments of value of furniture, modern buildings, stores and equipment, [it] can easily be done, but the antiquities; paintings and manuscripts will require very careful expert work.

I suggest for your approval that Mr. Q. M. Munier who had been a librarian and knows about the value of books and had also been Curator of Central Asian Antiquities Museum and is fully acquainted with antiquities may be appointed to work on the committee. I will need of course to be there to supervise and will perhaps be suited to assessing the value of paintings, manuscripts and antiquities.

Although I have been working in the Archaeological Survey of India, being an Engineer and holding Ph.D. degree in Fine Arts, my real work in Europe had been planning of towns and development of provinces, and having been elected a member of the German Academy of Town Planning, I considered it my duty to leave my work there, which was very remunerative, and come to India on your suggestion at Berlin, that there is scope for every capable Indian in India. Having obtained the

first Lever Prize in Town Planning from London and getting the distinction of a member of the Academy, I considered myself to be fit enough to do my bit in my own country, but I was never given any opportunity to do any work in my own line in India.

Although I possess the requisite qualifications of work in the Archaeological Survey, I still aspire to be able to do development work when the time comes for it, and I hope you would bear in mind that an expert in that line is available in your own community who has the zeal to do the work.

Yours sincerely,
DR. K. A. A. ANSARI

264

Nawab of Bahawalpur to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F.1004/1

LONDON,
26 June 1947

Quaid-i-Azam Mr. M. A. Jinnah, Karachi.

My esteemed friend. Reference your kind enquiries Malir.¹ Am delighted at making certain proposals. Letter follows. Sincerest good wishes and *Allah's* blessings.

SADIQ MOHAMMAD
OF BAHAWALPUR

¹The enquiries perhaps related to the setting up of Government Headquarters at Malir.

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Habib Bank Ltd., Delhi, to Hafazat Karim Quraishi
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F.861/99

CHANDNI CHOWK, DELHI,
26 June 1947

Dear Sir,

Ref: Pakistan Fund¹

Please note that your cheque No. 00047/06 dated 20 June 1947 on

the Grindlays Bank, New Delhi, for Rs. 10-1-0 received by us for credit to Pakistan Fund has been dishonoured by the Payee Bank for the reason "Full cover not received".

Under the circumstances please arrange to send us a fresh cheque or draft for the same amount or remit to us by money order to enable us to credit the same to the above account.

At present we are holding the cheque in question with us and your reply is awaited.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. SIDDIQUI
Agent

Mr. Hafazat Karim Quraishi,
Divisional Accountant,
Ajmer Water Supply and Drainage Div.,
Central P.W.D.,
Ajmer

¹See No. 128.

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M. S. Hasan to M. A. Jinnah

F.162/70

13 ASOKA ROAD, NEW DELHI,
26 June 1947

Sir,

I understand you need the services of retired Gov[ernmen]t officers for Pakistan Area, to set up different organisations and departments. I offer my services for what they are worth.

I herewith attach a statement¹ giving some details of my experience in the whole course of my service, and they can be verified from the confidential records available in the office of the Director General, Posts & Telegraphs, New Delhi. The records will also testify [to] my capabilities, nature and quality of the work I performed and the general standard of efficiency.

Need I say that I am physically fit for any service including outdoor service and am at present employed for two years as an officer in the office of the Chief Controller of Exports (Commerce

Department, Government of India). For this part of my service the Chief Controller of Exports may be referred to.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
M. S. HASAN

¹Not printed.

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Syed Mahmudul Hasan to M. A. Jinnah

F.162/72-3

BHANDARA, C.P.,
26 June 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam Sahib,

I beg first to be kindly excused for intruding upon your most busy and valuable time, engaged as you are in making and shaping Pakistan Government. It is beyond my humble power to adequately eulogise the success of obtaining—nay wresting—Pakistan States [*sic*] from the British and the Congress [against all] odds, by your undaunted efforts. While the whole world is paying its tribute to you, I can only pray to the Almighty to spare you for a very very long time to come for welding and fusing the Muslim Estates [*sic*] of Pakistan, and even of all the Muslim countries of the world, into one Muslim brotherhood and thereby creating and reviving a real world: Pakistan.

Coming to these Provinces (C. P. and Berar) I am constrained to say that the life of the very sparse Muslim minority is getting most miserable and intolerable, rather often unbearable, owing to the communal hatred and prejudices. You are aware, I hope, of the recent speech of Mr. Shukla, the Premier,¹ when he publicly declared that now the Muslims here would be treated as aliens, that citizens' rights would be denied to them and that it would be impossible for them to live peacefully and safely in places where they at present were.

It seems that our condition is going to be worse than that of the Bihar Muslims when a very responsible authority like Mr. Shukla has openly on the public platform laid bare his heart against us. Not a day passes when some communique or other is not issued to cut us off from our legal rights and privileges.

We, therefore, naturally look up to you for shelter and protection and beg to solicit your advice on the question of our migrating to the Pakistan area. Besides this there is one more thing that needs special attention of yours and it is with respect to those in services who have been given a choice. An average man is in a great fix and every day railway and postal men are coming to me to consult. I feel I am unable to give them proper directions without first consulting you. Then there is the question of the few high-placed officers in the police and other branches of the civil service.

In introducing my humble self to you I may say that I am a practising pleader and also the President of the Muslim League here, and am trying to serve in my humble capacity my brethren to the best of my ability.

Hoping to be graciously excused for the trouble thus given,

I beg to remain,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

SYED MAHMUDUL HASAN

B.A., LL.B.

Pleader

¹Pandit Ravishankar Shukla, Premier of Central Provinces and Berar, 1946-47.

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Statement by M. A. Jinnah

F.1022/138

26 June 1947

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, has issued the following statement to the press:¹

Now that it has been officially announced that the referendum in Sylhet (Assam) will be held on the 6th and 7th of July, I have appointed a Committee consisting of Mirza Ahmad Ispahani, Mr. Moazzamuddin Hussain² and Mr. A. W. Baakza,³ to organize and help the Muslims of Sylhet in every way to face the forthcoming referendum; and I have been assured by them that they will do their best and help the Muslims of Sylhet in every way. I, therefore, request all the leaders and workers of the Muslim League in Sylhet to get in close touch with the Committee and work in full co-operation and complete harmony as a united and disciplined people in a team and I appeal to

every Musalman to cast his or her vote in favour of Sylhet District being amalgamated with the new province of Eastern Bengal.

It is my fervent hope and prayer that the verdict of the Muslims of Sylhet, on whom the responsibility to take the decision mainly rests, will be in favour of Sylhet's amalgamation with East Bengal. Muslims there are in a powerful majority and if they vote solidly, as I advise them to do, it will not only strengthen Eastern Pakistan, but it will be a boon to the Muslims of Sylhet. On both these grounds, I appeal to every Muslim voter to cast his or her vote in favour of the amalgamation of Sylhet with East Bengal, which will also carry with it the contiguous Muslim majority areas of adjoining districts which will then be transferred to Eastern Pakistan.

A grave responsibility now rests with the voters and supporters of Pakistan. At this moment, which is the most vital and crucial one in our history, you have to decide this most important issue and I feel confident that your verdict will be in favour of Sylhet being amalgamated with Eastern Bengal.

¹*Pakistan Times*, 27 June 1947.

²Minister for Revenue and Education, Bengal.

³An official of the Habib Bank Ltd., Calcutta.

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M. A. Jinnah to H. L. Ismay

F.496/5

26 June 1947

Dear Lord Ismay,

I am enclosing herewith some points affecting the Sylhet Referendum and I believe it is reliable information and requires your immediate attention.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Gen. Lord Ismay,
The Viceroy's House,
New Delhi

*Enclosure¹ to No.269**F.496/8*

1. The June 3 Statement² provided that the Sylhet Referendum, like that in N.W.F.P., will be held under the aegis of the Governor-General. But matters have been apparently left in the hands of the Provincial Government. For instance:

- a. No formal announcement has been made but it has already appeared in the press that Mr. H. C. Stock, I.C.S., Secretary, Legislative Department, has been appointed Referendum Commissioner. He was a prisoner in Turkey during First World War and is notorious in Assam as being anti-Muslim.
- b. Symbols for ballot-boxes have been fixed without consulting the parties: a "Hut" for staying in Assam, and an "Axe" for joining Eastern Bengal. According to local popular superstition the axe symbolises causing an injury to oneself.
- c. Military, mostly Gurkhas, are still posted throughout Sylhet District, and they are still harassing people though the Movement is being called off.
- d. It is understood that Presiding Officers will be subordinates of Assam Government working under the local Government's orders and not supervised by Governor-General's agents.

2. The date fixed for Referendum is too early and time given for voting too short. Referendum is to be held on 6th and 7th July. Voting is to be between 9.30 to 6.00 on these days.

Until 23rd when I left Sylhet, authenticated voters' lists had not been made available. Time is too short for canvassing, specially because of the floods now raging in large areas of the district. We shall not be able to reach the interior areas in time.

Experience of Assembly elections have [*sic*] shown that not more than 50 per cent. of votes can be recorded in this time.

3. Assam Government is deliberately impeding our work. They are censoring news as well as telegrams to outside League leaders and to our own local leaders and workers. They are arresting, under Public Safety Act, our best workers. Two have been arrested and we learn that just before the Referendum more arrests will be made.

4. Instead of the Governor-General sending British Military officers, Mr. Baldev Singh has sent a number of Sikh officers who are extensively touring the district ostensibly to find out whether posting of more troops is needed for maintenance of peace. Mixed troops,

fifty-fifty Muslim and non-Muslim, should be posted and Gurkhas withdrawn.

¹This was submitted by Moinul Haque Chaudhary, MLA (Assam). Para. 5 thereof was apparently deleted by Jinnah, before sending its copy to Ismay, which read as follows:

"Following requests are made to Quaid-i-Azam: a. At least one member of the League High Command or Member of the Interim Government should be deputed to tour the Sylhet District and stay there during the Referendum. b. Due to floods, collection of funds for the purpose has been seriously hampered. A suitable allotment may be made by Central Fund towards Referendum expenses." The original note is available in F. 496/6-7, QAP.

²No. 1.

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A. K. Kkderkkty to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F.560/60

TELICHERRY, DISTRICT MALABAR,
26 June 1947

Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah,¹ Delhi.

Moplahs offer heartiest congratulations and prayers for long life to Quaid-i-Azam on resounding success in achieving Pakistan. Remitted Rupees 25,000 Habib Bank towards Pakistan Fund on behalf of Moplahs out of their contributions.

A. K. KKDERKTTY
MLA

Treasurer, Malabar District Muslim League

¹Copy forwarded to API and OP, New Delhi.

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Bahram Ali Mirza to M. A. Jinnah

F.908/105

GOLAGUNJ, LUCKNOW,
26 June 1947

Subject: Asking for deputation

Dear Sir,

I, as Secretary, have been authorised by the Executive Committee of the

Oudh Ex-Royal Family Association and Oudh Restoration Mission to remind you that we have not received any acknowledgment or reply from you to our representation of 15th May 1947 and resolution of 17th May 1947.¹

We want to wait in the form of a deputation upon you as the issue of the restoration of Oudh is vitally connected with the very life of the Musalmans of U.P. and the descendants of the last King of Oudh are legally entitled to it.

We do realise that your time is very precious but still we hope that our request for the deputation will not be turned down.

Please fix an early date for our deputation and oblige.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,

Yours [*sic*] most obedient servant,
(PRINCE) BAHRAM ALI MIRZA
Honorary General Secretary,
*Oudh Ex-Royal Family Association*²

¹Not available in QAP. For previous correspondence, see No. 115.

²Oudh Ex-Royal Family Association was established in 1908 and registered under Act XXI of 1860.

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Louis Mountbatten to M. A. Jinnah

F.2/103

NO.1411

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE, NEW DELHI,
26 June 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

In your letter dated 11 June¹ you said that you would not mind receiving, at any time, any help and advice that I might be able to give you. I have, therefore, taken the liberty of having a note produced in my office on the North-West Frontier and Baluchistan Tribes, with whom it appears likely you will be concerned in the near future. I hope that this Memorandum will be of some assistance to you.

Yours sincerely,
MOUNTBATTEN OF BURMA

¹No. 79. Also see No. 298.

*Enclosure to No. 272**F.2/104-6*

NORTH-WEST FRONTIER AND BALUCHISTAN TRIBES

Between the districts of the North-West Frontier Province and the Afghan border lies tribal territory. This is divided into five Agencies under Political Agents, and, in addition, each of the districts of the Province has an area of tribal territory attached to it, for administrative convenience: in respect of this tribal area, each Deputy Commissioner of the district is also ex-official [*sic* for *ex officio*] Political Agent. With local exceptions, there is no administration in tribal territory, which also includes four States (Dir, Swat, Chitral and Amb).

2. The area of this tribal belt is approximately 14,000 square miles, and the population $2\frac{1}{2}$ million. Vast regions are barren high mountains, and, except in the Malakand Agency (the northern-most of the five), the territory is not able to support by itself the population which lives there: South Waziristan Agency, for example, produces about two months' food in the year for its people, and the rest has to be imported. The first fact to be noted about the North-West Frontier tribal areas, therefore, is their economic dependence on India, and their close economic ties with the neighbouring North-West Frontier Province.

3. Within their own areas, these tribes are free to manage their affairs as they like, subject to two overriding conditions: the first is that they should not permit their territory to be used as a base for operations against the districts of the North-West Frontier Province or Afghanistan; and the second, that they should not become so embroiled with each other as to menace the general security of the frontier. With suitable variations, these two conditions are incorporated in the series of agreements which govern the relationship between the British Government (acting through the Government of India) and the tribes. The Political Agents who are stationed in the Agencies, and the Deputy Commissioners of border districts who perform the functions of Political Agents in respect of the tribal territories adjacent to their districts, are charged with the duty of maintaining liaison with the tribes, and with the smooth carrying out of the agreements between the tribes and the Government. This work entails continuous contact with all the tribal leaders and *jirgas*, and a knowledge of the language, customs, and economy of the area. The second important fact about the tribal areas, therefore, is their political connection with India.

4. In order to maintain the position and authority of these political officers, there are three kinds of force to back them up. The first is the *Khassadars* or tribal police: these are locally recruited from the tribes

within whose bounds they exercise jurisdiction. They are mainly employed to watch the roads, carry messages, supply information, and generally act as tribal police, which they do with a varying degree of success. Secondly, there is the Frontier Corps, a highly efficient and well-organised civil armed force recruited entirely from the tribesmen themselves, trained on military lines, and officered by secondment from the Indian Army. This force has a Corps in every Agency (except the Malakand), and, while not so mechanised or so powerfully armed as the Army, is far more mobile in its own terrain. Its main function is to maintain the authority of the Political Agents, and to deal with minor violations of the Agreements of [*sic* for *by*] the tribes, e.g. incursions by gangs across the border. Behind this Frontier Corps stand the regular Indian Army, and Air Force, the ultimate sanction by which the authority of Government has to be enforced if peaceful methods fail. The third important fact is, therefore, the necessity for adequate force in or near the tribal areas, to back up the policy of the Government.

5. The work of the political officers is not merely the negative one of persuading the tribes not to misbehave, but they are also charged with the more positive duty of helping the development of the area as far as Government resources permit. That is to say, they supervise expenditure (to the extent of about 17 lakh per year) on the education, medical, forest, veterinary, agriculture, etc., departments within the Agencies themselves; and a further sum of 15 lakh has been provided for post-war development schemes there. A sum of 65 lakh a year is spent on buildings, communications, roads, etc., in tribal areas, and a sum of two crore a year on the Frontier Corps and Tribal Police. The expenditure of these sums is the greatest stabilising factor in tribal politics. In addition, a sum of 9 lakh is paid out to the tribes by way of petty cash allowances; these are designed to help the various tribal leaders to maintain their positions and so co-operate with the political officers, and are also payment for rights which the tribes have given up, e.g. land for roads, camps, etc., collection of tolls as in the Khyber Pass. It is a mistake to regard the payment of allowances as a form of blackmail. They provide a necessary nexus between the tribes and the administration and there is a definite return for the expenditure either in the form of goodwill or service. The total civil expenditure in tribal areas adjacent to the North-West Frontier Province is thus four and one-fifth crore per year. This includes a sum of 31 lakh which the Government of India pays towards the cost of additional police maintained by the N.W.F.P. Government along the border, but excludes all expenditure on military or air establishments. In addition, the North-West Frontier

Province receives a subvention of one crore a year from the Centre. The fourth important point is therefore the cost of the North-West Frontier to the rest of India.

6. A final most important aspect is the strength of the tribes and the intensity of their desire to resist incorporation in British India. It is not generally recognised that the tribes are in a position to negotiate on fairly equal terms with any Government of India or part of India; this is because of their armament, the inaccessible nature of their country, and their self-imposed isolation. There is also the knowledge that behind the tribes lies Afghanistan, and that the most powerful elements in that country are its Pathan tribes. This is a most powerful factor in all frontier politics.

7. Conditions in Baluchistan are in many ways similar, though the country is much more sparsely inhabited. Tribal control is exercised through the Sandeman System,¹ which operates through the various tribal leaders rather than direct with the tribe as a whole. The effect of this has been to preserve more or less intact the tribal structure of last century. The cost of Baluchistan is approximately one crore to the Government of India.

¹The Sandeman System aimed at exercise of British control over Baluch tribes through their respective *Sardars*, and by employment of tribesmen as Levies.

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H. M. Patel to M. A. Jinnah

F.1/88

NO. PO-1/PC/47
MOST IMMEDIATE/SECRET

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA,
(PARTITION OFFICE), NEW DELHI,
26 June 1947

The Steering Committee present their compliments to Mr. M. A. Jinnah and are directed by His Excellency the Viceroy to request that he will attend a meeting of the Partition Council to be held at the Viceroy's House at 10 a.m. tomorrow, 27th June.

AGENDA

1. Procedure regarding appointment of Governors of Provinces (No papers)

2. Reconstitution of Governments at the Centre and in Bengal (Note by [the] Steering Committee attached)
3. Note by the Steering Committee relating to a request for the transfer of a printing press and regarding other assistance in the setting up of the Central Pakistan Government (attached).

H. M. PATEL
[Cabinet Secretary]

The Hon'ble Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Prasad

The Hon'ble Mr. Abdur Rab Nishtar

Copy with four copies of the enclosures forwarded to the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy.

S. JAGANNATHAN

Enclosure 1¹ to No. 273

F.1/89-90

RECONSTITUTION OF GOVERNMENTS AT THE CENTRE AND IN BENGAL

The decision to partition the country and divide Bengal and the Punjab has created a situation which necessitates the reconstitution of governments both at the Centre and in Bengal. The position at the Centre and in Bengal in this respect is identical and therefore whatever arrangement is decided upon for the Centre would be applicable to Bengal and *vice versa*. Three alternatives might be considered—

1. The existing government might continue at the Centre with strict adherence to the "stand-still" agreement; in Bengal this would necessitate the formation of a coalition government.
2. There would be two sets of members at the Centre (with ■ single Secretary in each Department), one dealing with Pakistan and the other for the rest of India; issues affecting both areas would be the joint concern of both; in Bengal, the counterpart would be the appointment of Congress Ministers for West Bengal with a similar arrangement as at the Centre for dealing with matters of common or joint interest.
3. There will be two sets of members at the Centre; the Congress members would hold the portfolios and the League members would hold a watching brief and would see all papers. In matters relating to or affecting Pakistan the League members would have

the right of veto if in their view any decision was prejudicial to the interests of Pakistan. In Bengal the counterpart would be that the League Ministers would hold the portfolios and [the] Congress Ministers with a watching brief could be appointed. They would see all papers and in matters relating to or affecting Western Bengal would have the right of veto if in their view any decision was prejudicial to the interests of Western Bengal.

4. In H. E.'s view the first alternative was the most satisfactory for the reason that partition work would suffer the least under that arrangement.
5. It is requested that the members of the Partition Council should be prepared to indicate at the meeting tomorrow their order of preference for the various alternatives suggested above and any other arrangement they would like to put forward.

¹This copy of the document bears No. 3A.

Enclosure 2¹ to No. 273

F.1/91

NOTE BY THE STEERING COMMITTEE RELATING TO A REQUEST
FOR THE TRANSFER OF A PRINTING PRESS AND REGARDING OTHER
ASSISTANCE IN THE SETTING UP OF THE CENTRAL
PAKISTAN GOVERNMENT

There are six Government of India Presses—two located at Calcutta (one of which is a forms press), one at Simla, two in New Delhi and one (a forms press) at Aligarh. The total value of work done in these presses in 1946-47 came to Rs. 61 lakh. All the presses worked double shift. It was necessary, over and above, to get printing work done through private presses during the same period to the value of Rs. 31 lakh. Put differently, one-third of the total printing work of the Government of India has to be given to outside presses in spite of the fact that their own presses work double shift.

Assuming that about 1/6th to 1/8th of the work done at present in the Government of India Presses would in future be done by presses in the Pakistan area, the capacity of the Government of India Presses would remain unaffected. They would still have to deal with work to the value of Rs. 61 + Rs. 31 minus Rs. 15 lakh, or Rs. 77 lakh worth per year. By working a double shift the presses are able to do only Rs. 61.9 lakh worth of work. On the other hand the Pakistan Government would not own even a single press.

No data is readily available regarding the capacity of private presses

in Pakistan or in the rest of India. The Sind Government Press at Karachi is a small one and is already overworked according to information given by the Collector of Karachi.

India could be asked to agree to continue to supply routine forms required for offices such as Posts and Telegraphs.

'This copy of the document bears No. 3A.

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Abdul Majid Prancha to M. A. Jinnah

F. 682/330

CAMP KUCHA QABIL ATTAR,
CHANDNI CHOWK, DELHI,

26 June 1947

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,
Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I am enclosing herewith a cheque No. 250186 of date on the Punjab National Bank Ltd., Calcutta, for Rs. 500 as an humble subscription from my Company towards Pakistan Fund which I hope will be kindly accepted. Please also accept my heartiest congratulations on behalf of the Company—the only Muslim concern in the world dealing in petroleum products—on your success in achieving the cherished goal of Muslim India—Pakistan.

Praying for your long life for the cause of Islam,
Pakistan Zindabad!

Your most obedient servant,
ABDUL MAJID PRANCHA
Director-in-Charge,
Pennsylvania Oil Co. (India) Ltd.,
Calcutta

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Mrs K. L. Rallia Ram to M. A. Jinnah

F.487/85-6

ELYSIUM HOTEL, SIMLA,
26 June 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Yesterday I sent you a registered letter.¹ Hope you have received it.

Today I am forwarding a whole page of the *Tribune* with statements² marked X for your perusal. There is one 8-point demand of the Sikhs for the Boundary Commission on this page, sent under a separate cover to you.³ These 8-point demands meant for the Boundary Commission need to be studied beforehand and arguments prepared against them. They are demanding Lahore, Lyallpur,⁴ Montgomery⁵ and Sheikhpura and say nothing short of this will satisfy the Sikhs! This is the height of absurdity. On the same arguments Muslims can claim Delhi, Agra, Lucknow and a number of other places like Ajmer Sharif and a horde [*sic*] of others in Hindu provinces where their holy places and historical monuments built by the Mughals are situated.

The cutting enclosed shows the intentions of the Hindu Congress to establish relations with Great Britain and Russia. I wonder if they are making offensive and defensive alliance with them. Pandit Nehru has sent his own sister, Mrs. Pandit, as an Ambassador to Moscow, most probably to propagate that capitalism has died out of India and the Congress is establishing a socialistic regime. I do hope you will soon [be] sending a very clever person to Russia as an Ambassador to do the correct propaganda. Mrs. Pandit went about telling the American people that caste system was a thing of the past in India. One of my friends (American) wrote to me about it immediately and said that it was strange that a person of her position should say such a thing, which is absolutely incorrect.

I have not yet heard whether you are receiving my letters from Simla or not. I know you are extremely busy with gigantic tasks, but one of your secretaries could just write a few words to tell me that you are.

Praying for your health and long life,

Sincerely yours,
MRS. K. L. RALLIA RAM

¹No.257.

²Not available in QAP.

³Not available in QAP.

⁴Now called Faisalabad.

⁵Now called Sahiwal.

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*Salamullah Sholah to M. A. Jinnah**Telegram, F.560/45*BARGAON, GONDA,
26 June 1947Quaid-i-Azam Mr. Jinnah, President [AIML], Delhi.
Waiting to serve in Pakistan.SALAMULLAH SHOLAH
Railway Grain Shop

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*Abdul Haq to M. A. Jinnah**F.162/81*ANJUMAN-E-TARAQQI-E-URDU (INDIA),
1 DARYAGUNJ, DELHI,
27 June 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am enclosing herewith a statement¹ of the qualifications and experience of a retired Director of Agriculture from Hyderabad, viz. Mr. Nizamuddeen Hyderi, whom I have known intimately for many years and who has always impressed me by his abounding sense of service and sacrifice and his wide knowledge of all matters connected with agriculture. I am sure that men like him will be an asset to any Government and the Pakistan Government will greatly benefit by his ability and experience. I am sure you will keep him in mind when making appointments for various departments of the new State.

Yours sincerely,
ABDUL HAQ
[President]

¹Not printed. However, Hyderi claimed to have invented "Hyder Cultivator", an implement for inter-culture of crops, and "Hyder Trencher", an implement for making trenches with bullock-power for sugar cultivation. He also wrote some books on rural development, agriculture, etc.

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M. S. Ali to M. A. Jinnah

F.217/1-3

4 CONGRESS EXHIBITION ROAD, CALCUTTA,

27 June 1947

Re: Nomination for the Constituent Assembly—an Appeal

Sir,

I beg most respectfully to state that unfortunately I have not been nominated for the Constituent Assembly of the Eastern Pakistan by the Central Parliamentary Board of the Muslim League. I am, therefore, preferring this appeal before you and as an old and humble worker of the Muslim League most earnestly pray that you will be graciously pleased to do justice to me by personally looking into my case. As the nomination was published only on the 25th in the Calcutta papers which reached *mofussil* on the following day, I could not prefer a formal appeal earlier.

As for my claims for the nomination, I beg leave to mention the following facts for your kind consideration:

1. That I have been working for the Muslim League for more than 13 years practically as a whole-time worker, first in Calcutta and subsequently in the District of Nadia, without any remuneration, even travelling allowances, though I had frequently to travel from district to district on being deputed by the Provincial Muslim League (*vide* the accounts of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League which will disclose that even members of the Cabinet and other big leaders holding high positions in Provincial and Central Parliaments had toured at the expense of the Muslim League).
2. That in appreciation of my services I was in course of time elected a member of the Councils of the Provincial Muslim League and of the All India Muslim League, and also a member of the Working Committee of the Provincial League.
3. That along with some other friends and co-workers I withdrew my candidature for membership of the Working Committee at the last election of the Bengal Provincial League held in 1945 to prevent a breach between two rival groups, Akram Khan-Nazimuddin group and Suhrawardy-Abul Hashim group and accommodated aspirants of these rival groups in the Working

Committee, and had since [ceased] to be a member of that Committee.

4. That I took a prominent part in organising the Muslims of Calcutta and boycotting the election of the Calcutta Corporation which succeeded in securing separate electorate and more representation of Muslims in Calcutta Corporation.
5. That I led the agitation for the establishment of the Muslim right of cow sacrifice in all Muslim houses in Bengal, and was deputed by the Muslim League to represent the Muslim case before the Government of Bengal which had to yield and recognise this right of cow sacrifice (*qurbani*).
6. That as Secretary of Bengal Census Board I played a prominent part for the protection of Muslim interests during the Census operation of 1940 [*sic* for 1941] when the Congress and Hindu Mahasabha were out to deflate the Muslim population and reduce the Muslims of Bengal to a minority.
7. That I was selected and deputed to work and organise in the District of Nadia, especially at Kushtia Sub-Division, the stronghold and birth-place of the Krishak Proja Movement in Bengal and the home sub-division of its leader, Mr. Shamsuddin Ahmed, where I thoroughly organised the Muslims and formed a powerful Sub-Divisional Muslim League which smashed totally the Krishak Proja Party and forced its leader, Mr. Shamsuddin Ahmed, to surrender to the Muslim League just before the last Assembly election, and yet in spite of these activities of mine, Mr. Shamsuddin Ahmed was nominated at the last Assembly election in preference to me (*vide* Mr. K. Nazimuddin's Note on my appeal against Mr. Shamsuddin's nomination).
8. That during the last Bengal famine I begged money from the public and opened and ran several Free Kitchens where I fed [*sic* for fed] thousands of destitutes, and the then Minister of Civil Supplies, Mr. Suhrawardy, saw my activities in this connection with his own eyes.
9. That it was in consideration of these activities of mine, that you were pleased on my appeal to set aside the decision of the Parliamentary Board and nominate me for the Constituent Assembly last year.
10. Another appeal has already been sent to you through the President of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League. As the last date for submitting the nomination papers is drawing near, I propose to file my nomination papers in course of a day or two, and I shall

withdraw my candidature in time in case you are not pleased to nominate me.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
M. S. ALI
ex-Member, Constituent Assembly

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Badr-ud-din to M. A. Jinnah

F.886/239-42

2201 BUZURG SHAH STREET, LAHORE,
27 June 1947

May it please Your Excellency,
Assalaamo 'Alaikum

Muslim posterity will always invoke blessings on Your Excellency for pinching out Pakistan from the tight clutches of such an organised and formidable antagonist [*sic*] community. On the eve of this unparalleled and unique success the undersigned regards it his privilege to submit most respectfully the following two chronograms—one in Persian and the other in Urdu—for Your Excellency's perusal.

Persian chronogram:

Shukr-i-aizad ra ke Pakistan nawaz

1366 A. H.

Surkhuroo-i-gashta chey badre bey niaz

1947 A. D.

(*Gratitude is due to the Almighty that the Pakistan cherisher has become successful. Wonderful and great is the aid of Him Who Himself has no need, but provides the needy.*)

The first hemistich gives *al-Hijra* and the second yields Christian era.

Urdu chronogram:

Hai zaban zad mila hai Pakistan

Yeh Mohammad Ali Jinnah kee shaan

1366 A. H.

(*Everybody is proclaiming that Pakistan has been achieved. This stands by itself to signify what degree of dignity Mohammad Ali Jinnah has.*)

Words fail either to bear out the immense joy at this auspicious

occasion or to estimate or describe, to the least degree, Your Excellency's probity or indefatigable efforts.

Many a patriot tried to probe into [*sic*] the cause of affliction of the community, a few even diagnosed the malady but its right prescription was ordained to come through a physician of Your Excellency's calibre—thus laying an indebtedness which the community would never be able to discharge. It is the right moment to take time by the forelock and thus enjoy the benefit of so toiled a harvest [*sic*] of Your Excellency.

The problems facing the community are multifarious and are not hidden from Your Excellency. These require united efforts under the guidance of Your Excellency's personage so that the community may rise from the depth of degradation and lowliness to the zenith of prosperity and opulence. Some are enunciated below:

1. To remove lethargy from the Muslim masses

This end could be obtained by

- a. Paying attention to the mosques which they deserve, thus making them a source of bliss and not arenas for self-abasement
- b. providing every person with work which should occupy him for not less than eight hours, thus enabling him to earn a living wage sufficient for the maintenance of his family
- c. doing away with egoism and egotism
- d. changing the educational curriculum
- e. arousing the spirit of self-sacrifice and individual responsibility
- f. conscription which would naturally result in making our defences strong
- g. substituting Islamic *shari'ah* for Roman Law
- h. appointing responsible Government officers on the lines of the second Caliph

2.

- a. To zealously guard against the proverbial treason [?] of the Hindus who have hitherto been inviting foreign powers to invade India, and had the cheek not only to defy Aurangzeb's order but ridicule the same by issuing *Firman* for grant of land in *Viranabad*¹ and *Adamabad*² Parganas and *Sarkars*
- b. To safeguard the interest, and provide protection for the lives and properties, of Muslims in Hindustan

3. To create trust in the minority communities by

- a. helping the untouchables to the extent of bringing them to the level of the society; cleaning of the offensive places in the houses by any human being be banned and the system of Islamic countries in this behalf be renewed

- b. striving to lead selfless, live-for-others, simple and straight-forward life so as to be a source of bliss and comfort not only for the Muslim community but for all communities
- c. framing laws according to the religious mandates of individual minority
- 4. To create a public treasury for which, as it appears, a move has already been made by Your Excellency
- 5. To select our Capitals
 - a. for the provinces, and
 - b. for the Pakistan Dominion

In this respect it is submitted that, keeping in view the present-day economic condition of the community, provincial Capitals may be allowed to remain the same.

With regard to the Capital of Pakistan, the League Council is reported to have decided to make Karachi the Capital.¹ If it has received Your Excellency's approval, there is nothing to be said but if it is still to receive sanction, it is submitted that this Capital at Karachi will be far distant for Bengal. Lahore, which will be on the frontier, may kindly be considered for the purpose of Capital, for the following reasons:

- a. It has been the Capital under *Rajas, Sultans, Kings* and *King-Emperors* in the past.
- b. Being on the frontier, it requires more attention and with its position as a Capital that attention could be given to it.
- c. Government shall have to spend little for erection of buildings both for the Civil and the Military.
- d. The summer office of the Government could be easily set up in Kashmir. This shall remind us of the Mughal days.

Above are a few of the problems which we are to meet with [sic]. The undersigned is not a politician and contents himself with well-known verse of the reverend Hafiz-i-Shiraz:

Rumooz-i-mumlekat-i-khesh khusrawan danand

Gada-i-gosha nasheeni tu Hafiza makharosh¹

(The secrets of state craft are known only to monarchs.

Oh Hafiz! Being only a dust-smeared beggar, [and not being privy to them], you should not complain.)

These are, therefore, more [sic for mere] suggestions. If any of these be worthwhile, it may kindly be included in the programme which is requested to be issued by Your Excellency for the guidance of the community. It is fervently hoped that Your Excellency's word, which carries the greatest weight, will be followed to the very letter.

The undersigned seizes the opportunity of thanking Your Excellency for the benevolence and generosity shown to the community and with

apology for encroaching upon the valuable time of such a big and busy personage, concludes his letter with the following verse and sentence:

Tufail-i-Muhammad ein zill-i-Khuda

Salamat buwad ta abad nizz-i-maa

(For the sake of Muhammad (P.B.U.H.) this shadow of God may remain with us till eternity.)

Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad (Long Live Quaid-i-Azam)

Pakistan Paindabad (May Pakistan endure for ever)

One of your most obedient servants,

BADR-UD-DIN

¹A desolate place.

²A non-existent place.

³In its session of 9-10 June 1947, the AIML Council empowered Jinnah to take "all steps and decisions" which might be necessary in connection with the 3 June Plan. See Enclosure to Annex to No. 41. Subsequently, Liaquat informed Mountbatten on 17 June of the decision to locate the headquarters of the Pakistan Government temporarily at Karachi. See Annex IV to No. 158.

⁴The verse as in *Diwan-i-Hafiz* is as follows:

'Rumooz-i-maslehat-i-mulk khusrawan danand

Gada-i-khak-nasheeni tu Hafiza makharosh'.

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Mirza Arshad Beg to M. A. Jinnah

F.162/84

C/O MIRZA MURTAZA BEG,
ADVOCATE, AZAMGARH, U.P.,

27 June 1947

Sir,

At this critical period in the history of the Indian Musalmans the *millat* expects every individual to do his duty. I place my services at your disposal unconditionally and gratis. I shall be extremely happy to serve the *millat* in any capacity, if I am worth it, as an ordinary soldier of Islam. I shall be anxiously waiting for your orders.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

MIRZA ARSHAD BEG

M. A., LL.B.

Note. For my qualifications please refer to the memorandum attached herewith. [Not printed].

281

Habib Bank Ltd., Delhi, to M. A. Jinnah

F.682/327

CHANDNI CHOWK, DELHI,

27 June 1947

Dear Sir,

We thankfully acknowledge receipt of your letter dated 25 June 1947¹ together with one cheque for Rs. 1,200. A proper receipt will be issued to the donor on realization of the outstation cheque.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. SIDDIQUI
Agent

¹No. 246.

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Honorary Secretary, Sind Madressah Board, to M. A. Jinnah

F.685/461

NO. 1068

KARACHI,

27 June 1947

Received with thanks from Quaid-i-Azam M. A. Jinnah on account of donation for the Girls School Building the sum of Rs. 5,000 (Rupees five thousand) only.¹

*Honorary Secretary,
Sind Madressah Board*

¹See No. 78.

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*Masood Husain to M. A. Jinnah**F.162/86-8*

DARIBA PAN, MORADABAD,
27 June 1947

Most Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

I know well that you have no time at your disposal to go through such innumerable letters which daily pour in your office. Grave responsibilities and important issues concerning the future of Muslim India in particular, and Musalmans in general, are the first and foremost objects which occupy your precious time. But in spite of all these considerations the circumstances took such a turn that I have to yield before them, and address this letter at such a time when far more important and grave issues are continuously engaging your attention.

To be short, I am a bachelor of 23 and it is my earnest desire that I should serve Pakistan and thus my family and myself. With no capital and business experience, it is next to impossible for me to start some business here or elsewhere. The only course open to me, like so many unfortunate young men whose education is based on a very faulty educational system, is to try to get some job. Hindu India is a place where it is very difficult for me to get a place, for I am among the "suspects" as I was interrogated by the police when the Direct Action Resolution¹ was passed, and this can be corroborated by the Moradabad City Muslim League. Furthermore, I have incurred the displeasure of the City Congress bosses for taking a prominent part during the Central and Provincial elections and I have a certificate to this effect from Hafiz Ghazanfarullah Sahib, MLA (Central). I am ready to serve anywhere you order me—Sindh, Punjab, Sarhad, Baluchistan, Bengal or overseas. A detailed account of my educational qualifications, extra-curricular activities, and such other necessary qualifications is also attached for your kind perusal.²

Respected Quaid-i-Azam, I assure you that I am passing very anxious days and nights. My father is dead and I have no property which can yield any income for the maintenance of my family. The capital left by my father, he having been a railway official, has gradually dwindled and has now come to Rs. 5,000 only. For how long will it help, as our monthly expenditure is no less than Rs. 275 per month? I am in a suspense and the future is uncertain. The last thing I could do is to approach you for help and sustenance.

I furthermore assure you that I have a normal intelligence and can pull on [with] any kind of work, however new, difficult or technical it might have been [*sic*]. I [can] surmount the difficulties, hurdles and obstacles due to the labour of [*sic for to*] which I am accustomed. I can work from twelve to fourteen and even sixteen hours a day. Though I never studied Economics during my educational career yet I have a general knowledge of the broad principles of the Economic theory.

I want to settle in life as soon as possible and am prepared to pass any examination as I have [made] a very good preparation of [for] the competitive examinations. (I have made one year's preparation for All India Administrative Service, Foreign Service, All India Police Service, Income Tax Officers' Service, Superior Railway Service, Deputy Superintendent Post Office Service, Indian Audit and Accounts and P.C.S. Executive Services).

Leaving [*sic*] the above posts, I can work and discharge the duties assigned to me fully and efficiently in any of the following categories of services: (1) Diplomatic (2) Judicial (3) Information (4) Broadcasting (5) Educational, or any other executive job.

Once again I request you to excuse me for taking so much of your time in a matter which concerns the future life of an individual and his family. Most respected Quaid-i-Azam, do not consider this letter as ■ scrap of paper because by giving a sympathetic consideration to my request you will avert the tragedy of my life. I have no recommendations of big men who are always instrumental in securing good jobs though the applicants might be unqualified and unworthy of it. Thus I have no way out but to have recourse to the highest impartial authority of Muslim India, to gauge my worth and to use it in the service of Pakistan. There are many men who have inherent worth and value and only need encouragement to rise to their highest stature. It is possible, if you give me a chance to serve, that I may discharge some duty towards my nation for which I would feel pride [*sic for proud*].

Pakistan Zindabad!

I beg to remain,

Sir,

One of your most loyal followers,

MASOOD HUSAIN

M.A., LL. B. (Alig.)

¹See Annex III to No. 386, Vol. I, Part 1, 692-3.

²Not printed.

284

*Eric Mieville to M. A. Jinnah**F.2/100*

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE, NEW DELHI,
27 June 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

The Viceroy wishes me to send you herewith a draft¹ of a proposed poster in connection with the referendum in the North-West Frontier Province, about which you remember that he spoke at the last meeting with the Leaders. Would you be kind enough to look at it and let me know whether you have any comments to make. The idea is that the poster should be displayed at polling booths for purposes of clarification.

Yours sincerely,
ERIC C. MIEVILLE

¹Enclosure.

Enclosure to No.284

F.2/101

PROPOSED POSTER¹ FOR REFERENDUM IN THE
NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE

The plan for the partition of British India into two separate States—Hindustan and Pakistan—each having Dominion Status within the British Commonwealth of Nations was announced by His Majesty's Government on June 3rd, 1947, and has already been accepted by the All India Congress Committee and the All India Muslim League Council.

At present, the following Provinces² are included in Hindustan

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The following areas³ have already elected to join Pakistan

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The following areas⁴ have yet to decide whether to join Hindustan or Pakistan

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The map below⁵ shows these areas. *Hindustan*⁶ in Red. *Pakistan* in Blue. The areas which have yet to decide in White. His Majesty's Government's plan further made provision for a referendum to the people of the North-West Frontier Province to ascertain their verdict on the following issue:

- a. Whether they wish to join the Pakistan Constituent Assembly; or
 - b. Whether they wish to join the Hindustan Constituent Assembly.
- This, in effect, is a vote whether the North-West Frontier Province is to form part of Hindustan or part of Pakistan.

*There is no other alternative at issue whatsoever*⁷

If you wish the North-West Frontier Province to join the Hindustan Constituent Assembly, drop your ballot paper into this box

If you wish the North-West Frontier Province to join the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, drop your ballot paper into this box

¹Jinnah agreed to the proposed poster provided that the Pakistan areas in the map were painted green instead of blue. See *TP*, XI, No. 399, para. 4, 737.

^{2,3 & 4}Annex.

⁵Not available in QAP.

⁶In capital letters here and hereafter in the original.

⁷Underlined in the original.

Annex to Enclosure to No. 284

IOR, R/3/1/151

POSTER FOR REFERENDUM IN THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE

The plan for the partition of British India into two separate States—India and Pakistan—each having for the present Dominion Status within the British Commonwealth of Nations was announced by His Majesty's Government on June 3rd, 1947,¹ and has already been accepted by the All India Congress Committee and the All India Muslim League Council.

At Present, the following Provinces are included in India:

1. Madras
2. Bombay
3. United Provinces
4. Bihar
5. Central Provinces
6. Orissa
7. Assam (except Sylhet District)
8. Western Bengal
9. Eastern Punjab

The following areas have already elected to join Pakistan:

1. Sind
2. Eastern Bengal
3. Western Punjab
4. British Baluchistan

The following areas have yet to decide whether to join India or Pakistan:

1. North-West Frontier Province
2. Sylhet District

His Majesty's Government's plan further made provision for a referendum to the people of the North-West Frontier Province to ascertain their verdict on the following issue:

a. whether they wish to join the Pakistan Constituent Assembly;
or

b. whether they wish to join the Indian Constituent Assembly.

This, in effect, is a vote whether the North-West Frontier Province is to form part of India or part of Pakistan.

There is no other alternative at issue whatsoever²

You will find at the polling booth two boxes—one *Red*,³ one *Green*.

If you wish the N. W. F. P.
to join the Indian Constituent
Assembly drop your ballot
paper into *Red* box.

If you wish the N. W. F. P.
to join the Pakistan Constituent
Assembly drop your ballot
paper into *Green* box.

J. R. BOOTH
Brigadier,

Referendum Commissioner,
North-West Frontier Province

¹No. 1.

²In bold letters in the original.

³In capital letters here and hereafter in the original.

285

Abdul Dada to Private Secretary to M. A. Jinnah

F.682/332

REGISTERED

P. O. BOX 298, PIETERSBURG,
TRANSVAAL, SOUTH AFRICA,
27 June 1947

Dear Sir,

I thank you for your favour of the 19th inst[ant].¹ In reply thereto I beg to inform you that bankers here are unable to trace about [sic for out] the draft in question, and it is impossible for any party to cash the draft without signature of [the] Quaid-i-Azam.

I am enclosing herewith the duplicate draft in question to enable you to realize the money if the original is unpaid.

Please advise me at your earliest in the matter if it is in order or not.

Thanking you in anticipation,

Yours faithfully,
ABDUL DADA
Sec[retary],
Muslim Community

¹No.166.

286

H. M. Patel to M. A. Jinnah

F.1/92

NO. P.O. /1/PC/47

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA,
PARTITION OFFICE,
NEW DELHI,
27 June 1947

The undersigned is directed to circulate to the Members of the Partition Council with a view to discussion at a date to be notified later a copy of a note¹ by His Excellency the Viceroy relating to the Partition of the Armed Forces.²

H. M. PATEL

¹Enclosure.²The following was jotted down in the margin, probably by Jinnah:
P[latoon]-40 [men]

C[ompany]-4 Platoons, 160 m[en]
 B[attalion]-4 Companies [of] 640 + B[attalion] H[ead] Q[uarters], 130 [men]
 Brigade-3 Inf[antry] Battalions, 1 Artillery Regiment, 1 Signal Unit,
 1 Field Company of Engineers, Sappers and Miners, 1 Light Armoured Car Unit,
 1 Ancillary Equipment
 Division means 3 Brigades, Divisional Headquarters.

Enclosure to No. 286

F.1/93-102

PARTITION OF THE ARMED FORCES¹

Note by the Viceroy

I have prepared this note in consultation with H. E. the C-in-C, Sir Chandulal Trivedi² and my other Advisers as a basis for discussion by the Partition Council.

2. The division of the Indian Armed Forces is bound to be a complicated process. If it is to be accomplished without confusion and without any marked loss of morale and efficiency, it is essential that all the existing forces in India should be under a single administrative control until—

- a. they have been finally sorted out into two distinct forces,³ and
- b. the two Governments are in a position to administer, i.e. to pay, feed, clothe and equip their respective⁴ forces.
3. On the other hand, it is essential that the Union of India and Pakistan should have each, within their own territories, forces which:
 - a. are with effect from the 15th August under their own operational control;
 - b. are on the 15th August predominantly composed of non-Muslims and Muslims respectively; and
 - c. are as soon as possible after the 15th August reconstituted predominantly on a territorial basis.

4. The requirements set out in paragraph 3 above necessitate that partition should be in two stages. The first stage would be a more or less rough and ready division of the existing forces on a *communal basis*. Plans should be made forthwith for the immediate movement to the Pakistan area of all Muslim majority units⁵ that may be outside that area, and similarly for the movement to India of all exclusively non-Muslim or non-Muslim majority units at present in the Pakistan area.

5. The next stage would be to comb out the units themselves with a view to eliminating non-Pakistan personnel by transfer to the Armed Forces of the new India and *vice versa*. These transfers must be on a voluntary basis and this may mean, for example, that Hindu and Sikh

personnel from Pakistan may elect to serve in the Armed Forces of the new India, and Muslim personnel from the new India may elect to serve in the Pakistan forces. While this reconstitution is being carried out, arrangements should be put in train to ensure that each Dominion shall have as soon as possible its own administrative machinery to enable it to maintain its own Armed Forces. It is not until these two processes have been completed that central administrative control can be dispensed with. Every effort should be made not only to complete the reconstitution of units, but also to provide each Dominion with its own administrative and maintenance services for its own Armed Forces by the 1st April 1948, thus making it possible to dispense with central administrative control by that date. This of course does not preclude arrangements or agreements between the two Governments for sharing any administrative or training establishments.

6. If both Governments are to have operational control over their respective Armed Forces by the 15th August, they must each have heads for the three services, i.e. the Navy, the Army and the Air Force, and headquarters staffs through which to exercise their functions. It is, therefore, important that these six heads should be selected forthwith, and that they should have authority to begin setting up their headquarters so as to be ready to take over command by the 15th August. The heads of these Services will be directly responsible to their respective Ministries through their Defence Members and will have executive control of all the Forces in their territories.

7. So far as central administration is concerned (see paragraph 2 above), the Indian Armed Forces as a whole will remain under the administrative control of the present C-in-C in India who in his turn will be under the Joint Defence Council. This Council might consist of:

1. The Governor-General or Governors-General;
2. Two Defence Ministers, and
3. C-in-C in India

The Commander-in-Chief in India will have no responsibility for law and order, nor will he have operational control over any units, save those in transit from one Dominion to another; nor will he have any power to move troops *within* the borders of either Dominion.

8. In order to avoid confusion, it is suggested that the existing C-in-C in India might be entitled Supreme Commander from the 15th August until his work is completed. His existing staff would of course be reduced progressively as his functions diminish.

9. Attached to this note are:

1. a paper by H.E. the C-in-C giving outline proposals for control of Armed Forces during the reconstitution (Annexure I); and
2. draft Terms of Reference of the Armed Forces Reconstitution Committee (Annexure II).

¹Copy No. 2.

²Secretary, Government of India, War Department, 1942-46; Governor of Orissa, 1946-47.

³Marginal note here probably made by Jinnah as follows: "including plants, stores and all equipments."

⁴Underlined here and hereafter in the original, probably by Jinnah.

⁵The words "or by detachment wherever possible" were noted, probably by Jinnah.

⁶Underlined in the original.

Annexure I to Enclosure to No. 286

OUTLINE PROPOSALS FOR CONTROL OF ARMED FORCES DURING THEIR RECONSTITUTION

1. In the following paragraphs, proposals for control of the Army are given in some detail as the Army is the largest and most complicated of the three Services. It is suggested that the control of the Navy and Air Forces should be on the same general lines.

2. PROPOSALS FOR CONTROL OF ARMY DURING RECONSTITUTION¹

NOTES

- i. Pakistan Army HQ to be formed from existing Northern Command HQ and to remain at Rawalpindi until accommodation and communications are available at Karachi.
- ii. Area Commands in Pakistan to remain as at present, except that Lahore Area will be exclusive of the Eastern Punjab districts transferred to the new India and will absorb the present Rawalpindi area.
- iii. A nucleus Army HQ with a new C-in-C will have to be set up for the new India; and on this nucleus will be built up the administrative machinery required for the future control of the army of the new India.
- iv. The area of the new India is too large to be controlled directly by one Army headquarters, so the existing two "Command" HQs at Ranchi and Poona should be retained, becoming subordinate to the new "Army HQ" at Delhi. This "Army HQ" should be set up in Meerut, until eventually it takes over the accommodation from the existing GHQ in Delhi.

- v. "Delhi District" which at present is responsible only for the military control of the area comprised in the Delhi Province should become an "Area" Command and be enlarged to include those districts of the Eastern Punjab transferred to the new India. It would then become a Major-General's command.
- vi. The other area in the new India would remain as at present, except that the present Bengal and Assam Area would become the "Western Bengal (or Calcutta) Area" under the new Army HQ India and the "Bengal (or Eastern Pakistan) Area" under the new Army HQ Pakistan with Headquarters at Dacca or Chittagong. A new area headquarters will have to be formed for this purpose.

3. RESPONSIBILITIES

- i. During the actual process of reconstitution of and re-allocating the Army and its establishments, continuity of maintenance and administration can only be ensured by the retention of control centrally by the existing GHQ India. Similarly all movement necessary to give effect to reconstitution plans from one Dominion to another and *vice versa* can only be centrally controlled as this movement of individuals and units must be related to the actual accommodation and general maintenance facilities available in each Dominion. If there is no central control, confusion and even chaos is almost certain to ensue to the detriment of the welfare, morale and contentment of the troops. It is essential to keep the morale and discipline of the troops at the highest level during the process of re-allocation and reconstitution and no deterioration in their general administration and welfare should be risked.
- ii. It is proposed, therefore, that during the process of reconstitution, the existing C-in-C in India should be responsible for carrying out the recommendations of the Armed Forces Reconstitution Committee (AFRC) as approved by the Partition Council. He will also exercise the following responsibilities under the general direction of the Joint Defence Council:
 - a. The general¹² administration and maintenance of the Army, e.g. Pay, Clothing, Equipping, Food, Medical attendance
 - b. The general administration of military law and the maintenance of discipline
 - c. Control of such military establishments as may be serving both Dominions
 - d. Command and control, including the posting and movement, of all British officers and British other ranks serving with the Indian Forces

- e. The movement of units and individuals from one Dominion to another to give effect to reconstitution plans
- f. The movement of stores, equipment, vehicles, arms, etc., from one Dominion to another
- iii. Initially the responsibilities of the Army HQ in each dominion would include:
 - a. Operational control and allocation of all troops in the Dominion as instructed by the Dominion Government
 - b. Local (as opposed to *general*) administration of all troops in the Dominion and their training
 - c. The selection of personnel, i.e. Officer Selection Boards etc., and the training and first appointment of *officers*¹
 - d. Recruitment of other ranks and their training
 - e. The implementation of instructions from GHQ regarding general maintenance and administration and of the reconstitution programme as approved by the Partition Council

4. GENERAL REMARKS

A separate administrative machinery for each Dominion Army must be built up by re-allocation of the existing administrative units and personnel of the Army. This will commence at once but must necessarily take some time unless there is to be an administrative breakdown.

As this machinery is developed and new units formed by which the two new armies can be fed, paid, clothed, housed, moved and medically attended, the two Dominion Army H.Q. would progressively take over the responsibility of general administration from GHQ, which would be correspondingly reduced and then disappear.

After the disappearance of GHQ the two new Army HQ would be completely self-sufficient under their own C-in-Cs and the two Dominion Governments would be in a position to enlarge, reduce, re-design, reorganise and nationalize their Armies as they wished.

¹For details see TP, XI, No. 372, 696.

²Underlined here and hereafter in the original.

³Underlined in the original and marginal note made, probably by Jinnah, as follows: "Postings and promotion".

Annexure II to Enclosure to No. 286

DRAFT TERMS OF REFERENCE OF THE ARMED FORCES RECONSTITUTION COMMITTEE

In close consultation with the Steering Committee acting under the orders of the Partition Council, to make proposals for the division of

the existing armed forces of India, namely, the Royal Indian Navy, the Indian Army and the Royal Indian Air Force (including the various installations, establishments and stores owned by the present Defence Department of the Government of India), in accordance with the principles enunciated in His Excellency the Viceroy's note and annexure I thereto.

The Committee will work on the following assumptions:

1. Existing members of the Armed Forces serving in either State will be governed by their existing terms and conditions of service, until new terms are promulgated, and then, if they do not desire to serve, they will be allowed to terminate their services *and proportionate benefits will be admissible to them*.¹
2. Any Indian officers or other ranks it may be necessary to engage for service in the Armed Forces between now and the date of the transfer of power should be engaged under existing terms and conditions of service, with the option of resigning from the service, should they not wish to serve on under any new terms or conditions which may be imposed by the new Dominion Governments.
3. The liability for non-effective charges in respect of pensions, gratuities, annuities, etc., earned by Indian officers and other ranks of the three Services prior to the transfer of authority to the new Dominion Governments will be undertaken by these Governments and publicly so announced.
4. In respect of the Armed Forces affected by division,² there shall be no changes, except as demanded by the processes of division, in the basic organisation and nomenclature of formations, units, establishments and installations of the three Services, or in the *class composition of units*, until such division is completed.
5. For the successful division of the Armed Forces, the services of a number of British officers now serving in them will be required. Therefore the implementation of the plan for complete nationalisation may take longer than was anticipated.³

¹Underlined here and hereafter in the original, probably by Jinnah. The following marginal note was made, also probably by Jinnah: "To permanent members, not to provisional and temporary members."

²The word "division" was placed within brackets and the word "reconstitution" written, probably by Jinnah in the original.

³The following note was made at end, probably by Jinnah: "Division of stores, equipment and installation, etc."

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Farkhund Ali Siddiqi to Private Secretary to M. A. Jinnah

F.162/92

PLYCRAFTS, HAZRATGANJ, LUCKNOW,
27 June 1947

Dear Sir,

Being a graduate of the Muslim University, Aligarh, I am one of those who took up the cause of Pakistan since 1940, and worked sincerely for its achievement. Now when by the help of God and under the leadership of our great leader, the Quaid-i-Azam M. A. Jinnah, we have achieved our cherished goal, it is almost impossible for me to live and serve a government which is opposed to our ideologies and is after our culture, religion and all that a Muslim stands for.

I want to settle in Pakistan and serve in the Central or in any of the Provincial Governments of Pakistan, preferably in Sind or in the Punjab. I know Pakistan needs industrialists, businessmen, scientists, doctors and other technical hands, etc., but unfortunately I am none. I am only a B.A. from Aligarh and an LL.B. from the Lucknow University. I am a young man of about 26 years of age. For the last three years I have been serving in the Civil Secretariat, U.P., as a Food Statistician and am drawing a pay of Rs. 176 p.m.

I am unaware of the proper man to be approached, hence I send this application to you with the request that this may kindly be forwarded to the proper authority with an intimation to me.

Thanking you in anticipation,

Yours faithfully,
FARKHUND ALI SIDDIQI
B. A., LL.B.

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Squire,¹ Kabul, to Foreign,² New Delhi

Telegram,³ F.2/143

SECRET/IMMEDIATE

183⁴

KABUL,

27 June 1947,

Received 28 June 1947

N.W.F.P. telegram No. 331/CB 25th June⁵

Afghan Government have made two alternative requests:

1. For immediate statement that Pathans are free to choose independence.
2. For permission for Mission to proceed at once to India *vide* para 3 of my telegram No. 51.⁶ They naturally hope for reply before referendum takes place.

2. If both requests are refused on ground that question is no concern of Afghanistan results are unpredictable. Afghan Government by instigating or allowing unwise publicity have aroused much excitement and if their representations fail will have to take some action if only to placate public opinion.

3. Possible action might be (I) to attempt to suppress agitation by promise of appeal to UNO (II) to allow press campaign to continue while maintaining present policy of advising tribes to keep aloof (III) to leave tribes alone to act (IV) actively but of course secretly to encourage tribes to interfere.

4. If choice of independence can be now conceded this would cut the ground from underneath Afghan agitation. If this is impossible perhaps Mission could be permitted to visit Delhi ostensibly to discuss future diplomatic relations with whatever Governments will early [*sic*] set up. This is in any case a matter to which both countries must now pay early attention.

5. Afghan Minister for Foreign Affairs yesterday again asked for urgent reply to their suggestions. I shall not of course leave Kabul until I receive your reply.

¹Sir Giles Squire, British Minister to Afghanistan.

²External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations Department, Government of India.

³Repeated to Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and NWFP.

⁴Another number given on the telegram is 52-Katodan, with T. O. O. 1830 and T. O. R. 2130.

⁵Not available in QAP.

⁶No. 221.

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Whitney Straight to Liaquat Ali Khan

F.1042/101-2

AIRWAYS HOUSE, BERKELEY SQUARE,
LONDON, W.1,
27 June 1947

My dear Honourable Member,

When Lord Knollys¹ and I passed through Delhi early this month you expressed interest in British aircraft, and in particular the Vickers' Viking. I enclose particulars² of this aircraft which is now in regular and successful operation in British European Airways and on Indian National Airways Services. At the back of the book about the Vikings there is some information about the special Vikings which were used by the King and Queen on their recent tour to South Africa.

I thought that you might also be interested in a smaller type of British aircraft, and have, therefore, included information about the De Havilland Dove. The agents in India for these two aircraft are, for the Viking, Vickers (India), Phillick Building, Hone Street, Bombay, India, and for the Dove, The De Havilland Aircraft Co. Ltd., Finlay House, McLeod Road, P.O.B. 273, Karachi, India. They will be able to give you any additional information that you may require, and deal with the question of price.

From the maker's figures it appears that the Viking would be capable of flying non-stop from Karachi to points in Eastern Bengal, although this long range would necessarily result in some reduction in the load which it could carry, and additional tankage might have to be added. The Dove, being a smaller aircraft, is not capable of flying such long distances without landing for refuelling.

I hope that you will find these aircraft to your liking and useful for the purposes which you have in mind.

Yours sincerely,
WHITNEY STRAIGHT
Managing Director, B.O.A.C.

The Hon. Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan,
Member for Finance,
Government of India,
New Delhi

¹Chairman, BOAC, 1943-47.

²Not available in QAP.

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Draft Press Statement by the Viceroy¹

F.2/114

[27 June 1947]

Now that Bengal and the Punjab have voted for partition, and East Bengal, West Punjab and Sind have voted to form a separate Constituent Assembly for Pakistan,² the question of the Governments of the Centre and the partitioned Provinces arises. The Viceroy has called for the resignations of all Members of the Central Government and is asking the leaders each to nominate their own future Governments. Legally these will form Committees of the Cabinet, and Cabinet meetings will be attended by all members of both Governments.³

In view⁴ of the fact that the Government of the Union of India will continue in *Delhi whilst the Government of Pakistan will move to Karachi*, the Union of India Members of the Cabinet will hold the *actual portfolios* but be responsible only for their own future areas. The League Members holding corresponding portfolios will have overriding powers both to refer to the full Cabinet and in event of disagreement to the Viceroy for his own decision, any proposal which solely or predominantly affects Pakistan and to which they object, or to initiate any action required for the Pakistan areas, which must be acted upon by the Member concerned.

The same system will be followed in Bengal where the existing League Ministry will continue in office for the whole of Bengal but where the future Government of West Bengal will be brought in with similar powers in regard to their corresponding portfolios.

In the case of the Punjab, which is in [*sic*] Section 93, the Governor will appoint two bodies of Advisers, one from each of the future parts of the Province, to advise on matters concerning their respective territories.

¹The Congress had been insistent that the Interim Government be dismissed. During discussion at the Partition Council meeting held on 26 June 1947, no decision was taken and another meeting was called for 11.00 a.m. on 27 June but before that meeting could start, Mountbatten got the information that Nehru was determined to resign unless the Interim Government was dismissed. Postponing the meeting, Mountbatten saw Patel and Jinnah separately. The former agreed to this draft statement, two paras. of which find place in para. 5 and the remaining two paras. in *TP*, XI, No. 379, note 6, 711. Jinnah disagreed to the draft when it was shown to him and after discussion decided to put his case, giving the legal aspects, to Mountbatten. Also see Enclosure to No. 311.

²Bengal and the Punjab voted for partition on 20 and 23 June 1947 respectively, and Sind for joining Pakistan on 26 June 1947.

³Last five lines of the para. sidelined in the original, probably by Jinnah.

⁴The entire para. underlined and sidelined in the original, probably by Jinnah who also made the following marginal note alongside the first three lines of the para.: "Not known yet. Even so it makes no difference."

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*Press Statement by Yusuf A. Haroon and
Agha Ghulam Nabi Pathan
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)*

F.832/46-8

KARACHI,
27 June 1947

Mr. Yusuf A. Haroon, President, and Agha Ghulam Nabi Pathan, General Secretary, Sind Provincial Muslim League, have issued the following press statement:

In order to clarify the existing complicated position with regard to resettlement of Bihari immigrants in Sind, we have been instructed to issue the following press statement in accordance with discussions and deliberations held by the members of the Working Committee, Sind Provincial Muslim League, at their meeting on Sunday, the 22nd June 1947.

The Sind Provincial Muslim League, reflecting the consciousness of deep sympathy of Sind Musalmans for the Biharis, who have suffered in the Congress majority area, has been doing its utmost to help the refugees. A special fund was created and assistance in the form of free rations and cash to the deserving cases is being provided; clothes and blankets have also been distributed. Through the District League Committees approaches have been made to the influential people and zamindars for providing relief and assistance to the refugees for rehabilitation. Muslim firms, Local Bodies and Government have been approached to provide them with employment. The General Secretary of the Provincial Muslim League was deputed to tour all the districts and he has contacted the local sympathisers and supporters to ascertain the scope and nature of assistance which could be provided at various suitable centres in the Province.

On the other hand, Government was approached and impressed upon with the urgency of devising ways and means for the relief and rehabilitation of the refugees in Sind. We record with gratitude the satisfaction of the Sind Provincial Muslim League in that the Government has now taken active interest in the cause of immigrants and are making arrangements and programme for their rehabilitation. To this end, they have appointed a Committee for this stupendous work under the chairmanship of Hon'ble Pirzada Abdus Sattar, the Revenue

Minister. The Provincial League feels confident that the Government will continue to take full interest in this worthy cause to which the Provincial Muslim League is pledged to extend its fullest support and co-operation.

We record with great regret the interference by one Maulvi Abdul Quddus who styles himself as the Head of the Karachi branch of Bihar Relief Committee. By his unfortunate handling of the situation and by his misrepresentations, he tried to create a rift between the organisation and the Gov[ernmen]t and thereby harmed the entire cause. His irresponsible, exaggerated and misleading statements have resulted in creating chaos and confusion in the minds of peoples outside this Province.

At the request of the Sind Provincial Muslim League, the Government placed all possible facilities and conveniences for the benefit of the Biharis in his hands but unfortunately he has misused all these. In the light of the experience of the past 8 months, the Sind Provincial Muslim League is compelled to declare its considered opinion that Maulvi Abdul Quddus is unfit to hold any responsible position and that the so called Karachi branch of Central Relief Committee, which, as a matter of fact, consists of Maulvi Abdul Quddus and a few of his yes-men should not be entrusted with anything concerning arrangements of the immigrants in Sind. This opinion is shared also by the Bihar Provincial Muslim League, whose President, Syed Jafar Imam Sahib has actually written to this effect. The refugees who are here can have an organisation of their own; but it will be only the Committee of the Provincial authorities, who will look after the problem of resettlement.

While reiterating on behalf of Sind Muslims our warm sympathy and active support for the cause of immigrants who are already here as well as those that propose to migrate to Sind, that they should approach the Sind Government directly through the Hon'ble Pirzada Abdus Sattar for such information, guidance and help as may be required by them.

It is also to be noted that the scheme of immigration is meant for only those Muslims who hail from Hindu-dominated areas and who settle down permanently in Sind.

MIR MOHAMMAD SHAH
*Office Secretary,
Sind Provincial Muslim League*

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Mohammad Azam Alizai to M. A. Jinnah

F.682/333

KABUL,
28 June 1947

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,
Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I beg to congratulate you on the achievement of Pakistan for us all. May you live long to lead us and make our homeland a flourished [*sic*] country.

The Indian Muslims at Kabul have seen your appeal for Pakistan Fund. They have, therefore, contributed Rs. 3,000 and handed [it] over to me for onward despatch to the Bank through you.

I attach herewith ■ cheque No. M 00370/20 of Grindlays [Bank], Peshawar for Rs. 3,000.

I am a student of Islamia College, Peshawar, and am going today from Kabul to N.W.F.P. to work for the Referendum.

Your most obedient servant,
MOHAMMAD AZAM ALIZAI
SON OF MOHAMMAD ASLAM ALIZAI¹

¹See No. 67, Vol. I, Part I, 158.

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Ebrahimmahomed to Habib Bank Ltd., Delhi
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F.682/336

C/O POST BOX NO. 96,
COIMBATORE,
28 June 1947

Sir,

I am much pleased to enclose herein a Demand Draft on the Central Bank of India Ltd., for a sum of Rs.1,261-2-6 (One thousand two

hundred and sixty one, annas two and pies six) only, being the amount to be given to the credit of Pakistan Fund.

So, I shall be highly thankful if you will please credit the amount to the above-referred fund and acknowledge receipt at your earliest convenience.

Thanking you once again,

I am,
Yours faithfully,
EBRAHIMMAHOMED
President, Memon Jama'at

The Agent,
Habib Bank Limited,
Chandni Chowk,
Delhi

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*Faqir Mohammed to Director General, Radio Pakistan and
Chief Editors of Sind Dailies*

F.162/102-3

3341 EIDGAH EXTENSION,
MYSORE CITY,
28 June 1947

Subject: A Sub-Editor's footing

Sir,

I have fifteen years' standing in English journalism and am a contributing Editor to "Stockwell's London Press" and the author of a book of poems *Emotional Voice* (Stock Pub. 1937 Edition). I am a contributor to *Amrita Bazar Patrika* and have written articles to [sic] *Modern Review*, *Hindustan Times*, *Deccan Times*, *Caravan*, *Pakistan Herald* (Delhi Students' stopped publication) and many other journals. I am also a member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. My age is thirty years now.

I shall be grateful if you consider my application for the footing of a Sub-Editor in your Department of Editors. I can submit any specimen of my editing work.

Awaiting your early orders,

Yours respectfully,
FAQIR MOHAMMED
President,

India Films Journalists' Association

The Director-General,
Pakistan Radio Station, Karachi
(2) The Chief Editor of any
daily newspaper of Sind,
Karachi
through Quaid-i-Azam
M. A. Jinnah, Esq.

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Muslim Students in USA to M. A. Jinnah

F.682/334

MINNESOTA, U. S. A.,
28 June 1947

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

A cheque for Rs. 165 (No. FD 34290 to National Bank of India, Delhi) is enclosed herewith for the "Pakistan Reconstruction Fund", to be used at your discretion. The amount has been subscribed by the Muslim students from the States of Hindustan, Pakistan and Hyderabad, residing at the University of Minnesota.

A receipt may kindly be made as such and sent to S. F. Hassan, Division Plant Pathology, University Farm, St. Paul, 1 Minnesota, U.S.A.

Yours in Islam,
*Muslim Students from
Hindustan, Pakistan and Hyderabad*

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Ahmed E. H. Jaffer to M. A. Jinnah

F.313/11

HAROON MANSION, POONA,¹

28 June 1947

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

I enclose herein ■ cheque of Rs. 50 drawn in your favour received from a non-Muslim lady, Mrs. J. F. Dalby of Connaught Mansions, Colaba, Bombay, with a letter, extract of which I give below, and the receipt may please be sent direct to her.

"I saw an article in the *Times*² a few days back, Mr. Jinnah asking for funds for Pakistan. I am enclosing a cheque, which please make over with our blessings for the future glory of Pakistan. It is a very small amount, but you know our limitations at the moment, but all our goodwill goes with it".

Hoping you are well,

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
AHMED E. H. JAFFER

¹The letter was written on the official pad of the Indian Legislative Assembly.

²Pakistan Fund was launched by Jinnah on 16 June 1947. See No. 128.

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M. A. Jinnah to Gillam Nabi Mir

F.886/243

28 June 1947

Dear Sir,

I have received Pakistan Map carved by you on ■ small wooden stamp [*sic*] and I thank you for it.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Mr. Gillam Nabi Mir,
C/O A. Aziz & Bros.,
Suthoo, Srinagar, Kashmir

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M. A. Jinnah to Louis Mountbatten

F.2/102

28 June 1947

Dear Lord Mountbatten,

I am in receipt of your letter of 26th June,¹ enclosing a note regarding N.W.F.P. and Baluchistan tribes, and I am most grateful to you for it. I shall certainly study it and will, if necessary, discuss it further with you.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

¹No. 272.

299

Revised Draft¹ of the Press Statement² by M. A. Jinnah

F.142/26-9

28 June 1947

I regret that Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan has not, as arranged, so far communicated to me the decision of the Frontier Congress Organization, but the text of their resolution has been released to the press and was published on 23rd June 1947.³ I am, therefore, obliged now to deal with the matter according to the press reports.

The Resolution lays down:

1. that free Pathan State of all the Pakhtoons should be established;
2. that the Constitution of the State should be framed on the basis of Islamic conceptions of democracy, equality and social justice; and
3. it appeals to all the Pathans to unite for the attainment of this cherished goal and not to submit to any non-Pakhtoon domination.

This Resolution is a direct breach of the acceptance by the Congress of His Majesty's Government's Plan of June 3rd. The Congress accepted the Plan finally at their meeting of the AICC on the 15th of June⁴ and Mr. Gandhi in his speech at the meeting of the AICC also finally not only himself accepted the Plan but urged upon the AICC to do so.⁵ The Plan, *inter alia*, provides for a referendum in the N. W. F. P.

on the question whether the Province would join the Pakistan Constituent Assembly or whether it wishes to join the Hindustan Constituent Assembly. This, in fact, is a vote whether the N.W.F.P. should form part of Hindustan or Pakistan and there is no other alternative at issue whatsoever.

After the Plan having been accepted by the AICC, the Frontier Congress organization was bound to honour this agreement and acceptance by the Congress of which they are a part and parcel; the Frontier representatives of the Congress were present in the Congress Working Committee as well as in the AICC and the decision was taken finally in their presence.

It follows therefore that the Congress are bound to honour the terms of the Plan, but instead Mr. Gandhi has since been expressing views at his prayer-meetings which are calculated to encourage the Khan Brothers to sabotage the Plan, to incite the people of the Frontier and to disrupt the Muslims of the N.W.F.P.^a

Never before was such an insidious [and] spurious demand put forward for the establishment of a Free Pathan State of all the Pakhtoons by the Khan Brothers or anybody else. This is a new stunt and slogans are being invented to mislead the people of the N. W. F. P. The second cry is disingenuous and calculated to mislead the Pathans when they say that the Constitution of the proposed Pathanistan will be framed on the basis of Islamic conceptions of democracy, equality and social justice, thereby insinuating that the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, which will be composed of an overwhelming majority of Muslims, will disregard the Islamic conceptions of democracy, equality and social justice. There is no truth in it; nor is there any ground or reason for it. This is only a subterfuge on their part intended to mislead the Muslims of the N.W.F.P. The Khan Brothers, specially Abdul Gaffar Khan who is proud to call himself Frontier Gandhi, have not the monopoly of true Islamic conceptions of democracy, equality and social justice, and, till yesterday, they were wedded to nationalism, the theory of one Indian nation and the Congress demand for a strong Federal Government for all India!

This sudden and new *volte face* is a piece of pure political chicanery and a manoeuvre intended to prop up the Khan clique in power and it pains me that it has received the apostolic blessings of Mr. Gandhi who has declared himself most anxious to see that a fratricidal fight amongst the Pathans is avoided at all costs.

It is obvious to any intelligent man that the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, as it has been repeatedly explained by me, can only frame a

Constitution in which the Frontier Province will be an autonomous unit, and, as such, the people of the Frontier will be their own masters regulating their social, cultural and educational matters, besides the general administration of the Province, as a unit of the Pakistan Federal Government like any other province or unit in Pakistan. But the Khan Brothers in their statements and interviews given to the press have raised another poisonous cry that the Pakistan Constituent Assembly will disregard the fundamental principles of the *Shari'ah* and Qur'anic laws. This, again, is absolutely untrue. More than thirteen centuries have gone by and in spite of bad weather and fair that the Musalmans had to pass through, we have not only been proud of our great and holy Book, the *Qur'an*, but we have adhered to all the fundamentals all these ages, and suddenly now this present cry has been raised, insinuating that the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, composed of an overwhelming majority of Muslims, as I said before, cannot be trusted. What would have happened to the Khan Brothers, who have now suddenly started out-Heroding Herod in their championship of Islam and Qur'anic laws, in the Hindu Constituent Assembly with a brute majority of the Hindus which they willingly joined without demur?

I want the Muslims of the Frontier Province clearly to understand that they are Muslims first and Pathans afterwards; and that the Province will meet a disastrous fate if it does not join the Pakistan Constituent Assembly. The 3½ million people of that province which is economically deficit will not be able to stand even for a few months by themselves and politically and geographically the province will be reduced to a non-entity although there are great potentialities for the N.W.F.P. to make its contribution to Pakistan in times to come. It will be, to start with, a liability to Pakistan financially and the other provinces and units like the Punjab, Bengal and Sind will have to foot the bill in order to raise the people of the Frontier to a higher level economically and socially, to say nothing of the defence. For all these considerations, I appeal to every Muslim in the Frontier Province in the interest of solidarity of Pakistan and the vital interest of the province to vote solidly in favour of joining the Pakistan Constituent Assembly.

Finally, I appeal to you not to slacken your efforts and not be lulled into the belief that our opponents have decided to boycott the referendum, but be vigilant and record every vote in favour of Pakistan Constituent Assembly. The Khan Brothers are the last ditchers and we want to expose thoroughly the fraud that they have practised upon

the Muslims of the North-West Frontier Province for nearly a decade. They have succeeded in the past in bamboozling and misleading the Pathans at the bidding of outside authority of the Congress. Let us hope that they will not succeed in deceiving the Pathans for all time and that you will give your clear and thumping verdict in favour of the Province joining the Pakistan Constituent Assembly.

¹Preliminary draft is available in F.142/22-5, QAP (not printed).

²This statement was published in the *Pakistan Times* on 1 July 1947, with an extra para. which has been included as Annex I.

³Annex II and III.

⁴Annex IV.

⁵Annex V.

⁶Annex VI.

Annex I¹ to No. 299

[30 June 1947]

"I take this opportunity to thank the tribal areas for the messages of good wishes and greetings that they have sent me and I may again state that the Muslim League and the Pakistan Constituent Assembly will honour and respect their freedom and will always be ready and willing to come to brotherly understanding with them, which will be to the advantage of both. Therefore, do not be misled by any false propaganda that the Muslim League has any intention or design to interfere with the complete freedom of our brethren there, who have resisted all efforts to interfere with them and have remained so far free people. I am happy that we are also now going to be completely free people in Pakistan and we shall only do what is best and in the interests of both.—API.

¹*Pakistan Times*, 1 July 1947.

Annex II to No. 299

BANNU RESOLUTION

At a joint meeting of the Khudai Khidmatgars, the Pakhtoon Zalme (the Youth Organisation of the Khudai Khidmatgars), the Frontier Province Congress Committee and the Congress Parliamentary Party held at Bannu on the 21 June 1947, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

"That a free Pathanistan of all Pakhtoons be established. The Constitution of the State will be framed on the basis of Islamic conception, democracy, equality and social justice. This meeting appeals to all Pathans to unite for the attainment of this cherished goal and not to submit to any non-Pakhtoon domination".¹

¹As quoted in *Supreme Court Judgement on Dissolution of NAP*, Information and Broadcasting Division, Government of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1975, 88.

Annex III to No. 299

BOYCOTT OF REFERENDUM EXCEPT ON PATHANISTAN VERSUS PAKISTAN ISSUE¹

—ABDUL GHAFFAR KHAN

PESHAWAR, June 25: Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, the Frontier Congress Leader, in a lengthy statement issued yesterday announced the boycott of the proposed referendum in the N.W.F.P., except on the issue of Pathanistan versus Pakistan.

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, who returned yesterday from Bannu after attending a joint meeting of the Frontier Provincial Congress Committee, the Frontier Congress Parliamentary Party, Khudai Khidmatgars and Zalme Pakhtoon, issued the following statement:

Great changes that are taking place in India, resulting in the ending of the British domination, not only affect the whole of India, but the Frontier Province especially.

I have given the greatest thought to these changes and have also consulted my co-workers. For more than a generation we have struggled for freedom in the Frontier. In the course of this struggle, we Pathans have suffered great hardships, but have never given up the struggle.

Our struggle was against the British rule and domination. In this struggle we allied ourselves with the Indian National Congress, the great organisation which was similarly fighting. Naturally, in the circumstances we found ourselves in close alliance and comradeship with the National Congress.

CONGRESS HELP

When we in the Frontier were in great trouble in the course of the freedom struggle, it was the Congress that came to our help. In spite of our request, the Muslim League gave us no help. As a matter of fact many of the present leaders of the Muslim League in the Frontier helped the British against their own people.

Our struggle all along has been for the freedom of India and more especially the Pathans. We want complete freedom. That ideal of ours still remains with us and we shall work for it.

Unfortunately, recent developments have placed great difficulties in our way. In the announcement of June 3 it has been stated that the referendum will be held in the N.W.F.P., where the only alternative which will be put before the electorate of the present Legislative Assembly will be whether to join the Indian Union Constituent Assembly or Pakistan.

This limits our choice to the two alternatives, neither of which we are prepared to accept. We cannot vote, as we want to vote for a free Pathan State. The way this question will be put makes it a communal question and the people will be confused because of this communal approach.

COMMUNALISM

We do not want to encourage communalism in our province. We must also take into consideration all that has happened in the N.W.F.P. during the last few months.

An organised campaign of terrorism was launched by Muslim Leaguers, which resulted in the murder of hundreds of innocent men, women and children. Property worth crores of rupees was destroyed, through loot and arson. The whole atmosphere is, therefore, surcharged with communal frenzy and poison.

Even now, leading members of the Muslim League are carrying on a raging and tearing campaign to frighten the people from voting against them in the referendum.

Evidently, they not only want to prevent tens of thousands of refugees who have gone out of the province from voting in the referendum, but they are threatening others who are in the province by telling them they will do so at their peril.

They remind them of horrible outrages which have disfigured the face of our province during the last few months.

Religious passions of the unsophisticated Pathans are also being aroused by describing the contest on the present issue as a contest between *Kufr* and Islam.

DEEP-ROOTED CONSPIRACY

The holding of a referendum in the circumstances and on the issues mentioned in Para. 4, which are essentially communal in their nature, appear to be the result of a deep-rooted conspiracy. The attitude adopted by some of the highly placed officials in the N.W.F.P., characterising Muslim League agitation in the N.W.F.P. as "peaceful," lends support to the assertion.

In view of this situation it was pointed out to the Viceroy that it

would be necessary to provide an opportunity for us to vote in the referendum for a free Pathan State.

The Viceroy said that he was unable to change the procedure laid down, except with the consent of the parties. I consulted leaders of the Congress and they assured me that they were perfectly willing for this opportunity to be given to us. Mr. Jinnah however, on behalf of the Muslim League, entirely opposed the idea of a free Pathan State and would not agree to an opportunity being given to us to vote for this.

MUSLIM LEAGUE

It is, therefore, clear that the Muslim League wants to take full advantage of the communal issues involved. Because of the co-workers as well as my own wish in the matter, I have tried my utmost to reach a settlement between various parties concerned.

I regret that this has not been possible, because Mr. Jinnah will not agree. Perhaps, he thought that, I had seen him because of our weakness, though I approached him as a Muslim for maintaining unity amongst the Muslims. It was not out of weakness that I approached him, but out of strength of our cause and because of our earnest desire to have peace in the Frontier, as well as freedom.

I maintain that a great majority of the Pakhtoons are for the establishment of a free Pathan State.² With a view to ascertain the will of the people in this respect, I am prepared for holding of a referendum or general elections.

NEW STRUGGLE

What are we to do in these circumstances? I am convinced that we cannot associate ourselves with this referendum, because of the difficulties pointed out above. Meanwhile, I would appeal to all Khudai Khidmatgars and others, who believe in a free Pathan State, not to participate in the referendum and to keep away peacefully from it.

But this does not mean that we should sit still. A new struggle has been forced on us. After bringing to a successful conclusion our 18 years' struggle for freedom against the British domination, we are now forced with a new danger. Not only the liberty of the Pakhtoons, but their very existence is at stake.

I therefore, call upon all Pathans, who have love of their motherland at heart, to unite and work for the achievement of our cherished goal.

However, I wish that even at the eleventh hour Mr. Jinnah had recognised the justice of our position and refrained from dividing Pathans from Pathans.—API.

¹*Pakistan Times*, 26 June 1947.

²Annex to Annex III to No. 299.

Annex to Annex III to No. 299
*Olaf Caroe to John Colville*¹
*(Extract)*²

CONFIDENTIAL
 No. GH-58

GOVERNOR'S CAMP, PARACHINAR,
 22 May 1947

2. The interesting local development in the political field is that my Ministry and Abdul Ghaffar Khan have started propaganda on a theme which I advised them to take up some months ago: that of a Pathan national Province under a coalition if possible, and making its own alliances as may suit it. When I put it to them then they professed what amounted to fury at the mere suggestion. There is a good deal in the theme itself, and the appeal is ■ far more constructive one than that of Islam in danger. The switch-over has probably come too late, but to my mind it is a strength, and not ■ weakness, that Pathanistan cannot subsist financially or otherwise on its own legs. The weakness is that the Pathans have hitherto been too divided among themselves to set up a stable State, and where they have ruled they have ruled as conquerors of alien populations. They themselves had always been in ■ state of anarchy right through history until we came and put them in order. (Afghanistan is not really a Pathan State at all).

¹ Acting Viceroy and Governor-General, 19-30 May 1947.

² TP, X, No. 512, 944.

Annex IV to No. 299

RESOLUTION OF THE ALL-INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE¹

15 June 1947

The A.I.C.C. has given careful consideration to the course of events since its last meeting in January last and, in particular to the statements made on behalf of the British Government on February 20, 1947,² and June 3, 1947.³ The Committee approves and endorses the resolutions passed by the Working Committee during this period.

The Committee welcomes the decision of the British Government to transfer power completely to the Indian people by next August.

The Congress accepted the British Cabinet Mission's statement of May 16, 1946,⁴ as well as the subsequent interpretation thereof dated December 6, 1946,⁵ and has been acting in accordance with it in the Constituent Assembly which was constituted in terms of the Cabinet Mission's Plan. That Assembly has been functioning for over six months

and has not only declared its objectives to be the establishment of an independent sovereign republic of India⁶ and a just social and economic order, but has also made considerable progress in framing the constitution for the free Indian Union on the basis of fundamental rights guaranteeing freedom and equality of opportunity to all Indians.

In view, however, of the refusal of the Muslim League to accept the Plan of May 16, and to participate in the Constituent Assembly, and further, in view of the policy of the Congress that "it cannot think in terms of compelling the people in any territorial unit to remain in an Indian Union against their declared and established will,"⁷ the A.I.C.C. accepts the proposals embodied in the announcement of June 3, which have laid down a procedure for ascertaining the will of the people concerned.

The Congress has consistently upheld that the unity of India must be maintained. Ever since its inception, more than 60 years ago, the National Congress has laboured for the realization of a free and united India, and millions of our people have suffered in this great cause. Not only the labour and sacrifices of the past two generations, but the long course of India's history and tradition bear witness to this essential unity. Geography and the mountains and the seas fashioned India as she is, and no human agency can change that shape or come in the way of her final destiny.

Economic circumstances and the insistent demands of international affairs make the unity of India still more necessary. The picture of India we have learnt to cherish will remain in our minds and hearts. The A.I.C.C. earnestly trusts that, when the present passions have subsided, India's problems will be viewed in their proper perspective and the false doctrine of two nations in India will be discredited and discarded by all.

SECESSION

The proposals of June 3, 1947, are likely to lead to the secession of some parts of the country from India. However much this may be regretted, the A.I.C.C. accepts this possibility in the circumstances now prevailing.

Though freedom is at hand, the times are difficult and the situation in India demands vigilance and a united front by all those who care for the independence of India. At this time of crisis and change when unpatriotic and anti-social forces are trying to injure the cause of India and her people, the A.I.C.C. appeals to and demands of every Congressman and the people generally, to forget their petty differences and disputes and to stand by, vigilant, disciplined and prepared, to

serve the cause of India's freedom and defend it with all their strength from all who may seek to do it injury.

¹TP, XI, No. 205, 397-8.

²No. 1, Vol. I, Part I, 1-3.

³No. 1.

⁴No. III. 1, Vol. I, Part II, 32-42.

⁵No. III. 2, Vol. I, Part II, 43-4.

⁶See Annex II to No. 420, Vol. I, Part I, 754-5.

⁷Resolution of the Congress Working Committee, 11 April 1942.

Annex V to No. 299

MR. GANDHI'S PLEA FOR ACCEPTANCE OF PLAN¹

A.I.C.C. Deliberations² Begin

NEW DELHI, Saturday: The wail of the so-called "Nationalist" Muslims, the passionate appeals of the Members of the Congress High Command and the highly Sanskritized Hindi of most of the speakers were the most notable features of the seven-hour sitting of the A.I.C.C. on Saturday afternoon, in the 'Constitution' House.

Mr. Gandhi addressed the meeting for nearly 40 minutes and in all about 18 speakers took part in the first day's debate on the resolution of the Congress Working Committee accepting H. M. G.'s June 3 Plan.

The States who have or are intending to declare themselves independent formed the main subject of attack by almost all speakers. Why should the suzerainty, when the British withdraw, not pass on to the Indian Union or the people? One of the speakers went to the length of saying that if the Congress just gave instructions to the people of such States, the Rulers and their independence would be nowhere.

Mr. J. B. Kripalani threatened and cajoled, intimidated and coaxed the members of the A.I.C.C. by turns while recommending to them the acceptance of the Working Committee's Resolution. He said that if the A.I.C.C. did not accept the Working Committee's Resolution they (the Working Committee Members) would be relieved of their offices.

Mr. Gandhi reminding the members that peace was very essential to the country, said that if a new set of leaders to constitute the Working Committee as well the Government could be found, then certainly the A.I.C.C. could reject the Working Committee's recommendations, but at the same time they should keep in view the fact that the Working Committee was their representative body and that even if they had committed a Himalyan blunder in accepting the Plan, the A.I.C.C. at least for shielding the Working Committee should pass the resolution as placed before them without any amendments.

Even though under compulsion, the A.I.C.C. should somehow or the other find its way to accept the resolution.

"Maulana" Azad earlier seconding the resolution moved by Pandit Pant, speaking in chaste Urdu, the beauty of which was sometimes spoilt by insertions of Hindi words, perhaps to please the "Masters" said that even though he knew that the future political set up of the country under the new Plan was not the right one, yet he advocated its acceptance because a speedy settlement of the political problems of the country was very necessary in the interests of peace and tranquillity.

¹*Dawn*, 16 June 1947.

Annex VI to No. 299

INDIA SPLIT INTO AUTONOMOUS STATES: A DREADFUL PROSPECT¹

—GANDHI

NEW DELHI, June 25: Addressing yesterday evening's post-prayer meeting, Mahatma Gandhi declared that if Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer,² were allowed and his example were followed by others, India would be split into several autonomous States—a disaster too dreadful to contemplate. Mahatma Gandhi advised him to "correct himself of the grave error into which he had fallen."

The analogy between Travancore and the N.W. Frontier Province said Mahatma Gandhi, was misleading. Pathanistan was wanted by Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan simply because he did not want to divide Pathan from Pathan.

Frontiermen did not want to be a third State nor did they want to be slaves of either Dominion of India. They wanted to have the fullest autonomy in their Pathan province—just as any of the other provinces had—owing allegiance to the Centre but the Centre having no interference in their internal affairs.

If Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan meant anything different, Mahatma Gandhi added, he would have no hesitation in breaking with him. What Sir C.P. Ramaswami Iyer wanted, however, was a State independent of either Dominions of India.

DISPROVE TWO-NATION THEORY

The following are extracts from Mahatma Gandhi's post-prayer speech yesterday evening:

Mahatma Gandhi referred to several interviewers and correspondents

who had written biting letters. They accused him of partiality towards Muslims. He could not plead guilty to such a charge.

The latest attack was that he was partial to Muslims when he said that irrespective of what Muslims did in Pakistan, the majority community had to be honourable and just towards Muslims in their provinces and were never to regard them as aliens.

For the occasion his remarks were addressed to Hindus because it was [they] only who by their action were to prove or disprove the two-nation theory. His advice was meant for brave, unselfish and godly persons.

People lost by their own mistakes, never by those of others. Their own sad history of the past 1,000 years was filled with illustrations of how through personal greed, selfishness and cowardice the Hindus had lost their liberty.

What was happening in Lahore, Amritsar and Gurgaon³ was a matter of shame and sorrow. He was told that the parties were somewhat evenly matched and were bent on fighting it out.

Must they look to the British—the ruling race—to suppress riots? The end of alien rule was imminent. Would to God that the people stopped savagery and showed mankind the better and the brave way.

PATHAN'S OWN STATE

Finally, Mahatma Gandhi exposed the fallacious argument put forward on Monday by Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer. The latter had said that he could not understand why if Gandhi and the Congress were willing to agree to an independent Pathanistan they had any objection to an independent Travancore. This analogy did not hold water.

Pathanistan was wanted by Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan simply because he did not want to divide Pathan from Pathan. Pathans wanted to frame their own constitution and later, when the full face of Pakistan and the Indian Union became exposed to view, the Frontier Pathans would decide which to join.

They did not want to be a third State nor did they want to be slaves of either Indian Dominions. They wanted to have the fullest autonomy in their Pathan province, just as any of the other provinces had, owing allegiance to the Centre but the Centre having no interference in their internal affairs. If Padshah Khan meant anything different then he (Gandhi) would have no hesitation in breaking with him, friend though he was.

INDEPENDENT OF EITHER

What Sir C.P. Ramaswami Iyer wanted, however, was a State independent of either Indian Dominions. If he was allowed and his example were followed by others, India would be split into several autonomous States—a disaster too dreadful to contemplate.

These petty States would need an Emperor and the Emperor who was presently leaving might even return with redoubled force.

The analogy between Travancore and the Frontier Province was again misleading in that Sir C.P. Ramaswami Iyer spoke for his Maharaja. The Frontier Pathans spoke as a *Jirga*. The one was unadulterated autocracy, the other was full democracy.

In his conception of India, the prince and the peasant were equal. The former could exist only as a bonafide trustee of his people. Therefore he advised Sir C.P. Ramaswami Iyer to correct himself of the grave error into which he had fallen.—API.

¹Civil & Military Gazette, 26 June 1947.

²Dewan, Travancore State. See No. 144.

³See Appendix II.

299A

M. A. Jinnah to S. A. Unus

F. 886/230

28 June 1947

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of 22nd June, 1947¹ and I beg to inform you that I have not received any cigar box which you say you sent to me by registered parcel. Presumably it was lost, in transit, and I shall be obliged if you will make enquiries at the post office and then let me know so that I can make further enquiries here, if necessary.

Thanking you,

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

S. A. Unus, Esq.,
M. Unus & Sons,
E. C. Road,
Karanpur,
Dehra Dun, U. P.

¹No. 209.

300

*Abdul Rahman Khan to M. A. Jinnah**F.162/93-4*DELHI,
28 June 1947

Sir,

Most humbly I beg to apply for the post of a Stenographer or Assistant in your department.

I beg to append below a brief statement of my qualifications and experience, etc.¹

As the present post does not carry any sort of benefits, I am submitting this application for the betterment of my future prospects.

Thanking you,

I beg to remain,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

ABDUL RAHMAN KHAN
*Stenographer-cum-P.A. to the
Deputy Controller of Rationing*

¹Not printed.

301

*Mir Azizur Rahman to M. A. Jinnah**F.162/96*

EASTERN AGENCY & DIRECTION LTD.,
CHURCH ROAD, KASHMERE GATE,
P.O. BOX 222, DELHI,
28 June 1947

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Ours is perhaps the only Muslim concern in India¹ at present representing engineering firms and manufacturers of complete plants and equipment suitable for Hydroelectric Projects, Harbours, Shipyards,

Shipbuilding and Slipways, Complete Electrification of Towns, Electric and Diesel Rail Engines, and Industrial Plants and Equipment suitable for various industries.

As we have very sound connections we offer our services, as a Muslim concern, to help the Pakistan Central Government in all their development schemes by providing plant and equipment. Technical guidance or service can also be arranged from England, America as well as the Continent, where we are well connected.

The enclosed note² will give you a bird's-eye view of our activities.

The undersigned requests the pleasure of an interview with you when he desires to discuss and obtain your guidance in the matter of shifting this concern or starting a new concern for Pakistan territory for which he has certain plans in view.

With most sincere regards,

I am,
Yours sincerely,
MIR AZIZUR RAHMAN

¹The firm had branches at Calcutta and Hyderabad (Deccan) and resident representatives at Bombay and Karachi.

²Not printed.

302

Firoz Khan Noon to M. A. Jinnah

F.399/169-70

PESHAWAR,
28 June 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I came here almost straight from Delhi. I addressed last night a crowd at Nowshera Station and a public meeting in the city and gave them your message that we must not be complacent because the Khan Brothers have said that they will not vote. How true was your suspicion. Khanna¹ has brought all non-Muslims back to vote and they have opened shops.

This morning I have been contacting people and found from the Deputy Commissioner that an ordinance is coming, disarming people

who wish to come to polling booths. I at once suspected that this will keep our men away from the polls; so I have been pressing Deputy Commissioner and Booth,² Election Commissioner, to prevent this law coming into force.

Discussed matters in detail at the League office. They do not expect more than 60 per cent. votes. By going into details of each constituency I forced them to realize the need of more intensive work. The students are doing good [work] already.

Deputy Commissioner has just come in and says that H. E. has agreed to let our men take their arms up to within 500 yards of the polling booth. This is good.

I do not like the Punjab Ordinance which he wishes to enforce here. The non-Muslim troops will make things very difficult for us. I may not leave for Dera Ismail Khan today but stay on till tomorrow and see the Governor. No one has been to D. I. K.³ yet—not the outsiders. Tank⁴ and Zakori⁵ are at loggerheads and we must make peace between them.

Shah,⁶ the Deputy Commissioner here, is badly needed here but he feels—with reason—that he can be of immense use to you in Delhi. He argued with me twice and at last I told him to run up to Delhi, and see you [and] place his case before [you] and then serve where you want him most. Please send him back here. I told him that he is not likely to lose his chances in Delhi by remaining where he is needed most.

Wajid⁷ has arrived from Bombay.

Yours sincerely,
FIROZ NOON

¹Mehr Chand Khanna, MLA, was a member of Khan Sahib's Ministry.

²Brigadier J. R. Booth, Referendum Commissioner, NWFP.

³Dera Ismail Khan.

⁴Nawab of Tank, Deputy Leader of the Frontier ML Assembly Party.

⁵Pir Sahib of Zakori Sharif, Member, Council of the AIML.

⁶Major A. S. B. Shah of Indian Political Service, Deputy Commissioner, Peshawar, 1946-47.

⁷Wajid Ali son of Sir Maratab Ali; was a member of the committee to supervise the work of ML organisation in NWFP. Also see No. 44A, note 1.

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*Firoz Khan Noon to M. A. Jinnah**F.399/167-8*

PESHAWAR,

28 June 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Peshawar Command has almost all non-Muslim troops and so has the Waziristan Command. A Sikh Regiment has headquarters in Nowshera. All Muslims have been discharged from it and it is proposed to shift it to the East. It will take away all the equipment. We should try and keep the equipment, e.g. rifles etc., in our area when they leave and recruitment of those who have been discharged must begin at once—unless you are satisfied that there are enough other Muslim troops available down South which can be moved up here.

You will have to continue the subsidies if we want peace on our border.

1½	crore	-	Baluchistan
1	crore	-	N.W.F.P.
4	crore	-	Militia, Constabulary, Khassadars, roads and buildings in tribal area

On your Committee to find a site for your new capital ■ military officer will be helpful.

I feel it my duty to pass on to you what [ever] information I gather, else I would dislike making you read letters unnecessarily for I know how busy you are.

Yours sincerely,
FIROZ NOON

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*Osman Dighwi to M. A. Jinnah**F.162/95*

MAZHAR BUILDING, DIGHA GHAT, PATNA,

28 June 1947

Dear Sir,

I place my services at the disposal of the Pakistan Government. I

have already moved the Finance Member in this connection. I was called for an interview with the Commercial Secretariat in New Delhi on 14th and 16th June, and I explained to the Chief Superintendent and the Under-Secretary to the Government of India that I am willing to join the Pakistan Government in any official capacity. I regret I did not receive any reply from either of them.

Yours truly,
S. M. OSMAN DIGHWI

305

Serajuddin to M. A. Jinnah

F.682/335
[Original in Urdu]

56/2 SARAI HARHA, BENARES,¹
28 June 1947

Honourable Quaid-i-Azam may your exalted shadow last long,
Assalaamo 'Alaikum

It is submitted that I, a humble person, read in the newspaper *Manshoor*² an appeal for Pakistan Election Fund.³ In compliance thereof, I enclose a draft for Rs. 100 (Rupees one hundred), drawn on the Central Bank of India, for favour of acceptance.

Yours,
SERAJUDDIN
Proprietor,
for Mohammad Khalil Serajuddin (Registered)⁴

¹Now called Varanasi.

²Published from Delhi.

³Pakistan Fund was to be utilized for tasks connected with Partition, including referendum, election to the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan and setting up of new government, etc. See No. 128.

⁴This firm manufactured German Silver ornaments and utensils in their factory at Victoria Park, Benares, and had a branch at Muzaffarpur.

306

*George Abell to M. A. Jinnah**F. 2/108*

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
29 June 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

His Excellency asks me to send you the enclosed copy of a telegram to the Governor of Bengal, giving him precise instructions in the light of the draft press statement,¹ which was discussed at the last meeting² of the Partition Council, when you agreed to the proposal set out in the draft press statement so far as Bengal was concerned.

Yours sincerely,
G. E. B. ABELL

¹No. 290

²For minutes see F.1/103-9, 1 July 1947, QAP.

Enclosure to No. 306

Telegram, F. 2/109

*Louis Mountbatten to Frederick Burrows
(Copy to Reforms Commissioner)*

CONFIDENTIAL/IMMEDIATE
No. 1652-S

NEW DELHI,
29 June 1947

Following is text of instructions. Begins:

The Governor of Bengal will send for the leader¹ of the West Bengal part of the Legislative Assembly and ask him to nominate a Cabinet (not exceeding the strength of the present Ministry) in respect of that part of the Province. These persons will then be sworn in as Ministers and will be entitled to participate in all the meetings of the Cabinet.

The present Ministry of Bengal will be in actual administrative charge of the various portfolios, but the policies which they formulate shall be implemented only in East Bengal, unless the West Bengal Ministers agree to their application to and implementation in West Bengal. On all questions affecting West Bengal the West Bengal Ministers

shall be consulted. In the event of a difference of opinion, the case will be referred to the Cabinet. The West Bengal Ministers will have the right to call for relevant papers and to comment thereon or on their own initiative to ask the Secretariat to examine any proposals. They will also have the right to initiate policies in matters solely concerning West Bengal and any decision reached by them shall be implemented by the Government. Ends.

¹Dr. P. C. Ghosh.

307

M. Ayub¹ to K. H. Khurshid

F. 783/22

13 TUGHLAQ ROAD,
NEW DELHI,
29 June 1947

Dear Khurshid,

Mr. Gelal Husain, a Member of the Egyptian Parliament, who recently visited Delhi with the Egyptian Jute Mission, has asked me to convey to the Quaid-i-Azam a copy of the holy *Qur'an* which Mr. Gelal Husain had brought from Egypt. The spirit in which the gift has been made might be gauged from the following extract from Mr. Gelal Husain's letter to me.

I shall be grateful if you kindly tell each one of them, and especially our honourable Quaid-i-Azam that our Book should be our guide and that their brother from Egypt found no better present to make than the 'Words of God'; with his blessings and kindest regards.

Mr. Gelal Husain has gone to Calcutta and has asked me to apologise for his inability to present the gift in person.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
M. AYUB

K. H. Khurshid, Esquire,
Secretary to Mr. M. A. Jinnah

¹Secretary-designate to Expert Committee No. 1. See Enclosure 1 to No. 121.

308

*Basharatullah to M. A. Jinnah**F. 886/244-5*

263 KUCHA CHELAN, DELHI,

29 June 1947

Sir,

It goes without saying that in the Government of Pakistan there will be no provincialism or other un-Islamic practices. Certain Muslim officers by their long association with non-Muslims have acquired certain un-Islamic habits which have been detrimental to Muslims working under them. It is desirable that such Muslim officers should be warned to change their policy. It is also desirable that such officers should be under special observation for some time.

A few typical examples are given below:

ALL INDIA RADIO

Professor A. S. Bokhari

Staunch provincialist. Only Punjabis have been appointed and patronised by him. Not a single non-Punjabi Muslim was promoted by him.

COMMERCE DEPARTMENT

Ikram Ullah, I. C. S.

Very fond of flattery. Gives promises which are not honoured. Promotions given to those who approached Mrs. Ikram Ullah. As Joint Secretary, Establishment, Industries and Supplies Department, did nothing for Muslims, but gave all good posts to non-Muslims. Was entirely in the hands of Messrs. Nayak, Deputy Secretary and Shiv Dev Singh, Assistant Secretary.

S. A. Hasnie

Pro-Punjabi. To get good reports for himself from Hindu officers did harm to Muslims. Superseded Mr. M. Hashim by flattering Mr. A. K. Chanda, Financial Adviser, Industries and Supplies.

M. A. Ghani

Fanatically Pro-Punjabi.

DEFENCE DEPARTMENT
(PENSIONS BRANCH)

Muhammad Iqbal
Deputy Secretary

Backs Hindus against Muslims. Two senior Muslim Assistants superseded by four junior Hindu Clerks. Gives adverse reports to Muslim Superintendents and Assistants without consulting their immediate officers who gave them good reports. Anti-Muslim League. Has on all occasions declined to contribute towards Muslim League Fund.

FINANCE DEPARTMENT

Nawab Ali
Assistant Secretary

Pro-Punjabi. To earn the goodwill of Hindu officers condemned Mr. Fazal Muhammad, Superintendent, Industries and Supplies Department.

HOME DEPARTMENT

Abdullah Jan
Assistant Secretary

Anti-Muslim League. Went to congratulate Mr. Patel, Home Member, on his assumption of office. Moved a resolution at a meeting of the Imperial Secretariat Association, felicitating the Members of the Congress on their assumption of office in the Interim Government.

Ghulam Muhammad
[Ahmad] Parvez
Superintendent

Has an exaggerated notion about himself. Does not help any Muslim unless he belongs to his own party, which includes Punjabis only.

INDUSTRIES AND SUPPLIES DEPARTMENT

Ch. Nasrullah
Deputy Secretary

Pro-Punjabi. Misleads other Muslims to gain his own ends. Unhelpful to Muslims. Does not contribute to Muslim League Fund.

Abdul Hakim
Under Secretary

Pro-Punjabi. A very weak officer, afraid to help Muslims. Flatters Hindu officers.

Siddiq Hasan
Assistant Secretary

Short tempered. Has got extremely bad manners. Always ready to pick up a quarrel.

Moh[amma]d Yasin
Superintendent

Pro-Punjabi. Flatters officers. Does not hesitate to destroy papers or harm his colleagues whom he does not like. Thinks a lot about himself.

Z. Islam
Superintendent

Flatters officers, and visits their houses to purchase for them provisions, etc., almost every week. Does not hesitate to bluff to gain his end.

DIRECTORATE GENERAL OF DISPOSALS

K. B. Ubaid Ullah
Deputy Director-General

Pro-Punjabi. While in the Industries and Supplies department used his influence in securing contract for his father-in-law. Used his influence to secure jobs for his brother-in-law and arranged for their accelerated promotion.

S. Hasan Feroz
Deputy Director

Very fond of gambling but not fond of his work. Tells lies without rhyme or reason. Undependable.

LABOUR DEPARTMENT

K. S. M. Aslam
Deputy Secretary

Pro-Punjabi of the worst type. Helps only those who belong to his party and who do his household work and shopping for him.

RAILWAY BOARD

Z. H. Khan
Member, Staff

A very weak officer from the Muslim point of view. Several senior Muslims have been superseded by junior Hindus and he has not raised the finger to help them.

POLITICAL DEPARTMENT

K. S. Ghulam Qadir
Superintendent

Notorious pro-Punjabi. Member of the Parvez Punjabi Party.

RESETTLEMENT AND EMPLOYMENT DIRECTORATE

Salamat Ullah and
O. K. Sherwani
Superintendents

Have secured the present appointments by flattering Hindu officers and doing their household and odd jobs. Often gave presents to officers.

Yours obediently,
BASHARATULLAH

309

Nawab of Bhopal to M. A. Jinnah

F. 603/5

SECRET

QASR-I-SULTANI,
BHOPAL,
29 June 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am glad to learn that Nishtar is associated with the control of the new States Department and that it is proposed shortly to have two separate States Departments for Pakistan and Hindustan. The Pakistan States Department will have much to do with States in treaty relationship with it, and much useful work can be done by timely action initiated now to that end. It seems necessary, therefore, to associate with Nishtar some one competent and reliable who can give him necessary advice with full knowledge of the problems and the personalities in the States. If you agree, I suggest for your consideration Maqbool Mahmood¹ for this work. He will draw no salary. He is the best man for this work and his services will also be available for the constitutional and other work in view.

Yours very sincerely,
HAMIDULLAH

¹Mir Maqbool Mahmood, Director, Chamber of Princes Secretariat, Delhi.

310

Governor-General¹ to Secretary of State for India
Telegram, F. 2/146-8

IMPORTANT/SECRET

No. 5047

NEW DELHI,

29 June 1947

Our telegram No. 4755 of 19 June.²

2. Nanking telegram No. 187 repeated to you in our telegram No. 4854 of 21 June³ leaves no room for doubt that Afghan press campaign is officially inspired. In effect Afghan Government have come into open with irredentist claim recently raised informally in course of exchanges on mutual frontier policy questions. There is this difference that whereas in conversations territorial scope of Afghan interest in frontier areas was somewhat vaguely defined it is now specifically related to whole area between Durand Line and Indus River; and Pathans living in this area are referred to throughout articles enclosed with Squire's despatch⁴ as Afghans; possibly intention is to claim that they are Afghan subjects.

3. Since Afghan Government have chosen to come out into open Government of India assume that His Majesty's Government will reaffirm unequivocally the views expressed during the informal conversations that took place in 1944-46.⁵ Any claim that Pathans who have for generations been domiciled between Durand Line and Indus are Afghan subjects cannot possibly be accepted by Government of India. By Article 2 of the Durand Agreement of 1893⁶ Amir Abdur Rahman Khan bound himself to refrain from interference in the territories lying beyond the Durand Line "on the side of India" in return for undertaking by Government of India that they would not interfere in territories on Afghan side of the Line. That agreement has been respected up to present day by successive Indian and Afghan Governments. In other words Afghan Government have at least since 1893 recognised that Pathans living East of the Durand Line are British Indian nationals or British protected persons. (Inhabitants of tribal areas are classed as British protected persons). It follows that present press campaign in Afghanistan and language used by Afghan Minister in Nanking to Indian Ambassador constitute unwarranted attempt by Afghan Government to interfere in the internal affairs of India.

4. The Afghan Government must be aware that under the terms of His Majesty's Government's announcement of 3 June⁷ the people of the Settled Districts of the N.W.F.P. are to be given the opportunity freely to

express their wishes regarding their future and that the Pathans of the Tribal Areas after the transfer of power are left free to negotiate their future relations with whichever successor Government is concerned with Frontier. There is thus no (repeat no) question whatever of compulsion (c.f. para. 5 of Squire's telegram No. 47 of 10 June).⁸ Issue of independent Pathan state is also a matter entirely within the Indian orbit and therefore one in which Afghan Government have no *locus standi*.

5. Squire has mentioned⁹ possibility that objective of Afghan Government may be to divert public attention in Afghanistan from internal situation. We think this quite likely and do not ourselves altogether exclude possibility of Afghan Government embarking on some diversionary adventure in the Tribal Areas. Such a development would of course be disastrous to peace of border and we think that everything possible should be done to prevent it. A clear reminder of the probability of developments dangerous to Afghan security on the Kingdom's northern frontier and of the certainty of the cessation of the generous aid that Afghanistan has been receiving from India in recent years should have a sobering effect. Afghan MFA¹⁰ [Minister for Foreign Affairs] has often himself expressed fear that Soviets would be only too ready to take advantage of tribal disturbances to further their designs. As regards economic assistance which Government of India, at some sacrifice to themselves, have been affording to Afghanistan in many directions, and also supply of military equipment, Afghans can hardly expect India to continue this form of assistance in face of an attitude that threatens the peace of her own frontier.

6. In recent years, the Afghan Government have shown great solicitude for friendship of U.S.A. His Majesty's Government might wish to consider the desirability of persuading the U.S. Government to utter, in season, an informal word of warning to the Afghan Minister in Washington against the adoption of a policy of adventure which, in the present state of international tension, may have international repercussions and instead of profiting Afghanistan, do her incalculable harm.

Copies to:

P.S. to H. M., NWA Branch (3)

Secy. General, FS, JS (X)

JS (F), JS (C), DS (F)

US (NWA), PSV (2), Cabinet Secy., U.K. High Commissioner

⁸Copies sent by External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations by post to Governor, NWFP; Agent to the Governor-General in Baluchistan; and the United Kingdom High Commissioner at New Delhi. Telegram repeated to the British Minister at Kabul under No. 149 and to the Indian Ambassador at Nanking under No. 123.

⁹See TP, XI, No. 140, note 2, 263.

¹⁰No. 188. Also see *ibid.*, No. 395, note 2, 731.

⁴Ibid., note 3.

⁵Not available in QAP.

⁶Article 2 reads as follows: "The Government of India will at no time exercise interference in the territories lying beyond this line on the side of Afghanistan and His Highness the Amir will at no time exercise interference in the territories lying beyond this line on the side of India." See Olaf Caroe, *The Pathans*, Karachi, 1985, 463.

⁷No. 1.

⁸Sec TP, XI, No. 140, 262-3.

⁹See *ibid.*, No. 395, note 3, 731.

¹⁰Ali Mohamed Khan.

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M. A. Jinnah to Louis Mountbatten

F. 2/115

29 June 1947

Dear Lord Mountbatten,

As arranged, I am enclosing herewith the Memorandum with regard to your proposal for the standstill arrangement for the Central Government and the allotment of portfolios for that purpose; and I hope that you will communicate our objections and opposition to it to His Majesty's Government as it was agreed by you in the last meeting on Friday, June 27th,¹ when this matter was placed on the agenda and discussed at the meeting of the Partition Council presided over by you.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

¹The minutes of the meeting were forwarded by H. M. Patel to Jinnah on 1 July 1947, *vide* No. P05/PC/47. See No. F. 1/103, QAP.

Enclosure to No. 311

F. 2/116-28

[MEMORANDUM REGARDING THE STANDSTILL ARRANGEMENT]

The proposal has been made that the Union of India Members of the Cabinet should hold the actual portfolios but be responsible only for their own future areas and that the League Members holding corresponding portfolios should have overriding powers both to refer to the full Cabinet and in the event of disagreement, to the Viceroy for his own decision, any proposal which solely or predominantly affects Pakistan and to which they object, or to initiate any action required for the

Pakistan area, which must be acted upon by the Member concerned. In other words, it is proposed that the Union of India Members of the Cabinet shall be invested with full powers but the League Members should merely hold a watching brief or adopt the undignified and invidious role of spies on behalf of Pakistan.

In the preamble to the proposal it is recited: "In view of the fact that the Government of the Union of India will continue in Delhi whilst the Government of Pakistan will move to Karachi...." This preamble has no relevancy whatever to the question under discussion. In the first instance, the Congress has made no announcement so far that Delhi will be their capital. Secondly the question is not where the capitals of the two States may be located but the question before us is what provision should be made for the next 47 or 48 days for the standstill arrangement of the present administration of the Government of India, in which both parties are equally and vitally concerned with regard to their respective interests, before the final partition of all the assets and liabilities takes place as laid down in H.M.G.'s Statement of 3 June.¹

The proposal is open to several grave objections.

LEGAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL

In the first place, it represents a fundamental departure from the proper practice under the Constitution. The relevant constitutional provisions are contained in the Ninth Schedule to the Government of India Act, 1935 (hereinafter referred to as the Constitution Act), which have been continued in force by S[ection] 317 of that Act. It is clear on reference to those provisions that the Members of the Governor-General's Executive Council are appointed by His Majesty under the Royal Sign Manual which means in practice that their appointment is made by the Crown on the advice of the Secretary of State for India, acting on the recommendation of the Governor-General. They are consequently responsible, through the Governor-General, to the Secretary of State who in turn is responsible to the British Parliament and not to the Indian Legislature. They do not, in any sense of the term, constitute a "Cabinet"—a term unknown to the Constitution Act. They hold office during His Majesty's pleasure and according to recognised practice would not be removable from that office except for grave misconduct or a like cause. They would be expected to resign at the end of their normal term.

It is expressly provided in sub-section (2) of S[ection] 39 of the Ninth Schedule to the Constitution Act that at any meeting of the Council, the Governor-General or other person presiding and one Member of the Council (other than the Commander-in-Chief), may exercise all the

functions of the Governor-General-in-Council. The proposal under examination militates strongly against the letter as well as the spirit of this provision. Supposing that at a meeting of the Council, besides the President, the only other Member present happens to be a League Member. It would be absurd to say that in the case envisaged, the League Member would suddenly divest himself of his watching brief and become a full-fledged responsible Member of the Council for that meeting. The plea that such a contingency was not likely to arise in practice, cannot affect the validity of the argument on the legal and constitutional plane. On the contrary, this extreme case would provide a good test of the validity of the proposed measure.

Again, under S[ection] 41 of the Ninth Schedule to the Constitution Act, where a difference of opinion arises on any question brought before a meeting of the Council, the opinion of a majority of those present, is to prevail. The proposal under examination, in so far as it assigns a more watching brief to some of the Members, is clearly repugnant to this provision. It is obvious that a Member's right to dissent to any matter brought before the meeting cannot be arbitrarily curtailed, in this fashion. During the interim period, any Member could raise a discussion on a matter whether relating to an area which will be included in the future Union of India or to that which shall be allotted to Pakistan. The position would of course be different if the right to dissent on matters pertaining to a particular region, were allowed to fall into desuetude, by tacit agreement, but such a convention could not be established in the face of opposition.

The proposal in question is unprecedented and unconstitutional. There can be no such constitutional change without the Government going to Parliament for authority. Reference may in this connection be made to the answer given by the Honourable Minister without Portfolio (Mr. A. V. Alexandar) to Sir John Anderson during the Parliamentary debate on India, on Friday, the 13th December 1946, printed in *Hansard*, Vol. 431, Nos. 22, 23 and 24, at page 117 *et seq* (copy of the relevant portion annexed for ready reference).

In the background of the proposal seems to be the wholly unwarranted assumption that Pakistan would be an area seceding from the Indian State. The actual position is that, with the creation of the two new Dominions, the State will be split up, by a fiat of the British Parliament, into two wholly new States, none of which could by itself be identified with the existing Indian State. The future Union of India consequently could not justifiably be described as a successor State *vis-a-vis* the present Indian Government.

ADMINISTRATIVE AND PRACTICAL

In practice, the proposal, if put through, would be fruitful of dissensions and difficulties. "Watching Brief" Members, having no effective control over the administrative machinery in their hands, may be reduced to the position of ineffective and unwilling spectators of the activities of the opposite group. If they do assert themselves, the vague expression "proposal which solely or predominantly affects Pakistan" would be bound to lead to sharp cleavages of opinion, which may well prove irreconcilable. Indeed the word "predominantly" carries within itself great potentialities of mischief. For instance it may be admitted that the removal of cloth control is a measure which does not solely affect Pakistan and it may be argued by the other side that it does not predominantly affect Pakistan inasmuch as the major portion of the country would fall within the future Union of India. It would be recognised, however, that this is a matter with which Pakistan is vitally concerned.

Moreover, the duplication of work involved in the proposal and the conflicts it is bound to raise would gravely prejudice an early settlement of the partition problems facing us and, in view of the urgency of these problems, the position cannot be regarded with equanimity.

The League Members entertain the reasonable apprehension that the Congress Members who would, under the proposal, entrench themselves in possession of the machinery and assets of the present Government, might refuse to part with any of the assets in favour of the Pakistan Government, after the date of creation of the two Dominions, on the principle of "What we have, we keep." This would create an extremely delicate situation whose repercussions might well spell disaster for the country and its peoples.

The position of League Members of the Council under the proposal, would be humiliating in the extreme. Every effort would be made by the other side to curb their curiosity into matters of moment. Deprived practically of all power and responsibility and relegated either to the position of passive spectators of their colleagues' activities or to the invidious role of spies ferreting out information by indirect means, they would be hard put to it to keep up the dignity and prestige of their office.

The genesis of the proposal, it is understood, is a promise said to have been given to the Congress Party by H.E. the Viceroy to the effect that as soon as partition is a settled fact, they would be given a free hand in their area and the League Party in theirs. But it may be pointed out that so long as the administrative machinery continues to

be one and undivided, there would be no practical means available for effectively carrying out such an intention.

As it is, the present proposal goes far beyond the scope of the promise mentioned in the preceding paragraph. It is clear that the Congress Members who would hold the actual portfolios would have complete charge, in fact as in law, of the whole of British India including the future Pakistan areas, and not merely of the areas to be allotted to the future Union of India. The League Members of the Council would be there merely on sufferance—more or less ornamental pieces in the constitutional parlour.

Hardly 47 or 48 days are now left up to the deadline of the 15th August 1947. No cogent reason exists for not continuing the existing arrangements for this interim period, with both parties undertaking to strictly follow the standstill arrangement, as in honour bound. It would be statesmanlike to take this course rather than face grave issues pointed out above, which raise grave constitutional difficulties and make the proposal impossible as a practical and workable proposition. Further, it would be a most humiliating position for the representatives of the League to which they cannot be a consenting party. Such a revolutionary change fraught with great difficulties for the sake of 48 days is not at all advisable or worthwhile to pursue.

If this eminently reasonable suggestion is, however, not considered acceptable, the League Party would strenuously urge that both the Congress and the League Members should be placed on a footing of equality in the Council and the proposal amended accordingly. This could be ensured by allotting half the actual portfolios to the League Members and other half to the Congress Members and then associating, with the actual holders of the portfolios, Members from the opposite party with watching briefs, as contemplated under the present proposal. This would be fair to both parties and damaging to none. Both Members attached to a portfolio could see and sign relevant files, though, while issuing orders, this fact would not be revealed as orders normally issue under the signatures of a Secretary under the Rules of Business framed by the Governor-General, under S[ection] 40 of the Ninth Schedule to the Constitution Act.

Another alternative that suggests itself is a scheme of partial division of functions on a regional basis with provision for joint deliberations and decisions in matters of common concern. Such a scheme would be evolved on the basis of an agreed convention. Under this scheme, each portfolio would be assigned to two Members, one drawn from the Congress Party and the other from the League Party. The

Congress Members would deal exclusively with matters that solely concern the future Union of India and, likewise, the League Members with those appertaining to the Pakistan areas. On matters relating to both areas, the two Members concerned or the Council as a whole, as the case may be, would sit together under the presidentship of the Governor-General and arrive at decisions.

¹No. 1.

Annexure to Enclosure to No. 311

F. 2/127-8

EXTRACT FROM PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES, HOUSE OF COMMONS
OFFICIAL REPORT (*HANSARD*), FRIDAY, 13TH DECEMBER 1946

Mr. Alexander: Then he came to a point where he said that he must be sharply critical of the proceedings which led up to the formation of the Interim Government formed by the Indians. I tried to make the point to him this morning that, in spite of the fears which he expressed, there had been in fact no actual constitutional change, and certainly there could not be any constitutional change without Government coming to Parliament for authority. The only point I would add, before coming to the question of the selection of the members of the Indian Government, is that not only has there been no constitutional change, but the suggestion that the present Interim Government is responsible only to the Central Indian Legislature is not correct. It is not collectively responsible to the Legislature, nor is it bound to resign if it is defeated in the Legislature. That is the position now.

Sir J. Anderson: What I suggested was that, in view of the manner in which they had been appointed, they were acting as if they were Ministers responsible not to the Viceroy but to the Legislature. I know that that is not technically their position.

Mr. Alexander: It is not technically their position, and so far no difficulty has arisen with regard to the matters which are dealt with by the Cabinet collectively—it can be called the new Interim India Government, the Cabinet or the Council, whichever you like to call it. No difficulty has arisen with the conduct of business in that direction, and I would add that if some of its members choose to resign because their policy is defeated in the Legislature, or because of a vote of no-confidence in the Legislature, there is at the same time nothing to prevent them from resigning. That, however, does not alter the position or the constitutional authority of the Viceroy, until such time as this Parliament approves of the ceding of sovereignty to India.

In regard to the Right Hon[orable] Gentleman's references to the Interim Government and the selection or appointment of its Members, I have been refreshing my memory about the matter since he spoke, and I would say that, in the case of the first Interim Government which was formed on 2nd September, the Viceroy invited Pandit Nehru to submit names for his consideration so that he could make recommendations to His Majesty. The Viceroy, of course, retained full discretion with regard to his acceptance of the names, but in fact he was able to recommend the names which Pandit Nehru put forward, and there was no need for him to ask for further names to be submitted to him. The present Interim Government was formed by the addition of five Members nominated by the Muslim League to fill vacancies which had been reserved for the purpose, and two other vacancies which were created by resignations of existing members in accordance with an understanding reached with the Viceroy before the first Interim Government was formed. Again, the Viceroy retained his discretion with regard to the names submitted, but saw no occasion to use it. I do not therefore accept the view—which was put, I am quite sure, in perfectly good faith this morning by the Right Hon[orable] Gentleman opposite—that there has been a fundamental departure from the proper practice under the Constitution.

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Louis Mountbatten to M. A. Jinnah

F. 2/107

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
29 June 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Lord Ismay has told me about your conversation with him last night on the subject of the terms of reference for the Boundary Commissions: and meanwhile I have received Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan's letter¹ in which he suggests amendments² to the draft which was discussed by the Partition Committee as long ago as 13th June,³ and sent to him the following day.

I am afraid that there appears to have been a complete misunderstanding on this matter. You will remember that, in the course of our conversation on the 23rd June,⁴ I raised this question with you, and Sir

Eric Mievile and I were left with the impression that you had categorically agreed. The record of our talk which was prepared by Sir Eric the following morning and initialled by me immediately afterwards contains the following passage:

Boundary Commissions. Mr. Jinnah said that he accepted the terms of reference that had been put up by the Congress Party and that he would have names of his nominees for both Boundary Commissions ready for submission to the Viceroy within the next day or two. He then said that he felt it would be impossible for both parties to agree upon the two Chairmen and he therefore suggested that a distinguished member of the Bar from England might come out as an independent Chairman for both Commissions and that his decision should be final.

Again, at the Partition Committee meeting on Friday the 27th [June],¹ you will remember that I definitely asked Sardar Baldev Singh whether he agreed with the terms of reference and that he signified that, though not content, he accepted them. Neither you nor Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan gave the slightest indication that you demurred or that you still had the matter under consideration.

Accordingly, there has never been a shadow of doubt, either in my mind, or in the minds of my staff, that the League had agreed.

You yourself have always emphasised the necessity for speed and I have therefore gone ahead as fast as possible. I have already informed the Secretary of State and a notice is being issued simultaneously tomorrow in England and in India in which the terms of reference are set out as originally suggested. I have also informed the Governors concerned, and have asked them to summon the members of their respective Boundary Commissions and make arrangements to get them to work at once.

I am sure you will agree with me that we ought not to incur the delay which would result from re-opening this question, particularly as I understand that you told Lord Ismay that your amendments were really more a matter of form than of substance.

Yours sincerely,
MOUNTBATTEN OF BURMA

¹Annex I.

²Enclosure to Annex I.

³Annex II.

⁴See Enclosure to No. 227.

⁵See F. 1/103-9, QAP.

Annex I to No. 312
Liaquat Ali Khan to Louis Mountbatten

IOR, R/3/1/157

NEW DELHI,
28 June 1947

Dear Lord Mountbatten,

I am herewith sending our draft for terms of reference of Boundary Commissions. This is strictly in accordance with the statement of the 3rd of June.¹

Yours sincerely,
LIAQUAT ALI KHAN

¹No. 1.

Enclosure to Annex I to No. 312

IOR, R/3/1/157

TERMS OF REFERENCE OF BOUNDARY COMMISSIONS

FOR THE PUNJAB

The Boundary Commission is instructed to demarcate the boundaries of the two parts of the Punjab on the basis of ascertaining the contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims. The Commission will also take into account other factors.

FOR BENGAL

The Boundary Commission is instructed to demarcate the boundaries of the two parts of Bengal on the basis of ascertaining the contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims. The Commission will also take into account other factors.

2. In the event of the referendum in Sylhet District of Assam resulting in favour of amalgamation with Eastern Bengal, the Boundary Commission for Bengal will also demarcate the Muslim majority areas of Sylhet District and contiguous Muslim majority areas of adjoining districts to be transferred to Eastern Bengal.

Annex II to No. 312¹
Jawaharlal Nehru to Louis Mountbatten

IOR, R/3/1/157

TERMS OF REFERENCE OF BOUNDARY COMMISSIONS²

FOR THE PUNJAB

The Boundary Commission is instructed to demarcate the boundaries of the two parts of the Punjab on the basis of ascertaining the contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims. In doing so it will also take into account other factors.

FOR BENGAL

The Boundary Commission is instructed to demarcate the boundaries of the two parts of Bengal on the basis of ascertaining the contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims. In doing so it will also take into account other factors.

2. In the event of the referendum in Sylhet District of Assam resulting in favour of amalgamation with eastern Bengal, the Boundary Commission for Bengal will also demarcate the Muslim majority areas of Sylhet District and contiguous Muslim majority areas of adjoining districts.

¹TP, XI, Enclosure to No. 158, 293.

²Nehru had sent his suggestions for terms of reference of Boundary Commissions in pursuance of a meeting held between the Viceroy and the Congress leaders. See TP, XI, No. 124, 234-5.

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Louis Mountbatten to M. A. Jinnah

F. 2/113

NO. 1446/16

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE, NEW DELHI,
 29 June 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

More than one Governor has shown a very natural desire to know whether or not he will be relieved on the 15th August, and I feel I must let all Governors know immediately, what is intended.

I should be grateful if you would please let me know whether your party intends that a new Governor should be appointed as from the 15th August in Sind.

Even if you cannot state immediately who will be recommended for this post, it is important that the present Governor should be put in a position now to make his own plans.

Yours sincerely,
MOUNTBATTEN OF BURMA

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Louis Mountbatten to M. A. Jinnah

F. 2/111-2

NO. 1446/8

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE, NEW DELHI,
29 June 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I hope shortly to receive from London copies of the Draft "Indian Independence Bill", which is going to be introduced into Parliament next month.

2. His Majesty's Government has agreed that I should show you copies of this Draft. In doing so, they have pointed out that it is completely contrary to usual Parliamentary practice to show texts of Bills to other parties concerned before publication.

3. His Majesty's Government has, therefore, insisted that I should not give you copies of the Draft Bill for retention. I am sure that you will appreciate the reasons for this.

4. I invite you to come to the Viceroy's House at 10 a.m. on Tuesday, 1st July, to study this Draft. I would propose that the representatives of Congress and of the Muslim League should sit in separate rooms for two hours and read the Draft through. The Muslim League representatives would be in Her Excellency's sitting-room, and the Congress representatives in my study. I shall be obliged to withdraw copies of the Draft Bill after you have studied them.

5. I am also inviting

Pandit Nehru

Sardar Patel

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan

6. I suggest that Mr. Justice Rahman should be available to give you any assistance you require when you read through the Draft. Mr. Mohamad Ali will be present in any case as Secretary. I am similarly suggesting to the Congress representatives that Sir B. N. Rau and Mr. H. M. Patel

should be available for them. My Reforms Commissioner¹ will also be in attendance, ready to be summoned by either party to elucidate any points.

7. I myself will be available towards the end of the morning to hear any points which you might wish to suggest that I should take up with H.M.G.

8. Let us arrange, on Tuesday morning, any further meetings that are required—either that evening or on Wednesday evening, perhaps.

Yours sincerely,
MOUNTBATTEN OF BURMA

¹V. P. Menon.

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M. A. Jinnah to Louis Mountbatten

F. 2/110

29 June 1947

Dear Lord Mountbatten,

I thank you for your letter of 29th June¹ and, as desired, I shall be glad to attend the meeting on Tuesday, 1st July, at 10 a.m.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

¹No. 314.

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Firoz Khan Noon to M. A. Jinnah

F. 399/171-2

PESHAWAR,
29 June 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

The Faqir of Ipi is out for trouble. Nehru must have suddenly opened the route to him, for buses are taking passengers to him openly. The last 18-miles they walk. He gives Rs. 20 [to] each *Mulla* who goes up and gets his signature on a paper that he will join *Jehad*. But he does not know against whom. The rumour here is that money has passed to him to create

trouble for us so that the Punjab may be busy on the east and the west. He is also ambitious and wants to be a King. The Afghan people are also hoping to benefit by the trouble here. The whole Indian Army can be kept busy here. You will have to be very ruthless and firm here.

a. The Legislature will be a hindrance to law and order which must be preserved at all costs.

b. Your Governor here must be a Pathan or else the charges will stand proved that the League is friendly towards the British or that other than Pathans will rule in the N.W.F.P.

c. British officials in the political and the administrative services must be removed from here for similar reasons. The British technical men, e.g. Engineers, Doctors, etc., people here will not object to.

d. There is a small local tribal war going on already in a certain area. You must decide your tribal policy now and start acting on it and consolidating the right elements. Unless you have peace here in this province you will not be able to do any constructive work anywhere.

The referendum position I think is still only 60% in our favour. In Kohat area the Congress are not canvassing. In the Mardan and Peshawar areas they are canvassing. Their women are going round with the *Qur'an* and asking people not to go to the polls.

There was a Hindu poster circulating yesterday calling upon Hindus not to take sides in the referendum as it was a quarrel between a Muslim and Muslim. Abdul Ghani, son of Ghaffar Khan, says that Patel has authorised him to issue gun licences to his retainers. The Deputy Commissioner here has seen these pieces of paper. Law and order does not exist in this province.

Practically all the Muslim public servants are pro-League in spite of the Dr. [Khan Sahib] being the Prime Minister.

Yours sincerely,
FIROZ NOON

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Mrs K. L. Rallia Ram to M. A. Jinnah

F. 487/87-90

ELYSIUM HOTEL, SIMLA,
29 June [1947]

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Look what the Hindu press goes on writing about the League in the

Frontier: cult of violence being preached! I do hope this kind of papers are not allowed to exist for a day, from the day Pakistan assumes Dominion status. Instead of trying to mend matters and making an effort to bring Muslims and Hindus together, the Hindu press goes on spreading hatred against the Muslims. It is this attitude of the Hindus that will not stop violence in the Punjab. The Hindu goes on preaching hatred all the time and expects love in return from the Muslim who is intrinsically never roused to hatred or ill-feeling on account of his philosophy of brotherhood of mankind; but the Hindu wants to put the boot of his leg all the time [sic]. It is his own doctrine of caste system and isolation and untouchability that has brought about the atmosphere of violence by provoking the Muslim in an extreme form and then Mr. Gandhi dares to address you in the manner he has done in his prayer-meeting yesterday.¹ From the way he talks it appears as if all violence is from the Muslim side. I admire the insolence of the Hindus! These should be answered publicly by the Muslim press daily. Mr. Gandhi's prayer-meeting speeches specially deserve answers daily. At times I wish I were on the staff to answer these insolent attacks particularly on your personality. Temporarily the Mosaic Law of tooth for a tooth should come into force!

Mr. Gandhi thinks you have done disservice to Islam by calling Hindus as "enemies". But he conveniently becomes an ostrich to the proceedings of the A.I.C.C. where most of the members vomitted nothing but hatred against you and the Muslims. Of course they didn't say that Muslims are their enemies, but those who have eyes to see can clearly see that Hindus and all Congress people look upon the Leaguers and therefore Muslims as their inveterate foes. The Hindu can never be a straight dealer. His is the crooked way, whereas the Muslim gives a straight thrust! I wish you would ask Mr. Altaf Hussain² to reply to the baseless attacks on the Leaguers and particularly on you. Nobody should be allowed to utter false things against your personality. Every such statement should be challenged. Healthy and correct criticism should be welcome, but not the low, mean and baseless kind.

Now here is another Hindu statement against the Sind Leaguers that should be answered.³ If on the other hand such things are left unanswered, ill-feeling and bitterness between the two communities spread to which a quick halt should be brought about now. The Leaguers are going on [issuing] generous statements towards the minorities and have said in very clear terms that fair and just treatment would be meted out to them. But the Congress side is just going the opposite direction and are trying to terrorize the Muslim minorities to the extent of provocation. You must be following what is happening in all Congress provinces. Truth does not

seem to prevail ■ Mr. Gandhi says always, in his own fold. There it is nothing but vindictiveness, spite, hatred and all the other obnoxious things. I wish you would bring this to the notice of the great votary of truth and non-violence! His Hindu and Sikh non-violent followers in Lahore and Amritsar are the violence-mongers and bomb-manufacturers and bomb-throwers of [the] first water. All explosive material is always recovered from the hypocritical non-violent Hindus and Sikhs who are responsible for more loss of human life than anybody else. I wish I could tell you all what they do in Lahore.

Praying for your safety and long life,

Sincerely yours,
MRS. K. L. RALLIA RAM

¹Enclosure 1.

²Editor, *Dawn*.

³Enclosure 2.

Enclosure 1 to No. 317

F. 487/88

GANDHIJI THINKS WITHDRAWAL OF BRITISH TROOPS NECESSARY
Pakistan Achieved: Why Violence Now

NEW DELHI, 26 June: When the British are really withdrawn, India will feel that ■ great load has been lifted off her back, said Mahatama Gandhi addressing to-day's post prayer-meeting. He hoped that the British would up to the last moment resist the temptation to stay in India.

He was aware, added Mahatama Gandhi, that *Mr. Jinnah had rendered a disservice to Islam by calling Hindus or better still Caste Hindus as our enemies.*¹

¹Underlined in the original, probably by Mrs Rallia Ram.

Enclosure 2 to No. 317

F. 487/89

GRANTS TO HINDU INSTITUTIONS AFFILIATED WITH BOMBAY
UNIVERSITY WITHDRAWN

KARACHI, 26 June: The Government of Sind, the Education Department, has issued orders withdrawing grants to Hindu colleges and schools which continue their affiliation with the Bombay University. Such grants approximately total a sum of Rs. 4 lakh per annum.

The Government has further directed that recognition hitherto given to the Hindu high schools be also withdrawn so that they might lose affiliation with the Bombay University.

A separate university for the benefit of the minorities of Sind, Baluchistan, Punjab and N.W.F.P. located in Karachi has been envisaged in a statement issued by a Committee comprising prominent Hindu leaders, including Prof. Ghanshyam, leader of the Congress Party.

The Committee says: "The inauguration of the Sind University has destroyed all hopes for an honourable compromise. Now we are earnestly moving for the creation of a separate university for the benefit of Hindus and other minorities in northern India and a sum of Rs. 25 lakh is being collected".—United Press.

318

Arthur Sequeira to M. A. Jinnah

F. 910/326

249 STAFF LINES, KARACHI,
29 June 1947

Sir,

It gives me great pleasure to send herewith ■ copy of the photograph of your bungalow which I understand you will occupy during your stay in Karachi.

I will be honoured by your kindly accepting it as a souvenir from,

ARTHUR SEQUEIRA
Official Photographer
to the
Pakistan Herald

319

Abul Quasem to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1108/80-2

P.O. ARAMBAGH, HOOGHLY, BENGAL,
30 June 1947

Revered Quaid-i-Azam,

Verily Allah chose you to guide the destiny of 100 millions of Indian

Muslims at a time when they were groping in the political labyrinth of freedom ingeniously built by the machinating *banias* of the Indian National Congress. Single-handed you fought a toilsome battle for over a decade from the Round Table Conferences of 1931-32 down to this day. Your memorable Fourteen Points¹ showed the way and to-day the amazing [*sic* for amazed] world finds your final triumph in wresting out [*sic*] a "homeland" for your people from the hands of the 300 millions of dark forces up with [*sic* for in] arms against Islam and Muslims. History will hardly afford another example of a leader who had to fight [with] both hands—fight within and fight without—and even that also almost single-handed. You were alone and severely alone in your tenacious and toilsome struggle and fight for all these years. Even those who gradually came around you were mostly undependable and unreliable power-hunters waiting for a chance. Even the offspring of your Fourteen Points, the newly created Provinces of Sindh and N.W.F.P., went against you as soon as they were out of the womb. The major portion of your worries was for setting your own house in order and even up to this day are worsted by the same in respect of N.W.F.P.

Was there ever such an ill-fated leader who had to fight against such tremendous odds both at home and abroad?

No one could stand such ordeals unless *Allah* was specially pleased with him and unless he was selected for the great task—a task which may fitly be compared to the deliverance of the Israelites from the mighty forces of the Pharaoh.

You have an unbeaten record and though you had to temporarily concede to the scheme of a truncated Pakistan under trying circumstances, I must say that you were obliged to do so only to save the blood of your people who are yet a multitude of noisy crowd. *Allah* gifted you with an uncommon wealth of practical wisdom and genius which ultimately set at rest all speculations of bloodshed and civil war in this unhappy land of ours.

You knew that your house was not yet in order and so all your messages to your people contained repeated exhortations for that. You told that you did not like to allow a single drop of blood of your people to be spilt if you could avoid it and your ideal of true leadership was that he is a bad commander who asks his army to jump before it is fully equipped.

Thus we find that your true leadership has ultimately cut the Gordian knot without any disaster or bloodshed.

Your dream to establish a true and real Pakistan in India and in the Islamic world is yet to be realised and as we have not as yet known of an able and worthy successor of yours, we are often perplexed to

conceive of our future without you. Thus, we sincerely pray that *Allah* may spare you long to get your plan to a successful finish. Your health and life are the anxious concerns of the nation. The unfortunate nation could not, however, as yet relieve you of any [of] your great burdens. If like the leader of Hindustan you had a retinue of faithful, honest, able, dependable and zealous lieutenants, you could be spared of [sic] much physical and mental labours and worries. But fortune does not appear to have as yet smiled on you in this behalf so that for many more years you shall have to bear the entire brunt of planning, mobilising, commanding and fighting against odds, both at home and abroad.

As a humble servant of *Allah* and as an insignificant member of your Pakistan in embryo, I have nothing to offer but a silent prayer to the great Almighty for your perfect health and long life.

In my anxious moments and impulsive hours I hastily jotted down some random thoughts and clumsy ideas and before I hasten to publish the same, I take this earliest opportunity of placing them before you for your consideration. I doubt if you will at all be able to snatch out [sic] a few of your anxious minutes to go through the enclosed manuscript which contains the ideas in a nutshell. If you can make [sic for find] time to have a cursory reading of the enclosed paper, favour me with a line either in approval or in disapproval so that I may decide finally as to whether I would publish the same in the form of a booklet to provide food for the thinking section of the Pakistanis.

As a Government servant, I all along led a life of condemnation by the Hindu press and Hindu public for all my past social and educational activities, in furtherance of the cause of my nation, and constantly struggling for freedom. I could not as yet throw the yoke of bondage to work in a free and unfettered way.

Now that the radiance of Pakistan is glowing in the closest vision, I have felt the impulse of freedom and thus thought to place [sic for of placing] my ideas to [sic for before] the architects of Pakistan who may build up a Pakistan where officers of my ideals and vision may find a congenial atmosphere to work with joy and freedom.

I offer you, my great leader, the sincerest regards from the very core of my heart and I fervently pray that you would very kindly excuse me for vexing you with my little importunity.

Devotedly yours,
ABUL QUASEM
Sub-divisional Munsif

*Enclosure 1 to No. 319**F. 1108/83-6*

I would draw your pointed attention to a sinister move taken [sic] by the vested interests in the legal profession in Bengal to perpetuate the exploitation of the people of Eastern Pakistan by keeping the High Court of Calcutta intact.

In the editorial notes of the *Calcutta Weekly* of June 20th, the Editor has devoted a few pages on the subject. I am afraid this movement may be strengthened by resolutions of the High Court and other District Bar Associations in Bengal.

The partition of the Calcutta High Court and the starting of a new High Court at Dacca is a necessary corollary to the partition of the Province and the creation of the new Eastern Pakistan State.

Under no circumstances the Muslims of Eastern Pakistan can afford to keep the question of the partition of the High Court held in abeyance. They can never be a party to any idea of a joint High Court for the two States with different ideologies. I, therefore respectfully pray that the solemn duty of the separation of the High Court should by no means be deferred or delayed.

The other most important fact for your consideration in the matter of the division of assets and liabilities for the two parts of Bengal is that lands, forests, mines, quarries and waters are as much assets of existing province as other things.

Now the simple broad principle that should guide the partition of all these factors is to divide each item according to population. The population of the sixteen districts envisaged to fall to the Eastern part should get lands in proportion to their strength to the total population. They should also get their proportionate share in the forest space (forest lands) as also in the mineral resources of the province. It may, however, be pointed out that all the sixteen districts are very densely populated ones having no space for expansion of the population. There is no forest space or land in any of the sixteen districts except Chittagong. Even the Chittagong forest is a very insignificant slice. Having regard to the fact that in Bengal population is increasing enormously and having regard to the fact that the population of the Eastern Pakistan part of the province is also bound to increase in future, there will be no room or space for the accommodation and living of the increased population as there is no forest space any where within these districts. The State being confined within the limits of its boundaries and having no space to accommodate its increasing population, is bound to face the serious problem of the pressure of the population. It is

well-known to you and other leaders that the District of Mymensingh alone has a population more than the State of Switzerland in Europe. This pressure of population and the want of sufficient land to accommodate the people of Mymensingh and Tipperah was responsible for the great exodus of the people of these two districts to the forests of Upper Assam. There they went and lived in the dense forest without any care for life and reclaimed the vast area from which they are now being driven out.

The situation in Eastern Pakistan is bound to be all the more critical in future unless sufficient forest space is now taken at the time of division to provide room for the accommodation of increased population. The districts of Western Bengal falling to the lot of the western part of the province are thinly populated ones, except the District of Midnapur, so that they have enough of space left for the provision of their increased population. It will also be further found that the entire forest area in Bengal has practically [been] taken within the ambit of the districts envisaged to form the western part of Bengal. This however is most inequitable. The forest of Sunderbans itself covers an area of 170 miles by 80 miles. The forests of Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri Districts are also within the Western Zones. The forests of Hill Tipperah are also bound to be within the Hindustan Union. Thus the people of Eastern Pakistan are bound to die overstaffed [*sic*] in the natural event of the increase of population.

Further, the coal and other resources have also fallen to the western part. The Eastern Pakistan will be deprived of this mineral wealth. The problem of fuel will be terribly acute in Eastern Pakistan even from the beginning of 1948. Forests are necessary for the accommodation of increased population as also for fuel. Thus, if the western part retains the coal, the eastern part should be compensated by the award of the forests of Sunderbans, Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling Districts to solve the problem of accommodation of increased population as also to meet the fuel requirements of the people.

In this view of the matter our claim for including the area of Sunderbans, Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri Forests can in no way be flouted [*sic*] by the Boundary Commission or the Partition Committee. We want our proportionate share in the lands and forests according to our population and to solve the problem of future increase in the population and also to meet the immediate requirements of fuel. We can legitimately claim the entire forest area of Sunderbans, Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri.

There were wars in Europe and Asia by Germany and Japan for the pressure of increased population for whom the State, failing to find accommodation within it, went to war with its neighbours for taking by

force their lands and territories. Thus if at this stage adequate provision be not made for the accommodation of the increased population, the germ of future war between Pakistan and Hindustan will be allowed to remain inherent in the very situation of both the States.

Thus, I urge upon you to consider these facts and press our claim for a major share in the forest space in Bengal.

Enclosure 2 to No. 319

F. 1108/87-95

THOUGHTS ON PAKISTAN

The great Quaid-i-Azam has declared "Achieve Pakistan or Perish". Now that the geographical structure of Pakistan has been envisaged in the plan formulated in the declaration of the H.M.G. dated 3 June 1947,¹ the pertinent question we have to ask ourselves is as to whether we have achieved Pakistan.

To my mind it appears that we have not only not achieved Pakistan but our journey for the achievement of Pakistan has only begun and the way is full of dangers and pitfalls. In this toilsome and perilous journey what are wanted from us have already been, in a nutshell, prescribed by our Quaid-i-Azam. They are faith, unity, brotherhood and discipline.

To this I would only add a few more things and they are foresight, sacrifice, vision, ceaseless labour and tenacious and tremendous mobilisation of all our forces and resources.

If Pakistan means majority rule of the Muslims, I would not much care or labour to have it as it was almost in our grip if we accepted the A.B.C. Plan² with right of secession from the Centre. If a diluted Pakistan would have been our end, the Quaid-i-Azam would not have certainly suffered the greatest sacrifice of the partition of Bengal, Punjab and Assam for the undiluted one. Thus, let us not mistake what we are for. If Pakistan means a homeland for the Muslims to develop their manhood [*sic* for manpower] to the fullest stature according to Islamic ideals, traditions and cultures, I must give my all to achieve it and here would come the question of my vision, sacrifice and labour.

If we can orient the outlook of the entire Muslim nation inhabiting the lands within the geographical boundaries of Pakistan with the aforesaid ideals and if the nation as a whole is inspired by a grim determination of achieving Pakistan or perishing, then and then only the dream of our great Quaid-i-Azam will be realised.

Some of our leaders exulted in saying that Pakistan is no longer a

dream but is now a reality. I would very respectfully differ with them and say that it is yet a dream and not a reality.

If forthwith with the division of India our leaders enter into internecine struggles for capturing power, then the whole structure of Pakistan will be crumbled [*sic*] to pieces. Those who are able to give their all life, energy and thought in a sense, dedicate their life to the cause of Pakistan, should only come forward to undertake the great responsibility of building the superstructure of Pakistan for leading the nation to its cherished goal.

Thus, only tried ones should take the adventure. Pakistan should not be the game of power-hunters but it should be the pursuit of national heroes. The days of Caliphate should usher in and the ideal of the *Khulafa-i-Rashideen* should be our guide. Now to make Pakistan our homeland we should realise the full import of Pakistan. The literal meaning of the word is "Place of Purity."

Thus, we must try to render our national home a place of purity. We should exterminate all impurity from our land. This leads us to the ideals of "Islamic Purity". We must know what is the import of "Place of Purity" according to Islamic law and phraseology. Certainly, this is synonymous with Godliness. The Islamic State should therefore be at once declared as a *Dar-ul-Aman* or *Dar-us-Salam*, i.e. the State of the faithful with a law that would give the faithful an ideal State to live and work. This would at once take us to the problem about the protection of the minority. The *Qur'an*, the *Hadith* and history of the laws of the Islamic rule during the great Caliphs will at once furnish a beacon light for our guidance in this behalf for the formulation of law in protection of the minorities.

There will undoubtedly be some practical difficulties in the beginning to bring about drastic change all at once when the society is now under the sway of an established system of law and economics, which ruled it for about 200 years. Here certainly [we] will require our leaders and thinkers to play their man [*sic* for role]. No doubt a policy of gradual adaptation will be more advisable but the declaration of policy should by no means be belated so that the individuals composing the nation may not know and feel what they are after. In order to reach our goal when we declare the whole of our homeland as *Dar-ul-Aman* or *Dar-us-Salam* our path is very clear. Every Muslim in the State at once becomes a citizen of the *Dar-ul-Aman* and according to our Islamic polity his life, property and everything become the asset of the State. Let our great leaders pause and ponder and take no faulty step apart from the goal.

LEGISLATION

The first step towards legislation for our national object should therefore be the following:

1. All India legislation to be introduced to make illegal within the Pakistan State:

- a. Wine (taking, trading, manufacturing, holding and all about it)
- b. All intoxicating drugs (*ganja*, *charas*, etc.)
- c. Prostitution (all about it)
- d. Usury in all forms (taking and giving both)

Provisions shall however be made to remodel the law relating to Co-operative Credit Societies, Banking and Insurance in order to fit in with the Islamic *Shari'at* and the requirements of the modern international society.

2. Legislation should be introduced to make payment of *Zakat* compulsory for every Muslim (provisions have to be made for the payment of similar tax by the non-Muslim citizens under the caption of income tax) and the income tax law now in force should be abolished. The amount of *Zakat* should go to the Central Pakistan Exchequer.

3. All India legislation should be introduced in order to make the State the owner of all lands, quarries, waters and mines within the Pakistan State, and then lands should be redistributed under the national planning scheme, (in this respect the scheme of land distribution and national agricultural scheme as in vogue in Russia may be tried) making national socialism as the principle of distribution.

4. All India legislation should be introduced for compulsory free primary education, with Urdu as the *lingua franca* of Pakistan State and in this behalf a basic education scheme to generally fit in with all component parts of the State should be formulated and adopted.

5. All India legislation should be introduced for compulsory military training for every male and female adult of 18 years under separate arrangements for both the classes.

Short course training in aviation should be made compulsory for every advanced student before a degree is conferred in any subject, i.e. Arts, Science, Medicine, Law, Agriculture and the like.

NATIONAL SERVICE

In order to execute the law, ideals and policy of the State and work out the scheme of building Pakistan and army of officers inspired and imbued with national ideals should form the asset of the State. Thus the entire public services from the High Court Judge and the Minister down to the *chowkidar* should be manned by persons who must have unflinching faith and devotion to the great and noble objective of the

State in achieving Pakistan. State service should no longer be a means of decent livelihood or a profession by itself but it should be accepted as a means of serving the nation. Only those who are able to make a sacrifice should take to State service. *From the start and this vital time of the formation of the State we should beware of officers of divided or doubtful allegiance, officers with hostile and inimical disposition should be scrupulously kept out and should in [no] case be entertained.*³ The following declaration of faith should be signed by each State servant before he is entertained in the State service either on retention of old service or on new appointment:

1. I shall serve the State to the best of my conscience and work with a zeal to achieve the noblest end for which it is established. I will have faith and devotion in its ideals and objectives.

2. I will owe no secret, mental or moral, allegiance to any other State during the tenure of my office under the State.

3. I will ungrudgingly submit to any cut or reduction of pay and emoluments for my office as imposed by the State, from time to time, and submit to any re-adjustment of scales of pay subject to a minimum standard of subsistence allowance to myself and my dependants.

4. I will be liable to be punished for high treason and confiscation of all my properties if I allow any State policy or secret to be known to any foreign element within or outside the State.

5. I will be liable for severe punishment if found to have in any way indulged in or encouraged (directly or indirectly) the taking or giving of illegal gratification for doing any duty of my office.

6. I will ungrudgingly submit to any conscription should such a contingency ever arise for the purposes of the State.

STRENGTH

Having regards to the fact that the Pakistan State is bound to be faced with tremendous financial disadvantages the cost of administration should at the start be reduced to the barest minimum and for this all unnecessary departments and offices should forthwith be abolished (like the offices of the Divisional Commissioner, Additional District Magistrate and Additional Secretaries and the like). A committee should be appointed to effect retrenchment. The modern system of top-heavy administration and duplication of offices (rate [sic for red] tapism) should be uprooted and the administrative machinery and offices should be simplified so as to give direct results in all cases and establish a happy and strong bond of co-ordination among all the branches of public services. It should be aimed to reduce the strength to 40%.

PAY AND EMOLUMENTS

The highest pay of the officers of the Civil and Military services in the State should be fixed at a scale of Rs. 1,200 to Rs. 1,500 per mensem (High Court Judge, All India Officers of Special Branch and Scientific and Technical importance).

MINISTERS

Pay of all Central Ministers should by no means exceed Rs. 1,500 while that of Provincial Ministers should be fixed at Rs. 850 plus ■ house allowance of Rs. 150 and a motor car allowance of Rs. 150.

DISTRICT OFFICERS

The highest salary of District Officers should in no case exceed Rs. 800 per mensem. Free quarters may, however, be provided.

PROVINCIAL OFFICERS

Class I Maximum Scale should be Rs. 200 to Rs. 800

Class II (Subordinate Executive Officers): Rs. 125 to Rs. 500

Class III (Subordinate Service): Rs. 80 to Rs. 200

MINISTERIAL OFFICERS

Grade I: Rs. 75 to Rs. 175

Grade II: Rs. 50 to Rs. 140

MENIAL

Grade I: Rs. 30 to Rs. 75

Grade II: Rs. 20 to Rs. 50

NATIONAL ECONOMY

Enemies of Pakistan are quite jubilant for [*sic* for over] the inherent financial weakness of the Pakistan State. We should, therefore, be particularly careful in building our national economy in such ■ way as to ensure a lasting and durable finance [*sic*] and to provide scope for a progressive realisation of advancement and expansion. A National Economic Planning Committee should forthwith be installed to formulate ways and means for economy purpose.

The policy of the State in this behalf should be four-fold. They are:

1. To take effective measures to permanently uproot and stop the sources of all exploitation of the wealth of the nation by all agencies that be within and without the State. To conserve the wealth of the people of the State by all means of protection and tariff.

2. To formulate and adopt industrial and agricultural schemes of national economy and to provide machinery for the effective execution of the schemes by five years' and ten years' plans. Organisations for large-scale production of agricultural and manufactured goods,

utilities and services should be established and run by the State with national socialistic ideals and capitalistic enterprise should be discouraged as far as practicable (Russian plans may be studied and examined and if suitable experimented). Our wants and shortages should be made up by international production and advantageous import. Substitute for coal should be found out. Plants and machinery for speedy industrialisation of the State should be purchased with State funds raised by long term loans on National Saving Certificates and the like.

3. International economic relations should be established to find out the best world markets for export and import of all commodities.

4. Cost of administration should be reduced to the irreducible minimum by all effective means.

NATIONAL EDUCATION

The entire system of education should be revolutionised: scientific, technical and vocational education should be made No. 1 in the chart [sic] while literary education should come thereafter. Deputation of best scholars to foreign lands for scientific and technical education should be encouraged by the State by the award of stipends and advancements.

Selected institutions for scientific, technical and vocational education should be started in all important centres with State help and subsidies. Two Military Colleges, one in the East and the other in the West Pakistan Zone, should at once be established with all facilities of aviation and modern techniques of war.

LITERARY EDUCATION

The aim of this branch of education should be to train up [sic] every youth up to the best ideals of the State. With this object Urdu should be made the State language and Islam as the State religion. The aim of literary education should be to impart to each youth the best literary education provided in the national Universities which should in all cases try to build up the system of education on national lines. Every youth should be well-versed in Urdu, Quranic laws and codes of life before he enters into his practical life in the firm, workshop, public services, law, medicine and the like.

The studies of *Qur'an*, *Hadith* and the history of Islamic civilization and culture should be simplified and adapted to the system in all stages of elementary, secondary and higher education.

Advanced studies in literary subjects like law, philosophy, history, economics, literature, etc., should be permitted only to selected students, and for this revival of old Islamic culture, theology and tradition should be aimed at. Cultural relations should be established with

all the Islamic countries of the world; and by world Muslim conferences centres of Islamic cultural studies should be established in appropriate places within the World Islamic Federation.

For spread of the universal primary education, primary education on the lines of All India Basic Education Scheme should be made free and compulsory.

For the spread of secondary education, Secondary Education Boards should be formed in all units with revised texts—with Islamic ideals. Existing schools should be affiliated to the Boards and new schools should be formed.

The Dacca University in the Eastern Zone should at once be declared as Eastern Pakistan University while the Punjab University in the Western Zone should be declared as the Western Pakistan University. The University curriculum and departments of studies should be remodelled on national ideals and objectives.

NATIONAL DEFENCE ARMY

With nucleus of the present Army, the national Army should be manned and built up. Two big Army headquarters should be built, one in Chittagong-cum-Sylhet and the other in Karachi-cum-Lahore.

Airfields should be established or found out [*sic*] in close proximity to Army headquarters. Forts should be established in important points on the corridor line.

Aviation scheme should be made flexible with provision for quick expansion when need be.

NAVY

Merchant shipping and warships should be provided for work in Karachi and Chittagong Ports.

ARMAMENT

The policy of armament should be decided upon by the State from time to time with a vigilant and careful consideration of the policy of the neighbouring States and international situations. Besides the regular Army, National Guard Organisations like that of the Khaksar should be formed in all units to provide a strength of about 20,000,000 ready contingents for call in times of national crisis.

NATIONAL FINANCE SOURCES OF ALL INDIA REVENUE

- a. *Zakat*
- b. Railways and postal services
- c. Customs
- d. Defence Tax (a new tax to be imposed for national defence)

CORRIDOR

For myself I would rather prefer a corridor over the northern edge of Hindustan through the Himalayan regions than over Sher Shah Road (Grand Trunk Road).

Some of my views, specially those relating to the abolition of wine, prostitution and usury, may be criticised as out-of-date but I venture to suggest that Islamic law is never out-of-date and is bound to fit in with Islamic society at all times and in all climes if Muslims would only try to enforce and follow the same.

As for officers I would respectfully warn our leaders to take care now at this transition stage so that officers with hostile disposition or divided or doubtful allegiance may not creep into our service at or on partition, only to work as fifth columnists in the Pakistan State to our constant anxiety and utter prejudice.

Thus the responsibility of our great leaders who are the architects of Pakistan is to give us ■ free [*sic*] Islam in a free Pakistan. If even in a truncated Pakistan, the Muslim nation be not free to adopt its own system of law, administration and justice and formulate its own schemes for economic and educational advancement, according to its own genius and ideals, then Pakistan would be more ■ farce than a reality.

I would, therefore, earnestly appeal to our leaders and thinkers to be particularly careful at this transition stage and make ■ good beginning with a pure and undiluted ideal for an undiluted Pakistan. Let us all hope and pray that with the establishment of Pakistan State we may feel completely at home and be the proud members of a real Pakistan.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

The aim of the Pakistan State should be to gradually build up a system of administration of justice based on Islamic ideals and *Shari'ah*. Prominent Muslim jurists like Sir Abdur Rahim, Justice Fazle Ali, Justice Sir Zafrullah Khan, Justice Din Mohammad with Quaid-i-Azam as their head, should form a permanent Committee to remodel the whole machinery of administration of justice on Quranic principles and the principles of the *Hadith* and *Hedaya*. The existing laws should gradually be amended and remodelled to fit in with Islamic ideals.

From the Pakistan Federal Court down to the subordinate judiciary, Judges should be selected in such a way as to reassure confidence in the mind of the nation about their high sense of integrity and justice. Knowledge of Islamic law and theology should be made an essential and additional qualification for judicial service.

Judges should be so appointed as to be a permanent source of direct encouragement and guidance to the Muslim members of the legal

profession. There should be strict separation of the Judiciary from the Executive.

Let the spirit of the great Omar, Ali and Khalid hover around us to inspire and guide us to our golden days of eminence and glory to the great amazement of our national enemies of near and far.

May *Allah* give our leaders foresight, clear vision and firm determination to lead the nation to its cherished goal of establishing Pakistan in the truest and real sense of the term.

Let each member of the great nation work tenaciously with the following watch-word before him:

"Achieve Pakistan or perish"

May *Allah* grant our great Quaid-i-Azam a longer lease of life to lead the nation to its cherished goal. *Aameen, Aameen, Aameen.*

¹No. 1.

²Cabinet Mission Plan, No. III. I, Vol. I, Part II, 32-42.

³Underlined in the original.

Annex to No. 319

F. 1050/1-3

SAFEGUARDS FOR MUSLIMS OF INDIA JINNAH'S FIFTEEN POINTS¹

1. The form of the future Constitution should be federal with residuary powers vested in the provinces, Central Government to have the control only of such matters of common interest as may be guaranteed by the Constitution.
2. Uniform measure of autonomy shall be granted to all provinces.
3. All legislatures in the country and other elected bodies should be reconstituted on the definite principle of adequate and effective representation of minorities in every province without reducing the majority of any province to a minority or even equality.
4. In the Central Legislature Muslim representation should not be less than one-third.
5. The representation of communal groups should continue to be by means of separate electorates as at present, provided that it should be open to any community at any time to abandon its separate electorate in favour of joint electorates.
6. Any territorial redistribution that might at any time be necessary should not in any way affect the Muslim majority in the Punjab, Bengal, and North-West Frontier Province.

7. Full religious liberty, that is, liberty of belief, worship, observances, propaganda, association and education should be guaranteed to all communities.
8. No Bill or resolution or any part thereof, should be passed in any legislature or any other elected body, if three-fourths of the members of any community in that particular body oppose such a bill or resolution or part thereof on the ground that it would be injurious to the interests of that community or, in the alternative, such other method is devised as may be found feasible and practicable to deal with such cases.
9. Sind should be separated from the Bombay Presidency.
10. Reforms should be introduced in the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan on the same footing as in other provinces.
11. Provision should be made in the Constitution giving the Muslims an adequate share along with other Indians in all the Services of the State and in self-governing bodies, having due regard to the requirements of efficiency.
12. The Constitution should embody adequate safeguards for the protection of Muslim religion, culture and personal law, and the promotion of Muslim education, language, Muslim charitable institutions, and for their due share in grants-in-aid given by the State and by self-governing bodies.
13. No cabinet, either central or provincial, should be formed without there being a proportion of Muslim Ministers or at least one-third.
14. No change to be made in the Constitution by the Central Legislature except with the concurrence of the States constituting the Indian Federation.
15. That in the present circumstances the representation of Musalmans in the different legislatures of the country, and of the other elected bodies through separate electorates is inevitable, and, further, Government being pledged not to deprive the Musalmans of this right, it cannot be taken away without their consent, and so long as the Musalmans are not satisfied that their rights and interests are safeguarded in the manner specified above (or herein) they would in no way consent to the establishment of joint electorates with or without conditions.

Note. The question of excess representation of Musalmans over and above their population in the provinces where they are in the minority to be considered hereafter.

¹Popularly known as Jinnah's Fourteen Points.

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Aizazuddin Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 162/104

PERSONAL

GALI KASAM JAN, DELHI,
30 June 1947

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

After due respects I humbly beg to congratulate you on your success in achieving Pakistan for the whole [*sic*] of Indian Muslims. May you live long to make it more and more prosperous.

I very well know that you are very busy now-a-days but I have been obliged to seek an interview merely for private reasons, which I will disclose on seeing your good self.

I am son of late Nawab Sir Amiruddin Ahmad Khan Bahadur, Chief of Loharu State, Punjab. I have been in Government service for over 16 years, out of which 10 years were spent in Baluchistan and 6 years in [the] Punjab as an E.A.C.¹

In the year 1926, the Rohtak Hindu Bar complained against me and several charge sheets were brought against me having no legal proof, and two I.C.S. officers of the Punjab Government were appointed in Delhi Sessions Court to enquire and report. You were good enough to spend full 6 hours for the arguments in my case, and in spite of all your efforts and the good services of my late father, Sir Malcolm Hailey, the then Governor of [the] Punjab, dismissed me.

I now request you most humbly and respectfully to give me an opportunity to serve in your Pakistan. My old experience in these two provinces may prove more useful, as people there respect me and know me very well.

I shall feel grateful if you will kindly grant me an interview before your departure to Karachi. If however time does not permit you, then please be good enough to appoint me in the Pakistan Area on any job you may deem proper.

I may add that I was drawing about Rs. 800 per month before my dismissal.

Thanking you for the courtesy of a favourable early reply which I am eagerly awaiting, hoping at the same time that this will find you and your family in the best of health.

With sincere regards,

Yours obediently,
AIZAZUDDIN AHMAD KHAN LOHARVI

¹Extra Assistant Commissioner.

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*Habib Bank Ltd., Delhi, to M. A. Jinnah**F. 910/327*

CHANDNI CHOWK, DELHI,

30 June 1947

RE: YOUR CURRENT ACCOUNT

Dear Sir,

Your above account shows a credit balance of Rs. 3,76,253-13-4 as on 30 June 1947 after accounting for the following entries. If you are satisfied about the correctness thereof kindly sign the confirmation below and return it to us for our records. In case we do not receive the confirmation duly signed by you within 15 days from the date of this letter, it will be presumed that you are fully satisfied that the balance is correct and that you confirm the same.

ITEMS ABOVE REFERRED TO

Interest credited up to Dec. 1946=[Rs.] 379-14-0 and up to June 1947=
[Rs.] 1,831-4-0.

Interest debited Rs. [Nil].

Incidental charges debited Rs. [Nil].

Yours faithfully,

Accountant

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*M. A. Jinnah to Ahmad Ispahani**Telegram, F. 682/339*

NEW DELHI

30 June 1947

EXPRESS

Ahmad Ispahani, Ispahanian, Calcutta

Receive one lakh¹ Habib Bank Calcutta. Will arrange more later.

JINNAH

¹For Sylhet referendum expenses.

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*M. A. Jinnah to Habib Bank Ltd., Delhi**F. 682/337**30 June 1947*

PAKISTAN FUND

Dear Sir,

I am enclosing herewith eight cheques with three pay-in slips, totaling in all Rs. 2,080 (Rupees two thousand and eighty only) which amount, on realization, please credit to the Pakistan Fund Account opened with your Bank. Also, please issue receipts direct to the donors as per their names and addresses given in the list enclosed and oblige,

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

The Agent,
Habib Bank Ltd.,
Chandni Chowk,
Delhi

*Enclosure to No. 323**F. 682/338*

PAKISTAN FUND

- | | |
|---|---------|
| 1. Mr. Rajab Ali R. R. Nanji,
The Taj Mahal Hotel, Bombay,
Ch. No.: ■ 000525, National Bank of India,
Bombay | Rs. 500 |
| 2. Mr. M. Yacob, 35 Empress Road, Lahore,
Ch. No. : BA/4 67628, Imperial Bank of India,
Lahore | Rs. 200 |
| 3. Athar Shafi Alavi c/o Mr. M. S. Alavi,
102 Kazitola, Bareilly, Ch. No.: BA/ 198454,
Imperial Bank of India, Bareilly | Rs. 30 |
| 4. Capt. M. M. Qureshi, Aziz Manzil,
Kalan Mahal, Delhi, Ch. No.: PB/ 5920037,
Imperial Bank of India, Delhi | Rs. 50 |

5. Mr. Fakhruddin c/o Valibhai Kamruddin, 101 Abdul Rahman Street, Bombay 3, Cheque No.: MA 071859, Habib Bank, Bombay	Rs. 1,000
6. Syed Siddiq Hasan, 20 Ranjit Singh Road, New Delhi, Ch. No.: 038592, The Punjab National Bank Limited, Delhi	Rs. 150
7. M. Masud Ali, Magistrate, Daverkonda, Saeedabad, Phisalbanda Road, Hyderabad, Deccan, Ch. No.: BZ/ 1495144, Imperial Bank of India, Hyderabad	Rs. 100
8. Mohammad Athar, Advocate, 1/80 Phatak Sheikh Salem, Benares, ¹ Ch. No.: BA/ 205735, Imperial Bank of India, Benares	Rs. 50
Total	Rs. 2,080

(Rupees two thousand and eighty only)

¹Now called Varanasi.

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Sohrab K. Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 162/108-108A

ECSON HOUSE, 1ST PASTA LANE,
COLABA, BOMBAY 5,
30 June 1947

Sir,

To the thousands of felicitations received by you on your memorable achievement of realising the justified ideal of Pakistan, may I add mine too?

The *Times of India* reports the desire of the Pakistan Government to enlist the service of specialists. While I do not belong to Pakistan nor I have any ties with the Muslim nation, I wish to offer my *honorary services*¹ on any technical and trade missions and committees that may be formed for planning the industrial and commercial expansion of Pakistan. In making this offer, particularly as a resident of Hindustan

and one who has so far had very close ties with the Hindus, I am not prompted by any pecuniary motives but with a desire to participate in the development and welfare of Pakistan.

Regarding my qualifications, I submit some enclosures² which would give a general indication about my high merits in the field of textile technology in particular, and my knowledge of other industries such as paper mills, oil mills, sugar mills, power plants, electrical undertakings and engineering establishments. A proof of this matter be had from the fact that during the war my services were taken over by Government of India with whom I worked in the Textile Commissioner's office for a period of 3½ years as Deputy Controller in charge of the procurement and distribution programme for textile machinery and mill equipments.

Recently, I had an extensive business and technical study tour of Great Britain and the Continent, and by virtue of my considerable business relations with these countries I possess up-to-date information on technical development and the possibilities of procurement of industrial plants and technical equipments from overseas.

I would also be willing to proceed overseas as a member of any technical mission which may be deputed to visit other countries for the purpose of promoting the industrial development and expansion of Pakistan. As a matter of fact, the Commerce Department has agreed to grant me permission to proceed to Germany sometime in the near future for the purpose of developing my previous business contacts with that nation.

In general, I offer my *honorary services* in any technical capacity, feeling that my 25 years' close association with the textile industry in particular and other industries in general, both as a technologist as well as a commercial man connected with planning and installation of capital plants, can be justifiably offered to the Government of Pakistan.

I, therefore, trust that this will receive your consideration in the proper light, and I shall be very happy to hold my services at your disposal and thanking you for an acknowledgment of this,

I remain,

Yours faithfully,

S. K. KHAN

¹Underlined here and hereafter in the original.

²Not printed.

325

*Liaquat Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah**F. 2/130*NEW DELHI,
30 June 1947

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Here is a note that has been prepared by Mohamad Ali.

If you can find time to go through it sometime this afternoon I suggest that Ghulam Mohammed, Mohamad Ali and myself should discuss it with you this evening at 7.30 p.m..

Kindly ask Khurshid to let me know if this suits you.

Yours sincerely,
LIAQUAT ALI KHAN*Enclosure to No. 325**F. 2/131-6*

Subject: The Necessity of a Common Authority Until Division is Completed

The position that is likely to emerge on 15th August 1947 is as follows:

I. ARMED FORCES

The majority of units in Infantry, Artillery, Armoured Corps, and Engineers having 50% or more of the Muslim personnel will have been moved to Pakistan. There will still be a fair number of Hindu units in Pakistan and a considerable number of Muslim personnel in Hindustan.

In a modern Army the proportion of administrative units such as Supply, Ordnance, Mechanical and Electrical Engineers, etc., to Fighting Units is about 40:60. Since these Units are of mixed composition and since the personnel of all Fighting Units will not have been sorted out by the 15th August, about half of the Army will be undergoing the process of reconstitution.

Agreement will have been reached regarding the principles on which stores and equipment are to be divided between Pakistan and Hindustan, but the bulk of the stores and equipment will lie in depots situated in Hindustan and very little physical transfers will have taken place by the 15th August.

All Ordnance Factories and practically all the workshops are in Hindustan. Since the transplantation of any installation to Pakistan is likely to be resisted by the Congress, no agreement will have been reached on the allocation of a fair share of these installations to Pakistan.

II. GOVERNMENT OF INDIA SECRETARIAT

The division of personnel and of some of the records and office equipment will have been completed and members of the Pakistan Secretariat and of attached offices will have been moved to Karachi but they will be inadequately equipped with files and office equipment and will be suffering a considerable degree of hardship and discomfort owing to the housing situation in Karachi. The division or duplication of records will take some months to complete.

III. RAILWAYS, P&T [POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS] ETC.

The administration of Pakistan's portion of N. W. R [North Western Railway] and of the B.A. [Bengal Assam] Railway will have been placed under the control of the Pakistan Government by the 15th August, but extensive transfer of personnel between Hindustan and Pakistan will still be necessary and will take another six months to complete. Similar would be the case with Postal & Telegraph circles, Civil Aviation, P. W. D. and the Customs administration in Karachi and Chittagong. The office of the Accountants-General, Bengal and Punjab, will have been divided on paper. An accounts office will have been set up at Karachi to disburse the pay and allowances and other expenditure of the Pakistan Government.

IV. [FIXED ASSETS]

The allocation of the fixed assets and of most of the moveable stores of the Pakistan Railways and Posts & Telegraphs system will have been made, but disputes will still be going on regarding workshops such as the Kanchrapara workshop and about the allocation of some of the stores and equipment. The physical transfer of stores and equipment will take some months to complete.

V. [FINANCIAL RESPONSIBILITY]

The allocation of financial responsibility between the two Governments for the assets taken over by each or for liabilities such as public debt and pensions will be in dispute and will only be settled by the Arbitration Tribunal some months later.

VI. [THE RESERVE BANK]

The Reserve Bank will be functioning for the whole of India and currency arrangements and exchange control will continue as now.

Orders for the overprinting of currency notes and the minting of Pakistan rupees will have been given but the overprinted notes cannot be brought into circulation before 1st April 1948. The change of metallic coins will take much longer but is not so urgent a problem.

VII. [STAND-STILL ARRANGEMENTS]

Stand-still arrangements will have been made for the remaining part of the current financial year in respect of existing controls on cloth, food, coal, jute, steel, etc., although the control on cloth is likely to be a disputed item. These stand-still arrangements will last up to 1st April 1948 in the first instance. A few months before that date the two Governments will enter into negotiations for trade arrangements, and, if agreed to for the continuance of the stand-still arrangements for another six months. It is unlikely that the stand-still agreement will last beyond 1st April 1948.

VIII [PROVISIONAL DIVISION OF CASH BALANCES]

The provisional division of cash balances of the Government of India will have [been] made. Although Customs, Income Tax and Excise and other miscellaneous revenues will with effect from the 15th August be collected by two separate Administrations — Pakistan Government in their own areas and the Hindustan Government in their own areas, the receipts will have to be pooled for the current year and divided between the two Governments. The principle on which this division should take place is likely to be contested and will be a matter for the Arbitration Tribunal. The reason for pooling is that receipts from revenues do not flow evenly throughout the year and sources of collection do not coincide with the incidence. The continuance of a Customs Union beyond 1st April 1948 will depend on the practicability of erecting effective Customs barriers between the two States by 1st April 1948. This is being examined.

2. On 1st April 1948, the following position will obtain if everything goes according to the programme.

i. The Armed Forces will have been completely divided and most of the stores and equipment allotted to Pakistan will have been moved to Pakistan areas. Pakistan will still depend upon Hindustan for most of the training facilities and for supply of ammunition and arms. Assuming that the Arbitration Tribunal decides that a certain number of Ordnance factories and other fixed installations should be moved to Pakistan, the dismantling, transportation and re-erection of these factories is not likely to be completed before 1st April 1949 and may possibly take considerably longer.

ii. Most of the transfers of personnel in the civil administration will

have taken place between Hindustan and Pakistan, and all the cadres of the civil administration including Railways and Posts and Telegraphs will have been formed.

The allocation and movement of moveable stores on civil side will have been completed, but the dismantling and re-erection of fixed installations will take anything up to two years.

iii. Pakistan will have its own currency and exchange control.

iv. The trade and economic relations will be governed by a treaty between the two Governments. It is possible and even likely that there will be some sort of economic warfare between the two States. This means that at the earliest possible moment after the 15th August, Pakistan Government will have to make alternative arrangements for the supply of coal for the railways and for steel, cloth and the goods in short supply. Even so, the people of Pakistan will have to face serious shortages and hardships. On the other hand, the Hindustan Government will be in serious difficulties for food during 1948.

v. Pakistan Government will have established diplomatic relations with a number of countries.

3. The above analysis shows that the period from 15th August 1947 to 1st April 1948 will be vital in many respects. The division of more than half the Army and of all the stores, equipment and installations will take place during that period. Most of the units to be divided and almost all the stores and installations will be in Hindustan.

ii. The transfer of personnel in the civil administration including Railways and Posts and Telegraphs will be going on. The physical transfer of a good deal of stores and equipment will take place during this period. Again, most of the stores, equipment, workshops, etc., are located in Hindustan area.

iii. Pakistan Government will be dependent upon the Security Printing Press situated in Hindustan for the execution of the orders for overprinting of notes.

4. Unless a common authority exists to supervise the execution of the various decisions that may be reached by agreement in the Partition Council or by an award of the Arbitration Tribunal, Pakistan will not get its due share of the assets and even of personnel and organizations. An Arbitration Tribunal can give judicial decisions but if their implementation depends upon the good-will of the Hindustan Government, they will not be given effect to. Hindustan will have an immense advantage over Pakistan in that they would be in actual possession of the bulk of the assets. A common authority which can interfere in the processes of administration even though by persuasion would be of immense value. To give one example, the manner

in which the administration of the joint Army Units is carried out and the speed at which the division of the Armed Forces or the transportation of stores from one area to another takes place, are not matters in which the Arbitration Tribunal can play any effective part. They are matters falling within the sphere of administration but are of such extreme importance that we must take every step we can to secure our fair share. The representatives of the two Government will have differing views on these matters and unless there is a common authority to co-ordinate their views and to induce both sides to be reasonable, Pakistan will be a heavy loser. It is essential therefore to have a common authority exercising effective control over such parts of the administration and assets as have not been divided, and provision should be made for it in the new Bill. If such a provision is found to be impracticable for political or constitutional reasons the next best thing would be to have a common Governor-General.

[MOHAMAD ALI]

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Louis Mountbatten to M.A. Jinnah

F.2/140

NO. 1446/16

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE, NEW DELHI,
30 June 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

At the meeting of the Partition Council held last Friday, 27th June,¹ we discussed the manner in which appointments to the office of Governor would be made for the Pakistan Provinces.

You stated as your own opinion that these appointments would be made on the recommendation of the Pakistan Dominion Government, but you said that you would like to discuss the matter further with your colleagues.

As it is necessary that the procedure should be agreed before the introduction of the Indian Independence Bill into Parliament, I should be grateful if you would let me know as soon as possible the decision of the Muslim League on this point. You will remember that the Congress

decided that appointments to Governorships in their Provinces should be made on the advice of their Dominion Government.

Your sincerely,
MOUNTBATTEN OF BURMA

¹See No. 306, note 2.

327

Louis Mountbatten to M.A. Jinnah

F.2/138

NO.1446/36

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
30 June 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you for your letter of yesterday,¹ enclosing your memorandum about the arrangements for the reconstitution of the Central Government.

As I promised you, I have telegraphed your memorandum to London and await the opinion of the experts there.

Yours sincerely,
MOUNTBATTEN OF BURMA

¹No. 311.

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Louis Mountbatten to M.A. Jinnah

F.2/129

NO. 1446/8

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
30 June 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am so glad to know that you are satisfied with the composition of your party for considering the Indian Independence Bill¹ tomorrow, for I feel that the fewer people who are in the know the less chance there is of leakage. You with your great experience with the Privy Council in London will realise what great importance H.M. Government

attach to there being no leakage; and I am therefore appealing to both leaders to ensure that there will be no leakage from their teams.

I also thought it would be advisable to authorise Congress to bring Mr. Gandhi if they wished to; for although, of course, he does not as a rule attend such meetings, I particularly do not wish any difficulties caused through his omission.

You will find that the new Bill includes a provision for each Dominion to have a separate Governor-General and a clause making it lawful for one person to hold both appointments for such period as may be determined by either Dominion, after 15th August. I therefore trust that you will be able to let me have a letter by Wednesday² morning informing me whom you wish to nominate as the first Governor-General of Pakistan, so that I may communicate this to the King. Congress, as you know, have already sent me their nomination.³

Yours sincerely,
MOUNTBATTEN OF BURMA

¹F. 4/103-30, n.d., QAP.

²F. 2/ 141, 2 July 1947, QAP.

³Nehru had informed Mountbatten of the Congress agreement to the proposal of a common Governor-General for both the Dominions for the interim period; he had also conveyed acceptance to the appointment of Mountbatten as common Governor-General. See No. 439 and Enclosure to No. 442, Vol. I, Part I, 789-90 and 793-4, respectively. Also see Enclosure to No. 325 and Appendix IX.5.

329

Naseer Uddin to M.A.Jinnah

F.162/105-7

MAINPURI, U.P.,
30 June 1947

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

It is great thanks to God that our attempts for the achievement of Pakistan have been successful.

I am proud to note that I being the Councillor of the All India Muslim League Council attended all its meetings and the Legislators' Convention at Delhi and Bombay in the years 1946 and 1947.

I was one of those Councillors who voted for the rejection of the [Cabinet] Mission's Plan *in toto* at Bombay on the lines suggested by

the President and then approved His Majesty's Plan dated June 3, 1947¹ on the lines approved by our beloved President.

I keep full faith and confidence in the straightforwardness, political insight, diplomacy and advocacy of the Quaid-i-Azam.

It is well-known to your Council that I am a Councillor as well as an Advocate of the Allahabad High Court practising in the district courts at Mainpuri, U.P.

I have got flourishing practice on the criminal side and good practice on the revenue as well as civil side but since you call for sacrifice at the altar of Pakistan I exerted myself for the propagation of the League policy in my district and brought it to the level of first class districts so far as the organization of the works [*sic*] is concerned.

It was I who, at the bid [ding] of the High Command of the U.P. Provincial Muslim League, fought election petition against Mr. Nisar Ahmad Sherwani, the present Minister of U.P. who was a Congress candidate for the² Mainpuri-Etah Muslim Constituency of the U.P. Legislative Assembly.

It was I who incurred the great displeasure of the Congress-minded District Magistrate and Sub-Divisional Officer of District Mainpuri in the interest of our goal of Pakistan resulting in the great sufferance [*sic*] of my legal practice.

I had to give up practice in some courts which were actuated by malice against the District League office-bearers and am still pursuing the same policy.

In this district the Muslim population is about 7%; so to say it is the most wretched District of the province and may be turned into a theatre of communal war like Bihar any moment.

I am the only Muslim Advocate in the district who is an eye-sore to the opposition.

I was intending to shift to the High Court of Judicature at Allahabad but in the light of the hostile propaganda against Urdu language, Hindu clientele and unbearable attitude of the Congress leaders like Tandon³—the Speaker of the U.P. Assembly, I have lost every hope in the Congress Ministry for a fair deal and justice.

Therefore, I volunteer my services for our beloved State of Pakistan.

I hope you would be kind enough to accept my services for the following departments or posts:

1. For the post of an Ambassador to any foreign country in Asia, Europe, Africa or Australia
2. Any post in the Foreign or Political department
3. Any high Judicial or Legislative service
4. Any service in the Consembly

5. The post of ■ Judge on the Bench of the High Court or of a District
6. The post of a Government Advocate of the High Court.

[Particulars omitted.]

Yours sincerely,
 NASEER UDDIN
Advocate, High Court
Councillor, All India Muslim League

¹No. 1.

²Underlined in the original.

³Purshottam Dass Tandon.

330

National Bank of India Limited, Lahore, to M.A. Jinnah

F.1125/1

LAHORE,
 30 June 1947

I beg to inform you that your Current Account has this day been balanced by Rs. 37,388-11-0 (Rupees thirty-seven thousand three hundred and eighty-eight annas eleven only) due to you and this amount we have carried forward to your credit in a new Account.

If you are satisfied as to the correctness of this balance kindly sign the confirmation below¹ and return the entire form to us.

Accountant

¹Omitted.

331

National Bank of India Limited, Bombay, to M.A. Jinnah

F. 1125/14

POST BOX NO. 141,
 BOMBAY,
 30 June 1947

The Manager begs to inform you that your Current Account No. 2

was balanced on 30 June 1947 by the sum of Rs. 1,89,635-04-01 (Rupees one lakh eighty nine thousand six hundred and thirty-five annas four *pie* one only) due to you, which amount has been carried forward to your credit in a new Account.

If you are satisfied as to the correctness of this balance the Manager will be obliged by your kindly signing the confirmation below¹ and returning this form to the Bank.

¹Omitted.

332

National Bank of India Limited,¹ Bombay, to M.A.Jinnah

F.1125/2

POST BOX NO. 141,
BOMBAY,
30 June 1947

The Manager begs to inform you that your Current Account No. 1 was balanced on 30th June 1947 by the sum of Rs. 1,93,871-14-08 (Rupees one lakh ninety-three thousand eight hundred and seventy-one annas fourteen and *pies* eight only) due by you, which amount has been carried forward to your debit in a new Account.

If you are satisfied as to the correctness of this balance the Manager will be obliged by your kindly signing the confirmation below² and returning this form to the Bank.

¹Incorporated in the United Kingdom.

²Omitted.

333

Firoz Khan Noon to M.A.Jinnah

F.399/173-5

OUTSIDE LAKKI GATE,
BANNU,¹
30 June 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am on the way to Tank and Dera Ismail Khan. This place is very hot in every sense. Two out of the four constituencies are Congress

strongholds and the Faqir of Ipi is telling everyone not to vote. Congress MLAs from here have been with him and [have] offered to make him king! I have been discussing local matters here and am sending a man to Ipi with my letter asking for his help. If votes are polled we should score 50% at least. Pirs of Manki, Sial Sharif, Taunsa and Shabbir Ahmad Usmani are all invading this place and things should improve.

I told the Governor yesterday that the Ministry, having decided not to fight, should resign and referendum not held. He said that he is asking Dr. Khan Sahib to give in writing that he does not wish to contest but he has not done so. Yesterday Ghaffar was out holding meetings but people say that the Congress organisation is so perfect that they can spring a surprise but I don't think they will contest. I am asking Leaguers to advise Hindus not to take part in this fight. This may succeed.

The companions in the car suggested that you should send for President, Provincial Muslim League, Samin Jan Khan, President, Peshawar City League, Fida Hussain, and Aslam Khan, a city League worker, and interview them individually and acquaint yourself with public opinion re[garding] various Frontier personalities; of course Manki must be consulted. This is your most important and difficult province and we must not commit the same mistake as we did a few years back when the League Ministers through their reputation for corruption did the League great harm from which we have not yet recovered. People here allege that individuals have been sent from here to present certain pictures to you. Khan Brothers are still very strong and their movement is not dead.

The National Guards are a great force here and cannot be ignored. Many fresh leaders have been thrown up, and who have been so busy that they have not had time to reach you. After you have won the referendum, *Insha' Allah*, perhaps you will be able to visit Peshawar for a few days.

Kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
FIROZ NOON

[PS.] S[ection] 93² should come in the moment the referendum results are announced and then you come here.

My letters are all for you personally and not to be passed on to anyone as I should like to be able to write freely.

¹The letter was written on the pad of Sarhad Muslim League bearing the Quranic verse: *Wa 'tasimu bi Hablil Lahi Jami'n wa Laa Taffaragu* [And hold the rope of Allah together and do not get disunited.]

²Governor's Rule.

334

Nzeer Ahmed to M.A.Jinnah

F.575/9

In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful

MUSLIM LEAGUE, (LONDON BRANCH),¹
31 NORTON FOLGATE,
LONDON E.I,
30 June 1947

My most worthy Quaid-i-Azam,
Assalaamo 'Alaikum

Thank God that your tireless efforts has [sic] got for us what only three months ago seemed impossible. May God grant you long life, so [that] you may ever guide us in building up a prosperous *Pakistan*.²

To celebrate this first victory, we have arranged a dinner; we (the President and the Executive Committee of London Muslim League) wish you to be present here in person, but that may not be possible in view of your pre-occupations there; we respectfully respect [sic for request] you to send us a message by cable, that we may read out on that occasion.

We have invited all ambassadors in London, H.H. [The] Aga Khan, Sir M. Zafrullah Khan and the senior ministers of the British Cabinet.

If it may not be possible for your good self to atten[d], then your message may kindly reach us by the 8th July, 1947.

Your brother in faith,
NZEER AHMED
General Secretary

¹The following were the other office bearers: S.D. Khan, President; A.D. Khan, Treasurer.

²Underlined in the original.

Enclosure to No. 334

F.575/8

In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful

TO CELEBRATE THE ACHIEVEMENT OF PAKISTAN
MUSLIM LEAGUE (LONDON)
REQUEST THE PLEASURE OF THE COMPANY OF
OUR WORTHY QUAID-I-AZAM
TO DINNER
AT THE CONNAUGHT ROOMS,
GREAT QUEEN STREET, KINGSWAY, W.C.2,
ON WEDNESDAY, JULY 9TH 1947 AT 7.30 P.M.

335

*Mrs K.L. Rallia Ram to M.A. Jinnah**F.487/91*

ELYSIUM HOTEL, SIMLA,
30 June 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am forwarding a clipping¹ about Sylhet Referendum from Dacca. You may have already read it. In case you have not, being heavily engaged in greater tasks, you will find that if all that is written by Mr. Altaf Hussain² is correct, then the League will find it difficult to get a fair chance to give its verdict in the coming Referendum. I sent you a small cutting³ from the Hindu Press two days ago in which the Hindus gloat over the fact that the League will get a surprise in Sylhet. Of course if things are what they are described in the cutting, then it is natural to get a surprise. You should approach the Viceroy about the matter immediately.

Long may you live,

Trusting you are well and fit.

Sincerely yours,
MRS. K.L. RALLIA RAM

¹Not available in QAP. However see Annex.

²Editor, *Dawn*.

³Not available in QAP.

Annex to No. 335

SYLHET REFERENDUM¹

Recently we had occasion to comment on the manner in which the Referendum in Sylhet was proposed to be conducted and we expressed the fear that it would neither be free nor fair. Lord Mountbatten does not appear to have taken any notice of what we then said, although we gave sufficient facts to justify our criticism. The latest news that has reached us from Assam compels us to say that the Viceroy has fulfilled neither the conditions laid down in June 3 Statement² nor the assurance which he publicly gave at his Press Conference on the following day in respect of the Sylhet Referendum.

The June 3 Statement specifically provided that the Referendum in Sylhet, like that in the N.W.F.P., would be held under the aegis of the

Governor-General. Lord Mountbatten elucidated this further by saying that British officers of the Indian Army would supervise the proceedings. This has not been done in Sylhet where, according to our information, no such military officer has been deputed. Instead, matters appear to have been left in the hands of the Provincial Government which means a Congress Ministry interested in the Referendum and a Governor notorious for his anti-Muslim League views and also for his anxiety to placate the Congress. They have appointed a European I.C.S. officer of Assam as Referendum Commissioner. This officer is unsuitable for this post because: (1) He is directly subordinate to a Hindu Minister from Sylhet and (2) he was a prisoner of war in Turkey during World War I, as a result of which he is understood to have developed an aversion to the "Turkish cap" and whoever wears that head gear. Whether this is true or not, there is no denying that the Muslims of Assam regard him with distrust.

Secondly, symbols for ballot boxes have been fixed arbitrarily and without consulting the Muslim League Referendum Committee. A "Hut" has been chosen as the symbol for the ballot boxes for votes against Sylhet joining Eastern Pakistan, while an "Axe" has been chosen for the ballot boxes for votes in favour of joining Pakistan. These symbols have a popular background and Congress convassers are already going about playing on popular superstition and telling them that if they want to live happily in their own huts or homes, they should put their votes in the boxes bearing that symbol, but if they want to put the axe to their limbs, i.e. commit an injury to themselves, they may throw their votes in the boxes bearing the symbol of the axe.

Thirdly, while no British military officer has been sent by the Governor-General either to maintain peace or supervise the proceedings, Sardar Baldev Singh's Sikh officers are touring the district extensively. Fourthly, Presiding Officers will be subordinates of the Assam Government and no step has been taken to place them under the supervision of officers under the control of the Governor-General. Fifthly, deliberate delay has been made in making available to League workers authenticated voters' lists, although Congress workers freely obtained copies clandestinely many days ago. Sixthly, Muslim Press Correspondents' reports to the Muslim Press are being heavily censored, and even telegrams to outside League leaders and to League workers in various parts of Sylhet and the Province of Assam are being withheld. Seventhly, League workers are being indiscriminately arrested and threats are being held out of more widespread arrests just before the Referendum. Lastly, Gurkha and other non-Muslim troops who

have been stationed for some months in various parts of Sylhet have [not] only not been withdrawn but are being further reinforced with more non-Muslim troops. They are freely intimidating people.

Lord Mountbatten claims that he should be trusted to be fair to all concerned. We admit that so far he has acted in a commendable manner. But we must frankly tell him that ever [sic] the Sylhet Referendum he is not living either up to his reputation or his own standard of fairness. We urge him to act speedily and fulfil his promise to ensure free and fair voting in Sylhet—a promise which remains still unredeemed.

Since the above was written news has been received of the promulgation of an Ordinance by the Assam Governor creating various new "offences" in connection with the Referendum. The Ordinance provides for the punishment, *inter alia*, of what it calls "making or publishing false statements with intent to affect the referendum." No objection could have been taken to such an Ordinance if the machinery for its enforcement had been other than that of the Assam Congress Ministry. But as things are, the Ordinance will certainly be misused to stifle the Muslim League's campaign. We ask the Viceroy whether the Ordinance has been promulgated with his consent and if so what guarantee he can give that it will not be misused. If no satisfactory announcement is made within the next 48 hours we shall be compelled to return to the subject and indulge in some plain speaking.

¹*Dawn*, 29 June 1947.

²No. 1.

336

*Note I by A. Aziz on Partition of the Punjab*¹

F. 131/2-10

ROOM 107, IMPERIAL HOTEL,
DELHI,

Undated [June 1947]

The resignation of Sir Khizar Hayat Khan on 3rd March 1947 provided the Sikhs and the Muslims—the two dominant communities in the Punjab—a unique opportunity of shouldering the responsibilities of the Government for the general good of the province. Both these communities have much in common. To enumerate a few instances only of similarity of outlook and interest: both have martial traditions; both are democratic in outlook; both believe in monotheism and shun

idolatry; both are predominantly agriculturists, educationally backward, and subject to the exploitation of the *banya*; both require assistance towards industrialisation; and the interests of both have been subjected for some time past to Hindu big business, which has reserved trade and industry for itself by persuading a too-willing Coalition Government, in which the Hindu Congress was the dominant partner to preserve these vocations only for the existing Hindu vested interest. The prospect of a Muslim-Sikh partnership in power in the Punjab on the dramatic crash of the Coalition Ministry could on no account be tolerated by the Hindu Congress, especially in view of His Majesty's Government's statement of 20th February. It immediately set to work to leave no stone unturned to prevent this natural development materialising. The Congress even went to the length of giving up its fundamental principles by demanding a partition of the Punjab on a religious basis—thereby accepting the principle of the Muslim demand for Pakistan. A Goebbelsian effort was made to depict Sikhism as in danger and to beguile the frank and simple Sikh community in the heat of this propaganda into believing that they will stand to gain by partition. We invite our Sikh brethren to understand the issues involved in partition clearly and to consider earnestly if partition of the Punjab will be in their best interests.

Partition of the Punjab, unless it is to be consequent on the rule of might as a result of prolonged and devastating civil war, can only take place in accordance with recognised democratic principles. In other words, Punjab can be divided if the community or communities forming a majority in an area (the unit being a village or part of a village even) contiguous to other majority areas of the same community or communities, wish to have a partition and to form a separate province with contiguous majority areas of their community. Now, so far as Hindu community is concerned, it can only demand partition in the Muslim-majority provinces like the Punjab, if the Muslims are given a like concession in the Hindu-majority provinces. The Congress has not expressed its willingness of granting this *quid pro quo* and until it does so the case for partition of the predominantly Hindu Ambala Division and parts of Hoshiarpur and Kangra Districts does not arise. The Sikh community, however, since Punjab is its only homeland, may possibly like to have a separate well-knit State of contiguous parts in which it forms a majority of its own. Let us examine whether this can possibly take place. The statistics of population given below, taken from the 1941 Census, will help us in discovering these areas:

Name of District or Tehsil	Total Population	Community-wise Population		Percentage	
		Sikhs	Muslims	Sikhs	Muslims
I. FEROZEPUR	1,423,076	479,486	641,448	33.7	45.0
1. Ferozepur	290,286	70,782	160,371	24.3	55.2
2. Zira	210,819	50,209	137,586	23.8	65.2
3. Moga	279,763	181,454	66,855	64.8	23.9
4. Muktasar	269,579	106,240	115,350	39.4	42.8
5. Fazilka	372,629	70,771	161,286	43.3	19.4
II. LAHORE	1,695,375	310,646	1,027,772	18.03	60.6
1. Lahore	890,024	103,312	55,907	11.5	62.05
2. Chunian	390,852	83,888	237,829	21.5	60.9
3. Kasur	414,499	123,446	237,036	29.7	57.1
III. AMRITSAR	1,413,876	510,845	657,695	35.4	46.5
1. Amritsar	789,159	242,297	359,025	30.7	45.5
2. Tarn Taran	387,668	199,562	157,731	51.4	40.6
3. Ajnala	237,049	67,986	140,939	28.6	59.4
IV. GURDASPUR	1,153,511	221,261	589,923	19.1	51.1
1. Gurdaspur	328,819	76,695	171,498	23.3	52.1
2. Batala	380,053	116,413	209,277	30.6	55.06
3. Pathankot	153,134	7,580	59,548	4.9	38.8
4. Shakargarh	291,505	10,573	149,600	3.7	53.1
V. SIALKOT	1,190,497	139,409	739,218	11.7	62.09
1. Sialkot	392,764	25,306	241,505	6.4	61.4
2. Pasrur	251,424	26,031	166,549	10.3	66.2
3. Narowal	267,598	46,694	146,982	17.5	55.3
4. Daska	278,711	41,378	184,212	14.8	66.09
VI. HOSHIARPUR	1,170,323	198,194	380,759	16.08	32.5
1. Hoshiarpur	323,740	62,517	145,985	19.3	45.09
2. Dasuya	273,246	40,509	132,105	12.8	41.7
3. Garhshankar	289,539	70,310	67,584	24.2	23.3
4. Una	283,798	24,858	35,085	8.7	12.3
VII. JULLUNDUR	1,127,190	298,741	509,804	26.5	45.2
1. Jullundur	443,010	86,996	226,623	19.5	51.1
2. Nawanshahar	236,028	79,972	74,449	33.8	31.5
3. Phillaur	219,369	80,258	72,814	36.5	33.1
4. Nakoda	228,783	52,037	135,918	22.7	59.4
VIII. LUDHIANA	818,615	341,175	302,482	41.6	36.9
1. Ludhiana	436,627	168,011	71,482	38.4	39.2
2. Jagraon	225,932	110,061	1,380	48.7	36.03
3. Samrala	156,056	63,103	49,620	40.4	31.7
IX. AMBALA	847,745	156,543	268,999	18.3	31.7
1. Ambala	236,031	18,504	90,637	7.8	38.4
2. Kharrar	173,514	68,508	39,156	39.4	22.5
3. Jagadhra	155,773	4,124	47,856	2.6	30.7
4. Naraingarh	131,498	3,530	38,950	2.6	22.01
5. Rupar	150,929	61,847	62,400	40.9	34.7
X. HISSAR	1,006,709	60,731	285,208	6.03	28.3
1. Hissar	239,857	15,712	64,499	0.6	26.8

2. Hansi	224,370	165	45,551	0.07	20.3
3. Bhiwani	158,587	533	29,554	0.03	18.6
4. Fatehabad	169,491	7,664	67,556	4.5	39.8
5. Sirsa	214,404	36,657	78,048	17.09	36.4

From these figures it will be seen that the Sikhs, if they so desire, can form a Sikh State comprising the following areas:

One block of Tarn Taran Tehsil and contiguous parts of Amritsar Tehsil where the Sikhs form a majority; parts of Mukhtasar Tehsil in which the Sikhs may form an absolute majority; the whole of Moga Tehsil; the whole of Nathana and Shahna Sub-Tehsils; the whole of Jagraon Tehsil except for the riverine belt along the Sutlej and Muslim Rajput villages round Raikot—this will give the Sikhs an absolute majority in the rest of the tehsil; the whole of Ludhiana Tehsil except for the riverine Muslim belt and the predominantly Muslim city of Ludhiana—this will give the Sikhs an absolute majority in the rest of the tehsil; the whole of Samrala Tehsil except for the predominantly Muslim riverine area—this will give the Sikhs absolute majority in the rest of the tehsil; parts of Kharrar and Rupar Tehsils contiguous to Samrala Tehsil, in which the Sikhs form more than 50% of the population.

The above areas joined on to Kalsia and the Phulkian States of Faridkot, Patiala, Nabha and Jind will form a compact block, which is shown in the attached map 4 in blue.² The percentage of Sikh population in this Sikh State will be 46.91 as a whole, though somewhat over 50% of the total population so far as British Punjab territory is concerned. The Muslims will have no objection to granting their Sikh brethren a homeland in case they wish to form a separate province in this majority area of theirs. But it is doubtful whether the Sikhs would consider partition seriously, as not more than eight lakh sixty thousand only out of their total population of 37,57,401 in British territory will be in this Sikh province.

It is possible, though not likely, that the Congress may agree to allow Muslims in Hindu-majority provinces the right of partitioning contiguous Muslim-majority blocks as *quid pro quo* for its demand for partitioning similar Hindu-majority blocks in Muslim-majority provinces. In such an eventuality, the line of partitioning would be as in the attached map 5³ The population statistics for these zones will be as follows:

	Total	Muslims	Sikhs	Hindus	Sch. Castes
I. Total Punjab Population:	28,418,819	16,217,232	3,757,401	6,301,737	1,592,320
Percentages:		57.065	13.221	22.171	5.600

II. Total Muslim Majority Areas					
Population:	19,017,448	13,475,745	2,288,544	2,274,588	506,620
Percentages:		70.085	12.033	11.960	2.663
III. Total non-Muslim Areas					
Population:	9,401,371	2,741,497	1,468,857	4,027,149	1,085,700
Percentages:		29.160	15.625	42.825	11.654

The Sikhs, it will be seen, will stand to gain no advantage, if partitioning were to take place in accordance with map 5. Their population will be cut in two—some fifteen lakh remaining in the non-Muslim-majority portion and about 22 lakh 88 thousand in the Muslim-majority portion of the partitioned Punjab. As for communal percentages, Muslims will be 70% in the Muslim-majority areas and able to form a Ministry in their zone, without the help of the 12% Sikh and 11.96% Hindu communities; while the Hindus and Scheduled Castes together will form about 54.48% of the population in the non-Muslim-majority areas and will not depend on the 29% Muslims and 15.6% Sikhs for Ministry formation. The Sikhs will, therefore, in the event of partition, not have any effective voice in these two partitioned areas. Far and away, the most prosperous, both agricultural and industrial, parts of the Punjab, as well as of the Sikh community, together with the most important sacred places of the Sikhs will be in the northern Muslim half. The Sikhs will lose all the important positions which they at present occupy in the Punjab taken as a whole.

These are the plain political realities, which our *Khalsa* brethren must face if they are to have any real grasp over the present political tangle in the Punjab. If they are to escape from the policy of drift, or what is worse, of being tied to the chariot-wheel of the Hindu Congress, the *Khalsa* must know that the Congress is creating an artificial division between the *Khalsa* and Muslims. It is doing so purely to gain its selfish, narrow communal ends, regardless of the ruination this is bringing to the Punjab. Is there any guarantee that as soon as the Congress has succeeded in its game of being the sole custodian of power, it will have any use for the *Khalsa* community, which would then be relegated to the position of an insignificant minority?

We would invite our Sikh friends to consider dispassionately the pros and cons of partitioning the Punjab. It must be plain to anyone endowed with common sense that partitioning of this prosperous province, while it may enable the Hindu Congress to rule the districts or parts of districts of Gurgaon, Rohtak, Karnal, Ambala, Hissar, Kangra and Hoshiarpur, will not only not improve but, if anything, worsen the lot of the *Khalsa* if the partitioned area becomes part of the strong Congress-dominated Centre.

Baba Kharak Singh, the eighty-year-old veteran Akali leader has, as President of the Central Akali Dal and All India Sikh League, stated that "the demand for the partition of the Punjab is a clear deviation from the path set by the great Sikh *gurus* and is a betrayal of the fundamentals of Sikh religion. Such schemes are highly detrimental to the fundamental and larger interests of the Khalsa Panth and are very injurious to the religious structure of the Sikhs." Our *Khalsa* friends may ask what then can be done to safeguard and promote the interests of Sikhs. To this the answer is that if the Sikhs, instead of being deluded by the Congress into fighting battles of the Hindus, face realities and negotiate an honourable settlement with Muslims, their interest can be fully safeguarded and promoted, for they will not find the Muslims lacking in warmth or sympathy. After all Mr. Jinnah has admitted the claims of the Sikhs to autonomy in their majority areas. The interests of the Sikhs really demand devising a friendly and harmonious partnership with the Muslim majority in the governance of the Punjab. If they extend their hand of friendship in a spirit of brotherly feeling and compromise, they may find that the Muslim League deals with them generously, and satisfies their aspirations to a far greater extent than the Congress is ever likely to do.

We appeal to all the Sikhs who are not entirely carried away by the Goebbelsian propaganda of hate engineered by the Congress, to ponder whither some of their present leaders, at the bidding of the *banya* politicians of the Hindu Congress, are leading them, by supporting the plan for partition of the province.

¹This document appeared also in Volume I but without its Enclosure. See No. 369, Vol. I, Part I.

²⁶³See maps at end.

Enclosure to No. 336

F. 131/20-7

HINDUS

Districts & Tehsils	Total Population	Scheduled Castes	Other Hindus	Ad-Dharmis	Jains
PUNJAB	34,309,861	1,772,572	8,214,114	349,863	45,475
British Punjab	28,418,819	1,248,635	6,301,737	343,685	38,233
I. AMBALA DIVISION	4,695,462	647,609	2,451,874	2,795	21,554

1.	HISSAR	1,006,709	128,074	524,602	166	6,126
(1)	Hissar	239,857	30,131	126,843	84	1,996
(2)	Hansi	224,370	38,282	137,479	..	2,836
(3)	Bhiwani	158,587	22,483	105,257	..	587
(4)	Fatehabad	169,491	17,438	76,680	4	124
(5)	Sirsa	214,404	19,740	78,343	78	587
2.	ROHTAK	956,399	135,103	645,371	..	6,847
(1)	Rohtak	263,984	36,632	160,361	..	2,234
(2)	Jhajjar	259,620	34,559	195,531	..	174
(3)	Gohana	216,787	23,186	143,496	..	1,752
(4)	Sonipat	216,008	30,726	145,983	..	2,687
3.	GURGAON	851,458	119,211	441,287	39	2,613
(1)	Gurgaon	140,543	20,707	92,907	..	941
(2)	Ferozepur Jhirka	123,743	11,816	13,922	39	448
(3)	Nuh	147,649	16,425	45,445	..	124
(4)	Palwal	159,641	28,617	101,617	..	186
(5)	Rewari	182,175	17,895	123,868	..	841
(6)	Ballahgarh	97,707	13,751	63,528	..	73
4.	KARNAL	994,575	136,448	529,588	265	2,789
(1)	Karnal	293,597	39,464	148,517	198	1,021
(2)	Panipat	200,461	24,457	111,069	31	1,030
(3)	Kaithal	332,303	49,887	191,763	..	6,694
(4)	Thanesar	168,214	22,640	782,39	36	36

HINDUS

	Districts & Tehsils	Total Population	Scheduled Castes	Other Hindus	Ad-Dharmis	Jains
5.	AMBALA	847,745	121,691	288,652	2,325	3,065
(1)	Ambala	236,031	32,556	90,011	50	1,894
(2)	Kharar	173,514	16,946	46,787	84	317
(3)	Jagadri	155,773	37,390	65,407	28	241
(4)	Naraingarh	131,498	23,568	64,922	..	281
(5)	Rupar	150,929	11,171	21,525	2,153	332
6.	SIMLA	38,576	7,092	22,274	..	114
(1)	Simla	26,786	4,531	13,419	..	114
(2)	Kot Khai	11,790	2,561	8,955	..	..
7.	KANGRA	899,377	112,570	725,909	8,052	101
(1)	Kangra	138,840	8,642	119,865	584	..
(2)	Dehra	147,444	11,614	126,148	3,247	..
(3)	Nurpur	104,304	9,520	72,724	1,321	-
(4)	Hamirpur	201,331	22,760	169,212	2,829	99
(5)	Palampur	170,256	28,665	137,661	71	..
(6)	Kulu	137,202	31,364	100,301	..	4
8.	HOSHIARPUR	1,170,323	54,388	413,837	115,855	1,125
(1)	Hoshiarpur	323,740	9,333	61,443	42,904	510
(2)	Dasuya	273,246	7,158	65,684	22,730	328
(3)	Garhshanker	289,530	18,541	96,923	35,527	284
(4)	Una	283,798	19,356	189,787	14,694	3

9.	JULLUNDUR	1,127,190	41,581	156,579	112,850	1,395
(1)	Jullundur	443,910	16,959	64,121	42,638	768
(2)	Nawanshahr	236,028	6,065	39,438	35,525	496
(3)	Phillaur	219,369	5,668	32,751	28,088	7
(4)	Nakodar	228,783	12,898	20,269	6,599	124
10.	LUDHIANA	818,615	60,432	106,246	5,037	1,279
(1)	Ludhiana	436,627	33,966	59,423	1,973	605
(2)	Jagraon	225,932	11,923	19,628	1,978	669
(3)	Samrala	156,056	14,545	27,195	1,086	5
HINDUS						
	Districts & Tehsils	Total Population	Scheduled Castes	Other Hindus	Ad-Dharmis	Jains
11.	FEROZEPUR	1,423,076	63,031	216,229	8,473	1,674
(1)	Ferozepur	290,286	10,392	42,357	771	745
(2)	Zira	210,819	3,506	11,662	3,695	349
(3)	Moga	279,763	5,927	24,521	83	32
(4)	Muktsar	269,579	13,166	32,583	420	313
(5)	Fazilka	372,629	30,040	104,106	3,504	235
II.	LAHORE DIVISION	7,218,001	176,057	1,25,005	20,448	8,803
12.	LAHORE	1,695,375	32,347	252,004	338	1,961
(1)	Lahore	890,024	5,546	187,992	176	1,095
(2)	Chunian	390,852	20,177	36,045	71	47
(3)	Kasur	414,499	6,624	27,967	92	809
13.	AMRITSAR	1,413,876	22,051	194,727	653	1,911
(1)	Amritsar	789,159	13,741	161,377	635	1,901
(2)	Tarn Taran	387,668	6,110	20,135	..	10
(3)	Ajnala	237,049	2,200	13,215	..	..
14.	GURDASPUR	1,153,511	38,257	244,937	7,582	25
(1)	Gurdaspur	328,819	2,837	54,142	302	22
(2)	Batala	580,053	4,061	29,372	177	..
(3)	Pathankot	153,134	2,884	73,343	7,103	3
(4)	Shakargarh	291,505	28,475	88,078	..	..
15.	SIALKOT	1,190,497	65,149	165,965	205	3,250
(1)	Sialkot	392,764	37,752	66,190	148	2,797
(2)	Pasrur	251,424	11,336	32,723	..	110
(3)	Narowal	267,598	14,721	38,609	..	240
(4)	Daska	278,711	340	28,443	57	103
16.	GUJRANWALA	912,234	7,257	100,630	228	1,445
(1)	Gujranwala	466,248	3,461	54,881	101	1,411
(2)	Wazirabad	205,952	828	21,527	96	18
(3)	Hafizabad	240,034	3,068	24,222	31	16

	Districts & Tehsils	Total Population	HINDUS		Ad-Dharmis	Jains
			Scheduled Castes	Other Hindus		
17.	SHEIKHUPURA	852,508	10,996	66,744	11,442	221
(1)	Sheikhupura	376,589	6,343	31,017	8,330	211
(2)	Nankana Sahib	235,145	3,053	16,602	2,976	8
(3)	Shahdara	240,774	1,600	19,125	136	2
III.	RAWALPINDI DIVISION	4,700,958	19,807	394,863	11,462	1,555
18.	GUJRAT	1,104,952	4,621	80,022	..	10
(1)	Gujrat	380,923	1,449	27,748	..	10
(2)	Kharian	326,942	143	16,461	..	..
(3)	Phalia	397,087	2,030	35,813	..	..
19.	SHAHPUR	998,921	8,229	92,470	1,464	13
(1)	Shahpur	183,529	98	15,870	..	5
(2)	Khushab	234,859	178	17,295	2	..
(3)	Bhalwal	302,345	2,094	29,577	12	1
(4)	Sargodha	278,188	5,859	29,737	1,451	7
20.	JHELUM	629,658	762	40,117	9	159
(1)	Jhelum	225,241	412	14,828	1	147
(2)	Pind Dadan Khan	192,770	226	15,177	8	12
(3)	Chakwal	211,647	24	10,112	..	..
21.	RAWALPINDI	785,231	4,218	78,245	15	1,337
(1)	Rawalpindi	380,395	4,044	64,330	15	1,302
(2)	Gujar Khan	203,568	84	6,697	..	..
(3)	Murree	80,276	80	1,549	..	..
(4)	Kahuta	120,992	10	5,669	..	35
22.	ATTOCK	675,875	996	42,194	19	13
(1)	Attock	234,264	820	18,507	19	13
(2)	Pindi Gheb	167,007	104	12,808	..	..
(3)	Talagang	136,516	32	7,584	..	..
(4)	Fatehjang	138,088	40	3,095	..	..
23.	MIANWALI	508,321	981	61,806	27	23
(1)	Mianwali	222,416	471	25,017	..	..
(2)	Bhakkar	206,035	494	32,234	12	..
(3)	Isa Khel	77,870	16	4,555	15	23

	Districts & Tehsils	Total Population	HINDUS		Ad-Dharmis	Jains
			Scheduled Castes	Other Hindus		
IV.	MULTAN DIVISION	6,365,817	73,160	811,195	68,641	747
24.	MONTGOMERY	1,329,103	23,672	167,510	19,784	49
(1)	Montgomery	428,029	8,889	50,340	11,789	33
(2)	Okara	292,627	5,940	31,706	3,362	10

(3)	Dipal pur	274,972	4,265	33,452	26	..		
(4)	Pakpattan	333,475	4,578	52,012	4,607	6		
25.	LYALLPUR	1,396,305	26,358	135,937	41,764	35		
(1)	Lyallpur	405,973	8,847	52,736	11,817	34		
(2)	Sammundri	300,544	5,772	22,611	5,477	..		
(3)	Toba Tek Singh	396,405	4,863	40,820	9,892	1		
(4)	Jaranwala	293,383	6,876	19,770	14,578	..		
26.	JHANG	821,631	1,845	127,946	98	5		
(1)	Jhang	324,945	126	57,834	8	5		
(2)	Chiniot	318,183	1,640	37,515	64	..		
(3)	Shorkot	178,503	79	32,597	26	..		
27.	MULTAN	1,484,333	17,645	225,342	6,885	352		
(1)	Multan	359,727	2,397	75,802	367	499		
(2)	Shujabad	180,159	1,335	21,983	101	..		
(3)	Lodhran	212,674	2,222	30,420	604	1		
(4)	Mailsi	281,109	6,231	34,762	2,873	18		
(5)	Khanewal	352,471	4,937	34,038	2,933	34		
(6)	Kabirwala	198,193	523	28,337	7	..		
28.	MUZAFFARGARH	712,849	2,595	87,952	96	..		
(1)	Muzaffargarh	221,376	1,009	26,705	..	..
(2)	Ali Pur	196,818	101	25,952	91	..		
(3)	Kot Addu	135,585	1,106	13,692	5	..		
(4)	Leiah	161,070	379	21,603	..	..
29.	DERA GHAZI KHAN	581,350	1,045	66,348	14	106		
(1)	Dera Ghazi Khan	223,735	499	30,543	10	106		
(2)	Saigarh	109,149	269	11,606	..	..
(3)	Rajanpur	136,231	37	12,550	4	..		
(4)	Jampur	112,235	240	11,649	-	..		
Percentages								
	District & Tehsil	Sikhs	Muslims	Christians	Muslim Hindu	Sikh	Sch.C.	Xtian
	PUNJAB	5,116,185	18,259,744	493,081	53.51	23.94	14.91	5.16
	British Punjab	3,757,401	16,217,242	486,038	57.06	22.17	13.2	4.39
I.	AMBALA DIVISION	240,296	1,318,136	10,341	28.28	52.21	5.11	13.79
	1. HISSAR	60,731	285,208	1,802	28.3	52.7	6.3	12.7
(1)	Hissar	15,712	64,499	396	26.8	..	0.6	..
(2)	Hansi	165	45,551	57	20.3	..	0.07	..
(3)	Bhiwani	533	29,554	175	18.6	..	0.03	..
(4)	Fatehabad	7,664	67,556	25	39.8	..	4.5	..
(5)	Sirsa	36,657	78,048	951	36.4	..	17.09	..
	2. ROHTAK	1,466	166,569	1,043	17.4	68.2	0.1	14.1
(1)	Rohtak	481	64,026	250	24.2	..	0.1	..

(2) Jhajjar	176	29,132	48	11.2	..	0.06	..	..
(3) Gohana	196	38,136	21	18.4	..	0.09	..	..
(4) Sonipat	613	35,275	724	16.3	..	0.2	..	..
3. GURGAON	637	285,992	1,457	33.6	52.1	0.07	14.0	0.2
(1) Gurgaon	312	24,878	727	17.7	..	0.2	..	..
(2) Ferozepur Jhirka	14	97,500	4	78.7	..	0.01	..	..
(3) Nuh	12	85,462	181	57.8	..	0.008	..	..
(4) Palwal	182	28,754	269	18.03	..	0.03	..	..
(5) Rewari	61	29,277	102	17.01	..	0.03	..	..
(6) Bellahgarh	55	20,121	176	20.5	..	0.05	..	..
4. KARNAL	19,887	304,346	1,252	30.6	53.5	2.0	14.0	0.1
(1) Karnal	3,291	100,919	187	34.3	..	1.1	..	..
(2) Panipat	442	63,254	170	31.5	..	0.2	..	..
(3) Kaithal	8,496	81,039	424	24.3	..	2.5	..	..
(4) Thanesar	7,658	59,134	471	35.1	..	4.5	..	..
5. AMBALA	156,543	268,999	6,482	31.7	34.4	18.5	14.6	0.7
(1) Ambala	18,504	90,637	2,369	38.4	..	7.8	..	..
(2) Kharar	68,508	39,158	1,716	22.5	..	39.4	..	..
(3) Jagadri	4,124	47,856	697	30.7	..	2.6	..	..
(4) Naraingarh	3,530	38,950	247	22.01	..	2.6	..	..
(5) Rupar	61,847	52,400	1,415	34.7	..	40.9	..	..
District & Tehsil	Sikhs	Muslims	Christians	Percentages		Sikh	Sch.C.	Xtian
				Muslim	Hindu			
6. SIMLA	1,032	7,022	942	20.7	58.3	2.7	18.2	0.2
(1) Simla	1,024	6,825	873	25.4	..	3.8	..	..
(2) Kot Khai	8	197	69	1.6	..	0.06	..	..
7. KANGRA	4,809	43,249	4,627	4.8	80.7	0.5	13.4	0.5
(1) Kangra	833	8,574	344	6.08	..	0.5	..	..
(2) Dehra	1,035	3,370	30	3.6	..	0.7	..	..
(3) Nurpur	2,067	18,659	13	17.8	..	1.9	..	..
(4) Hamirpur	362	8,067	4	3.01	..	0.1	..	..
(5) Palampur	398	3,207	254	1.8	..	0.2	..	..
(6) Kulu	114	1,372	4,042	1	..	0.08	..	..
8. HOSHIARPUR	198,194	380,759	6,165	32.5	35.4	16.9	14.5	0.5
(1) Hoshiarpur	62,517	145,985	1,048	45.09	..	19.3	..	..
(2) Dasuya	40,509	132,105	4,732	41.7	..	12.8	..	..
(3) Gurhshankar	70,310	67,584	370	23.3	..	24.2	..	..
(4) Una	24,858	35,085	15	12.3	..	8.7	..	..
9. JULLUNDUR	298,741	509,804	6,340	45.2	14.0	26.5	13.7	0.5
(1) Jullundur	86,996	226,623	4,905	51.1	..	19.6	..	..
(2) Nawanshahr	79,972	74,449	92	31.5	..	33.8	..	..
(3) Phillaur	80,258	72,814	149	33.1	..	36.5	..	..
(4) Nakodar	52,057	135,918	938	59.4	..	22.7	..	..
10. LUDHIANA	341,175	302,482	1,964	37.1	13.2	41.9	8.4	0.2
(1) Ludhiana	168,011	171,482	1,167	39.2	..	38.4	..	..

(2) Jagraon	110,061	81,380	289	36.03	..	48.7	..	..
(3) Samrala	63,103	49,620	504	31.7	..	40.4	..	..
11. FEROZEPUR	479,486	641,448	12,735	15.6	15.3	33.7	5.0	0.8
(1) Ferozepur	70,782	160,371	4,868	55.2	..	24.3	..	..
(2) Zira	30,209	137,586	3,812	65.2	..	23.8	..	..
(3) Moga	181,454	66,855	891	23.9	..	64.8	..	..
(4) Muktasar	106,240	115,350	1,477	42.8	..	39.4	..	..
(5) Fazilka	70,771	161,286	1,687	43.3	..	19.4	..	..
Percentages								
District & Tehsil	Sikhs	Muslims	Christians	Muslim	Hindu	Sikh	Sch.C.	Xtian
II. LAHORE DIVISION	1,442,006	4,199,658	337,489	58.6	14.3	19.9	2.7	4.5
12. LAHORE	310,646	1,027,772	70,317	60.6	14.9	18.3	1.9	4.1
(1) Lahore	103,312	55,907	39,900	62.05	..	11.5	..	..
(2) Chunian	83,888	237,829	11,895	60.9	..	21.5	..	..
(3) Kasur	123,446	237,036	18,522	57.1	..	29.7	..	..
13. AMRITSAR	510,845	657,695	26,003	46.5	13.9	36.1	1.6	1.8
(1) Amritsar	242,297	359,025	9,165	45.5	..	30.7	..	..
(2) Tarn Taran	199,562	157,731	4,120	40.6	..	31.4	..	..
(3) Ajnala	67,986	140,939	12,709	59.4	..	28.6	..	..
14. GURDASPUR	221,261	589,923	51,528	51.1	21.2	19.1	3.9	4.4
(1) Gurdaspur	76,695	171,498	23,323	52.1	..	23.3	..	..
(2) Batala	116,413	209,277	20,755	55.06	..	20.6	..	..
(3) Pathankot	7,580	59,548	2,675	38.8	..	4.9	..	..
(4) Shakargarh	10,573	149,600	4,779	53.1	..	3.7	..	..
15. SIALKOT	139,409	739,218	77,303	62.0	14.2	11.7	5.5	6.5
(1) Sialkot	25,306	241,505	19,066	61.4	..	6.4	..	..
(2) Pasrur	26,031	166,549	14,705	66.2	..	10.3	..	..
(3) Narowal	46,694	146,982	19,352	55.3	..	17.5	..	..
(4) Daska	41,378	184,212	24,178	66.09	..	14.8	..	..
16. GUJRANWALA	99,139	642,706	60,829	70.4	11.1	10.8	0.8	6.6
(1) Gujranwala	76,035	285,845	44,614	61.7	..	16.3	..	..
(2) Wazirabad	13,543	157,961	11,979	76.7	..	6.5	..	..
(3) Hafizabad	9,561	198,900	4,236	82.9	..	3.8	..	..
17. SHEIKHUPURA	160,706	542,344	60,055	63.6	7.8	18.8	2.6	7.4
(1) Sheikhupura	94,882	201,101	54,405	..	..	25.2	..	..
(2) Nankana Sahib	31,562	174,787	6,157	..	74.3	13.4	..	..
(3) Shahdara	34,262	166,456	19,495	..	69.1	14.2	..	..
III. RAWALPINDI DIVISION	234,071	4,020,141	22,851	85.58.46	4.9	0.66	0.48	
Percentages								
District & Tehsil	Sikhs	Muslims	Christians	Muslim	Hindu	Sikh	Sch.C.	Xtian
18. GUJRAT	70,233	945,609	4,457	85.5	7.2	6.3	0.4	0.4
(1) Gujrat	18,896	331,261	1,559	87.2	..	4.9	..	..

(2) Kharian	17,159	292,641	539	89.6	..	5.2	..	..
(3) Phalia	34,178	322,707	2,359	81.3	..	8.7	..	..
19. SHAHPUR	48,045	835,918	12,690	83.7	9.2	4.8	0.9	1.2
(1) Shahpur	6,037	161,337	179	..	..	..	..	..
(2) Khushab	5,809	211,565	8	..	..	..	..	..
(3) Bhalwal	6,484	263,591	482	..	..	..	..	..
(4) Sargodha	29,716	199,325	13,121	..	..	..	..	..
20. JHELUM	24,680	563,035	730	89.4	6.3	3.9	0.1	0.1
(1) Jhelum	8,720	200,269	639	..	..	..	..	..
(2) Pind Dadan Khan	2,395	174,864	51	..	..	..	..	..
(3) Chakwal	13,565	187,900	40	..	..	..	..	..
21. RAWALPINDI	64,127	628,193	4,212	80.0	10.1	8.1	0.5	1.1
(1) Rawalpindi	40,224	261,720	4,095	..	..	..	..	..
(2) Gujar Khan	15,863	180,830	94	..	..	..	..	..
(3) Murree	435	77,974	19	..	..	..	..	..
(4) Kahuta	7,605	107,669	4	..	..	..	..	..
22. ATTOCK	20,120	611,128	504	90.4	6.2	2.9	0.1	0.2
(1) Attock	6,047	207,557	455	..	..	..	..	..
(2) Pindi Gheb	3,347	150,458	40	..	..	..	..	..
(3) Talagang	3,380	125,512	4	..	..	..	..	..
(4) Fatehjang	7,346	127,601	5	..	..	..	..	..
23. MIANWALI	6,865	436,260	324	86.6	12.2	1.3	0.2	0.07
(1) Mianwali	2,202	194,442	251	..	..	..	..	..
(2) Bhakkar	3,996	169,276	22	..	..	..	..	..
(3) Isa Khel	667	72,542	51	..	..	..	..	..
IV. MULTAN DIVISION	518,623	4,801,565	90,073	71.12	12.74	8.14	1.14	1.41
Percentages								
District & Tehsil	Sikhs	Muslims	Christians	Muslim	Hindu	Sikh	Sch.C.	Xtian
24. MONT- GOMERY	175,064	918,564	24,101	69.1	12.6	13.7	3.2	1.8
(1) Montgomery	53,258	289,161	12,265	..	..	..	..	..
(2) Okara	39,682	203,602	8,288	..	..	..	..	..
(3) Dipalpur	26,077	210,835	314	..	..	..	..	..
(4) Pakpattan	54,047	214,966	3,234	..	..	..	..	..
25. LYALLPUR	262,737	877,518	51,694	69.1	12.6	13.7	3.2	1.8
(1) Lyallpur	89,629	221,333	21,500	..	..	..	..	..
(2) Samundri	40,690	217,359	8,629	..	..	..	..	..
(3) Toba Tek Singh	53,233	271,144	16,353	..	..	..	..	..
(4) Jaranwala	79,185	167,682	5,212	..	..	..	..	..
26. JHANG	12,238	678,736	744	82.6	15.5	1.5	0.2	0.09
(1) Jhang	7,564	259,320	81	..	..	..	..	..
(2) Chiniot	2,188	276,745	23	..	..	..	..	..
(3) Shorkot	2,486	142,671	640	..	..	..	..	..

27. MULTAN	61,628	1,157,911	13,270	78.0	15.2	4.1	1.6	0.09
(1) Multan	3,225	273,637	871	..	..	..	..	..
(2) Shujabad	1,577	155,022	141	..	..	..	..	..
(3) Lodhran	3,519	175,642	218	..	..	..	..	..
(4) Mailsi	21,131	213,413	2,679	..	..	..	..	..
(5) Khanewal	24,380	176,892	9,142	..	..	..	..	..
(6) Kabirwala	5,796	163,305	219	..	..	..	..	..
28. MUZAFFAR- GARH	5,882	616,074	218	86.2	12.3	0.08	0.03	0.003
(1) Muzaffargarh	962	192,516	161	..	..	..	..	..
(2) Ali Pur	2,318	168,352	11	..	..	..	..	..
(3) Kot Addu	1,720	117,005	52	..	..	..	..	..
(4) Leiah	882	138,201	4	..	..	..	..	..
29. DERA GHAZI KHAN	1,072	512,678	46	88.1	11.4	0.1	0.1	0.001
(1) Dera Gahzi Khan	221	192,278	37
(2) Sangarh	34	97,234	6
(3) Rajanpur	791	122,849
(4) Jampur	26	100,317	3

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Note II by A. Aziz on Partition of the Punjab

F. 131/32-42 & 9-10

ROOM 107, IMPERIAL HOTEL,
DELHI,

Undated [June 1947]

The Congress support for the partition of the Punjab has engendered a great amount of heat and has made it difficult for the parties to see the issues clearly. In a previous article the pros and cons from the view-point of the different communities of the Partition Plan, with the equitable lines of demarcation, were dealt with. From this it would appear that the Sikh community are certainly not likely to support partition when they have realised what they would gain or lose by the partition of the province. The Scheduled Castes are also not likely to wish for partition. If the Hindu Congress persists in this demand and is willing to concede similar rights to other minorities inhabiting its majority areas, partition should take place on principles which would appeal to the United Nations Organisation or other International Tribunal which may have to be called to arbitrate. The proper democratic principle in such cases would be that of a referendum on the issue of partition.

If such a referendum is held, there can be no doubt about its results in the contiguous Muslim-majority areas shown in map 5¹—they would all vote for being embodied in a State separate from that dominated by the Hindu Congress. If the Sikhs and Scheduled Castes, as is very likely, also decide against partition, the resultant map of the Punjab will be on the lines shown in the attached map 6.² In that event the whole of Lahore Division, the whole of Jullundur Division with the exception of Kangra District and Una Tehsil of Hoshiarpur District, Ambala District, Tehsils Sirsa and Fatehabad of Hissar District and Tehsils Nuh and Ferozepur Jhirka of Gurgaon District will come into the northern Muslim-Sikh-Scheduled Caste majority half, while the remaining tehsils of Hissar District shown in the map in alternating green and blue colours may elect also to remain within the Punjab. The Phulkian States will probably also prefer to form a unit with this portion of the Punjab and this would round off the Punjab boundary, leaving the Hindu districts of Karnal and Rohtak and three or four Hindu-majority tehsils of Gurgaon District the option (if they so desire) to become a part of the Hindu province.

In this picture the attitude of the Sikhs and Scheduled Castes as also a considerable number of Hindus, who are opposed to partition, will determine whether in the case of partition, the northern half of the Punjab is to be as in map 5 or map 6.

- i. Map 4 showing only Sikh-majority areas. According to this map, if no concession is given to the Hindus and if only the Sikh demand is to be met, then the Sikhs can get part of Muktasar (1) in the Ferozepur District, and the whole of Moga Tehsil (2) in the same district, and almost the whole of Ludhiana District, and the Rupar Tehsil (3) of the Ambala District.
- ii. Amritsar town plus the neighbouring Sikh-majority areas, for instance Tarn Taran Tehsil constitutes an island (A) quite separate from the remaining Sikh areas mentioned above. In Amritsar town, the Muslims, the Sikhs and the Hindus are $\frac{1}{3}$ each.

References

[Map 4]

- | | |
|---|----------------------|
| 1. Part of Muktasar Tehsil | Ferozepur District |
| 2. Moga Tehsil | [Ferozepur District] |
| 3. Rupar Tehsil | Ambala District |
| 4 & 5. Are Kapurthala State. (4) is the Muslim-majority area with about 76% Muslim population. (5) is non-Muslim-majority part. | |

M. Mamdot.

Map 5 shows the non-Muslim-majority areas. Ferozepur

District minus part of Muktasar and the whole of Moga Tehsil are the Sikh-majority areas. The remaining tehsils are the Sikh-majority areas. The remaining Tehsils, Zira, Ferozepur, Fazilka and part of Muktasar, are Muslim-majority areas and contiguous with Jullundur, Lahore and Montgomery District, with River Sutlej as its boundary.

Jullundur District: Nakodar and Jullundur Tehsils are the Muslim-majority areas and also the Hariana and the Dasuya Tehsils of the Hoshiarpur District. Sutlej is the boundary between Jullundur and Ludhiana. 10 miles wide along Sutlej in Ludhiana is predominantly Muslim.

Contiguous with the Fazilka Tehsil of the Ferozepur District are the Sirsa and Fatehabad Tehsils of the Hissar District, which are also Muslim-majority areas.

We cannot give Sikhs or Hindus Kangra District or any portion of the Gurdaspur District, because our entire irrigation system will suffer. 4 out of the 5 rivers (Sutlej, Beas, Ravi and Chenab) come from the Kangra District and also our main power station (Mandi hydro-electric system) is situated in the Kangra District.

If any kind of partition in the Punjab is decided upon, the following matters need most careful consideration:

1. After partition boundaries are not going to be mere geographical lines. Frontiers demarcate jurisdiction and thus directly and indirectly affect civil rights, proprietary rights, and irrigation rights—not to mention such things as enlistment in the Army and Police, ■ share in the Services and a host of other things touching District Board and Municipal Administration.
2. I was for over two years Sub-Divisional Officer, Fazilka, and subsequently for over two years Deputy Commissioner of Hissar, and immediately after, Commissioner of the Ambala Division for nearly five years. There is not ■ man in the Punjab who knows better than I do the entire Eastern Punjab and the Punjab border adjoining Bahawalpur and Bikaner. I know the people and their problems. Fazilka is overwhelmingly Muslim and Sirsa and Fatehabad in Hissar have also very large Muslim groups.

As Commissioner I was the sole Punjab Government representative to negotiate with Sir Charles Watson the Meo problem and the result was that a Brigade was sent to Alwar. The Brigadier had Government of India orders to call on me in Gurgaon before proceeding to Alwar. I am in a position to suggest what can help the Meos if partition has to take place.

3. A separate really efficient office will be needed to help the Quaid-i-Azam's nominee on this Commission.
4. I can explain the position whenever desired to do so.

A. AZIZ

*Retired Financial Commissioner,
Punjab*

¹ & ² See maps at end.

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Note by Anonym on Administrative Implications of Partition

F. 128/1-3

Undated [June 1947]¹

In order to carry into effect the division of India, it is necessary to determine:

- a. the principles of the division
- b. what to divide
- c. how to divide
- and, on the above basis,
- d. actually to carry out the division

2. (a) requires to be decided at the highest political level and is a quasi-judicial matter. It is, therefore, the proper field of the Partition Council or Tribunal. The rest of the work covered by (b), (c) and (d) is wholly administrative in character and can only be carried out by trained administrators, i.e. officials. But since the Partition Council will be charged with the duty of not merely deciding the principles of division but of actually implementing the division, it must not regard itself as only a Tribunal but should be vested with full executive authority over the whole field of administration.

3. To give examples of the work involved in (b), (c) and (d)—

(b) will require:

- i. an enumeration of the assets and liabilities of the Central Government—a colossal undertaking which can only be completed in a reasonable time by large departmental staffs working to a strict time table.
- ii. the preparation of a complete list of the units and personnel in the Civil and Military administration.

4. As regards (c), i.e. how to divide, the problems are different in the case of fixed assets and stores on the one hand and personnel and

organisation on the other. For example, it will be necessary to redistribute stores and equipments so that each Government is as far as possible self-sufficient. In other words, it is not enough to carry out an allocation on the basis of values; the stores and equipment have to be physically divided and transported to the territory of each Government.

Again, in the case of staffs, it will be necessary firstly to find out who belong to the Pakistan State and also who are willing to serve the Pakistan State.

Secondly, it will have to be seen whether out of the staffs so allocated to Pakistan State an appropriate organisation can be built up, and if not, in what manner the deficiency can be made up. To give an example, unless there is a sufficient number of technical personnel in the appropriate grades it will not be possible to maintain the Railways or Postal communications.

5. Having carried out the very large administrative tasks covered by (b) and (c), there will still remain the bigger task of actually carrying into effect the division of assets and of personnel and of fitting the whole into a proper structure. An administration is not merely a collection of individuals and material assets but is an organic whole in which each part fits into its place.

6. The Partition Office or Steering Committee will be an executive organisation which will co-ordinate the work of the various official Committees, submit reports and points for decision to the Partition Council and be responsible for watching the progress of the work.

7. As stated above, all these tasks are wholly administrative in character and can only be performed by officials with a well-recognised chain of responsibility. These officials will work to a time table laid down by the Partition Council. The association of non-officials with the various Departmental Committees will merely create confusion and a large amount of time will be spent in educating the uninstructed non-officials instead of getting on with the task. It is essential that the work of partition should be carried through at the highest speed. Many of the non-Muslim officials and non-officials will be interested in obstructing the work as much as possible; and non-officials representing Pakistan will often be bamboozled by imaginary difficulties the real strength of which they will not be able to assess on account of their lack of knowledge of administrative processes. In short, the association of non-officials will make for obstruction, delay and will put a premium on dilatory tactics.

8. It is not correct to maintain that there are many expert non-officials. As stated above, the problems being wholly of an administrative character, experts can only be found from amongst officials.

It may well be that in a few cases, retired officials can be associated with the work. The proper thing in that case would be to re-employ them so that they find a place in the official hierarchy and are answerable for carrying out their duties within the allotted time. A Committee is only to be commended [*sic*] when deliberation is the primary consideration and time is of no consequence. On the other hand, when speed is of the utmost importance and executive action is to be taken, ■ Committee is the worst possible instrument particularly if it is composed even partly of non-officials.

9. There are a few problems, e.g. the determination of domicile or the use of port facilities, in which the Partition Council may like to avail themselves of the advice of non-officials. For this purpose, an Advisory Committee of non-officials should be set up. This Committee will have nothing to do with the executive work of partition. It will only advise on problems which are remitted to it by the Partition Council. It will consist of an equal number of non-officials nominated by the Congress and the Muslim League.

¹A document entitled *The Administrative Consequences of Partition* was handed to the Indian leaders at a meeting held at the Viceroy's House on 3 June 1947, which was discussed in ■ subsequent meeting on 5 June 1947. This note might have been prepared for, and given to Jinnah prior to the discussion. See No. 7 and also TP, XI, No. 73, 137-42.

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Note by Anonym

F. 691/10-4

Undated [June 1947]

BAHAWALPUR STATE AND THE PARTITION OF THE PUNJAB

Bahawalpur as a riparian State has a vital interest in the river Sutlej and in all Projects for augmenting the supply of water available therein for irrigation.

In the old days such cultivation as was possible in the State depended on spills from the river and on irrigation by inundation canals. Within the last 25 years the State's natural interest in the Sutlej waters has been enormously increased by its participation, under pressure from the Paramount Power, the Government of India and the Punjab Government, in the Sutlej Valley Project as a result of which it has incurred heavy new responsibilities.

It follows that Bahawalpur is directly and vitally concerned with any proposal for the partition of the Punjab which may affect either control over the existing Sutlej waters and/or projects for their future augmentation.

2. The magnitude of the interests and obligations which have been created for Bahawalpur by its participation in the Sutlej Valley Project may be gauged from the following simple figures:

Since the commencement of the Project

- a. the population of the State has risen from approximately $7\frac{1}{2}$ to 15 lakh.
- b. the cultivated area has risen from approximately 9 to $25\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs of acres of which $24\frac{1}{2}$ lakh are dependent on the S.V.P. Irrigation System.

3. This doubling or more than doubling of the population and irrigated area of the State has been bought at a heavy price involving a total capital outlay by the State of over Rs. $14\frac{1}{2}$ crore. To meet the cost, Bahawalpur State has had to borrow $12\frac{1}{2}$ crore from the Government of India and to pay over Rs. 8 crore as interest on this loan. In attempting to repay this loan and to meet the interest thereon the State has had to consume all the new capital assets created by the extension of irrigation, and has been left with virtually nothing with which to finance the development of new communications, additional facilities for education and health and other social needs of the increased population.

Furthermore, owing to very poor supplies of water in the Sutlej, of which the Bahawalpur Government gave warning from the very outset, the colonists in the newly irrigated areas have not prospered to the extent expected. In some years, there is such a shortage of canal supplies that during certain periods it is difficult in the perennial areas to provide even sufficient drinking water for men and cattle, and even in good years the crops classed as "failed" through lack of water, reach the abnormally high figure of 12%.

4. It will be seen from the above that Bahawalpur's financial and economic stability is precariously dependent on supplies of water from the Sutlej. Hopes and promises have repeatedly been held out that these supplies will be augmented by storage schemes or by linking up the other Punjab rivers to the Sutlej. On the strength of these promises Bahawalpur Government reluctantly accepted, about 10 years ago, a reduction in its share of the existing supplies. These promises have not been fulfilled. Yet it is only if the existing supplies are increased that Bahawalpur's financial and economic stability can be assured; and it would be completely upset if the existing supplies were tampered with in any manner. For this there is no margin of safety. Even a small

diminution in existing supplies would spell disaster both to the colonists and to the economy of the State.

It is vital, therefore, to Bahawalpur State that, in the event of the partition of the Punjab, its interests in the Sutlej waters, in the projects for augmenting them and in the weirs which control them, should be fully safeguarded.

5. There are four weirs across the Sutlej, viz. (a) the Rupar weir across the upper reaches which supplies water for the Sirhind Canal system and (b) the Ferozepore, Suleimanke and Islam weirs which were built in connection with the Sutlej Valley Project. At present all these weirs are controlled by the Punjab Government which itself has a direct interest in them as from each of them canals take off which irrigate [the] Punjab territory.

Bahawalpur's canals take off from the Suleimanke and Islam weirs in each of which it has about 61% interest. Some area of Bahawalpur State is irrigated also from a canal taking off from the Ferozepore weir, but this weir mainly supplies the Punjab and Bikaner.

6. It is obvious that Bahawalpur's interests are likely to be vitally affected by any partition of the Punjab:

- a. whereby storage or other projects for augmenting Sutlej supplies for the benefit of the riparian States are prejudiced.
- b. whereby complete control of the upper reaches of the Sutlej, including the Rupar and the Ferozepur weirs, passes into the hands of a Government which, unlike the present Punjab Government, has no interest in irrigation from the Suleimanke and Islam weirs in the lower reaches of the Sutlej.
- c. whereby complete control of the Suleimanke and Islam weirs is not assured to the parties interested in them.

7. Although the Suleimanke weir stands wholly in the Western Punjab (Montgomery District),¹ the State canals which take off from it run through the Ferozepore District for most of the first mile of their course. Furthermore, the Canal Railway to the weir, which is its "life line" in the event of emergency, runs wholly through the Ferozepore District to the south of the Sutlej river. If there is to be a partition of the Punjab, it will be essential to ensure that the weir, the Canal Railway and the State canals are brought wholly under the control and within the jurisdiction of the parties interested and that they are not left under the control and jurisdiction of a third party which has no interest in them.

8. It will be seen from the foregoing paragraphs that the partition of the Punjab is a matter which intimately affects Bahawalpur, and it is

submitted that in view of the fact that Bahawalpur, during His Highness' minority was forced by the Paramount Power to participate in the Sutlej Valley Project, the Paramount Power has now a special obligation to see that, so far as possible, Bahawalpur is given every opportunity to safeguard its vital interests if partition takes place.

The hopes with which the project was undertaken have not been fulfilled; rather the apprehensions, expressed from the very outset by the Bahawalpur Government that the supplies in the Sutlej would be insufficient, have proved to be well-founded. The actual cost of the project turned out to be much greater than the original estimates and the resulting irrigation much less than the Punjab Government, backed by the Paramount Power, predicted. The Bahawalpur Government in consequence was forced to contract a large debt and to pay enormous sums in interest to the Government of India. Later, in order to assist in meeting the difficulties which had arisen, the Bahawalpur Government was induced to agree to a reduction in its share of the available water, which was already insufficient for its requirements, on the strength of the Punjab Government's assurance that early steps would be taken to increase the supplies in the Sutlej. The Bahawalpur Government relied on the authority of the Paramount Power to keep the Punjab Government true to its engagements. In view, however, of the impending constitutional changes the Paramount Power will no longer be in a position to do so.

9. The Bahawalpur Government urge therefore that if the partition of the Punjab is decided upon² and a Boundary Commission is appointed, their right to representation on it as one of the Parties interested should be recognised. They also urge that in the framing of the terms of reference for the Boundary Commission, the economic factor as affecting Bahawalpur should be taken into consideration.

¹Now called Sahiwal.

²The division of the Punjab was decided upon at a joint meeting of the Legislative Assemblies of the two parts of the Punjab held on 23 June 1947. This paper, therefore, predates 23 June.

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Note by Anonym

Undated [June] 1947

HYDRO-ELECTRIC POTENTIALITIES IN THE PUNJAB

The following are the main hydro-electric Projects in the Punjab:

JUMNA BASIN

1. *The Kishau Dam.* This comprises a dam about 730 ft. high across the Tons at Kishau, for a live storage of about 1.25 million acre feet of water and for generation of 125,000 kw (73 percent load factor) of firm power and a considerable amount of secondary power. This scheme will also have to be executed jointly by the Punjab and the United Provinces.

On the Punjab side the stored water can be utilised to extend irrigation to about 1 million acres (gross) of arid areas of Gurgaon, Rohtak and Hissar districts.

2. *The Kalsi Dam.* This comprises a dam about 200 ft. high across the Tons near Kalsi, for the generation of about 30,000 kw of firm power. This in conjunction with tube wells along the Western Jumna Canal, can supply perennial irrigation to areas in the Rohtak district. This will have to be a joint undertaking between the Punjab and the U. P. Governments.

SUTLEJ BASIN

3. *The Bhakra Dam.* This comprises a dam about 500 ft. high across the river Sutlej at Bhakra, for a live storage of about 4 million acre-feet and for generation of about 200,000 kw (73 percent load factor) of firm power and, if required, a considerable amount of secondary power. This scheme is capable of irrigating a gross area of nearly 5 million acres. The total cost of the Project is Rs. 45 crores and work on it is at present in hand. The magnitude of the Project can be gauged by the fact that the total cost of all the canals built so far in this Province is about Rs. 40 crores.

4. *The Nangal Project.* Linked with the Bhakra Dam is the Nangal Project. This provides for the construction of a Head-works in the River Sutlej about 8 miles below Bhakra. The Nangal canal which will off take at this site will have 3 Falls, of 95', 95' & 50' respectively and would be capable of generating about 100,000 kw of firm power. The Estimated Cost of this Project is Rs. 17 crores and work on it is in hand.

BEAS BASIN

5. *The Larji Dam.* This comprises a dam about 730 ft. high across the Beas at Larji in the Kulu Valley, for a live storage of two million acre feet and for generating 125,000 kw (73 percent load factor) of firm power.

6. *The Rohtang Tunnel.* Linked with this is the scheme for the construction of a four mile length of tunnel about 22.5 ft. internal diameter across the Pir Panjal Range at the Rohtang Pass to divert about 10,000

cusecs from the Chenab into the Beas to add to the scanty supply at Larji and improve its power development.

CHENAB BASIN

7. *The Dhiangarh Dam.* This comprises a dam about 750 ft. high across the River Chenab at Dhiangarh in Jammu State, for a live storage of about 2.5 million acre feet and for generation of anything upto one-half million kw (73 percent load factor) of firm power. The stored water can be used for supplementing supplies to the Sutlej Valley canals and other canals in the north Punjab, for improvement of existing irrigation and for its extension into new areas. This scheme will have to be constructed and operated jointly by the Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir Governments.

8. *The Marhu Tunnel Scheme.* Linked with the above is a scheme for the construction of a tunnel at Marhu (Chamba State) across the Pir Panjal Range about five miles long and 35 ft. internal diameter to divert about 20,000 cusecs from the river Chenab into the river Ravi. The hydro-electric prospects of this have not been investigated so far but promise to be substantial.

JHELUM BASIN

9. *The Rasul hydro-electric and tubewell scheme.* This scheme is now in hand and comprises a power station at Rasul utilising the 80 ft. fall from the Upper Jhelum Canal into the Lower Jhelum Canal and generating power for use in pumping water from a battery of 1,960 tubewells sunk alongside the canals, for the dual purpose of abstracting water from the sub-soil and extension of irrigation. The power generated would be about 20,000 kw.

The storage from the main projects detailed above may aggregate about 10 million acre feet and the power generation about 1 million kw of firm power, practically all of which is confined to the Eastern Punjab and adjoining States. It also indicates that the supply in the Chenab (Chandra) can easily be interfered with in accordance with scheme No. 6 & 8.

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Note by Anonym on Expert Committees for Constitution-Making

F.1120/44-5

Undated [June 1947]

PURELY CONSTITUTIONAL EXPERTS

1. Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan
2. Sir Abdur Rahim
3. Justice Chagla
4. Prof. Muhammad Habib of Aligarh University
5. Prof. Umar Hayat Khan of Islamia College, Lahore
6. Prof. Muhammad Rafi of Dacca University

FINANCIAL EXPERTS

1. Liaquat Ali Khan
2. Sir Ghulam Mohammed
3. Zahid Husain
4. Mohamad Ali

EDUCATIONAL ADVISERS

1. Dr. Zakir Husain of Jamia Millia
2. Prof. Abdul Halim, Vice-Chancellor, Sind University
3. Prof. M. Z. Siddiqi, Chairman of Oriental Studies, Calcutta University
4. Dr. Muhammad Nazir, Chief of Cotton Technology, Bombay
5. Dr. Qureshi, Professor of Chemistry, Hyderabad, Deccan
6. Dr. A. Hamid Siddiqi, Professor of Anatomy, Medical College, Lahore

ADVISERS FOR DEFENCE

H. H. the Nawab Sahib of Bhopal (He may choose 2 or 3 more persons from amongst the following)

1. Brig. Muhammad Akbar Khan
2. Brig. Muhammad Munir Khan Tiwana
3. Brig. Agha Muhammad Raza

SECRETARIES TO THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

1. Aminuddin, I.C.S.
2. Taqiuddin of Hyderabad

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Note by Anonym

F. 131/15-9

Undated [June 1947 ?]

PROBLEMS TO BE FACED BY MUSLIMS IF THE PUNJAB
IS PARTITIONED (IRRIGATION AND HYDRO-ELECTRIC POWER)

1. Irrigation is to be extended into the arid areas of the Hissar District under the Bhakra Scheme. The irrigation channels can be so designed that any large pockets having predominantly Muslim areas could be left out of the Scheme or they would be kept at the tails of channels and starved of supply. Ultimately the population would have to be vacated [*sic*].

2. Suppose the Sutlej river is kept [*as*] the boundary between Pakistan and the East Punjab. The Sirhind Canal has already prior claim to the supply from this river and Pakistan would not be affected if no dam is built on the Sutlej river, and the present Bhakra Scheme is dropped. The Sirhind Canal irrigates Ludhiana and Ferozepur Districts and States—Patiala, Nabha, Jind, Faridkot and a bit of Maler Kotla. That part of the Fazilka Tehsil of the Ferozepur District which is predominantly Muslim would be at the mercy of the Patiala and Faridkot States for their water supply and would face ruin.

3. If the Bhakra Dam is constructed and the flood waters held up, the regulation at the dam site could be so done [*sic*] that the Sutlej flood water would not augment the river supply coming down the Beas river, and the *sailab* irrigation done in the Ferozepur and Zira Tehsils of the Punjab and the Bahawalpur State and the Montgomery¹ and Multan Districts from the Ghara river would suffer badly. Similarly the Grey canals which are inundation canals will get supply for a very short period.

The Pakpattan Canal, the Dipalpur Canal, the Eastern Canal and Bahawalpur State canals depend mainly on the Beas river supply which are also helped by the waters of Sutlej river and this help is important in the periods of keen demand, viz. June, July and September. The construction of the Bhakra Dam and thereby controlling the flood waters of the Sutlej river will adversely affect the irrigation from the above-mentioned canals.

4. If the Ferozepur District is taken out of Pakistan along with the Ferozepur Canal headworks the river supply at the headworks could be utilized more to the interest of the Bikaner State thereby starving the other Punjab and Bahawalpur canals mentioned above.

5. If the Beas river also comes under the control of the non-Pakistan Punjab, interference with the supply of this river could be made at the Ferozepur headworks. Also, if a dam is constructed on the Beas river, the regulation at the dam site could be so arranged that the Punjab and the Bahawalpur State could be starved of the supply in the keen demand periods and given supply in less important parts of the season. Rabi supply could be held up at the dam site altogether leaving the canals with meagre supply from regeneration.

6. If the Ravi river is also placed under the control of the non-Pakistan Punjab and the Gurdaspur and Amritsar Districts made over to the anti-Pakistanists the Upper Bari Doab Canal would come under their control and irrigation in the Lahore District and Lahore City could be stopped altogether in the keen demand periods. Even if the control of the Ravi river and the Gurdaspur District are left with the Pakistanists but the Amritsar District is made over to the anti-Pakistanists, the middle portion of the Upper Bari Doab Canal, passing through the Amritsar District, could be so interfered with that irrigation in the Lahore District would be seriously jeopardised. So, if at all a part of the Amritsar District is to be taken out of Pakistan it should be only the triangular area lying between the roads from Amritsar to Jullundur and Amritsar to Tarn Taran and on to the River Beas, the apex of this triangle being the Amritsar old town, excluding the Civil Lines.

The Canal Central Workshops at Amritsar are one of the most important assets of the Punjab and lie well north of the old town and should not go over to the anti-Pakistanists.²

By this arrangement supply could be taken in the Lahore branch outside the triangular part of the Amritsar District mentioned above and the irrigation of the Lahore District ensured.

7. If the Ravi river goes under the control of the anti-Pakistanists, the Ravi supply could be diverted to the Beas river, thus depriving the Lahore and Montgomery Districts and also part of the Multan District of the benefit of the Ravi river flood waters.

8. The Chenab river has its source in the Chamba and Lahul States. A scheme is possible to divert the Chenab river supply to the Beas river. With a tunnel of about 8-mile length or so, the Beas supply could be diverted to the Sutlej river on which a dam could be built. The question arises what could be done with such tremendous volumes of flood waters of the Chenab and Beas rivers diverted into the Sutlej and how it would pay for the cost of dams in the Chenab, Beas and Sutlej rivers. In the first place only such waters would be diverted as are

necessary, leaving the balance to flow down the Beas and Chenab rivers. With the reduced supply in the Chenab most of the Pakistan irrigated areas and the Punjnad canals of the Bahawalpur State would suffer colossal loss.

At the dam sites on the Chenab, Beas and Sutlej rivers cheap electricity could be produced which could be used for quick and heavy industrial development of the anti-Pakistan Punjab and Delhi and other contiguous Hindustan areas. Bhakra Dam is to produce about 160,000 kilowatts of electricity which is sufficient to industrialise most of the present Punjab and yet one businessman in Delhi is prepared to take up half of this energy for his industries alone.

If Punjab were not partitioned and the various communities live in it amicably, the States in which the Rivers Chenab, Beas and Sutlej rise could not afford to construct any big dams on the rivers to the detriment of the Punjab even if Hindustan was ready to stand the expenses of such costly schemes. But with the money coming from Hindustan and the manpower of the anti-Pakistan partitioned Punjab the States could profitably permit these parties to construct the dams and ruin the Pakistan Punjab.

Apart from the electric power the water supply diverted from the Chenab and Beas rivers could be utilised for the irrigation development of the Rohtak and Hissar Districts, the Patiala, Nabha, Jind and Faridkot States and the Bikaner State. Thus these big schemes would not be unprofitable to Hindustan and the anti-Pakistanists' Punjab.

The canals are the life-blood of the Punjab. With the partitioned Punjab and the two parts not being on good terms, fifth column in the Punjab could on occasion cause serious damage to the headworks in the Pakistan Punjab and this could cripple the Pakistan Punjab in no time.

9. The only hydro-electric scheme in the Punjab at present is the Mandi hydro-electric scheme with the power plant at Jogindarnagar. With the partitioned Punjab the Mandi State could be encouraged by Hindustan and East Punjab to destroy the hydro-electric works and plants and seriously reduce the electric power available in the Punjab.

10. The above would clearly show that with the partition of the Punjab the irrigation system of the Punjab could be practically destroyed by the anti-Pakistanists. The Punjab irrigation has always had a vast majority of Hindu officers in important posts. All project work has been in charge of Hindu officers. It is feared that the possibilities and apprehensions mentioned above are fully known to the Punjab Hindu engineers who lose no time in imparting all necessary information to Hindustan and starting vigorous scheming against the Pakistan Punjab.

11. Another profitable hydro-electric scheme for Punjab is one at Mangla headworks on the Jhelum river but this site is also situated in the Kashmir State. It is doubtful whether the Kashmir State, encouraged by the anti-Pakistanist Punjab and Hindustan, would agree to the construction of the scheme if the Punjab is partitioned.

Without partitioning of the Punjab the whole Punjab could benefit from the important big irrigation and hydro-electric schemes in which all communities would share equitably. If the Punjab is partitioned the East Punjab could develop with the financial aid of Hindustan but the Pakistan Punjab would be in serious danger of being deliberately hampered and crippled.

¹Now called Sahiwal.

²In capital letters in the original.

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Note by Anonym on Rajasthan as a Stabilising and Balancing Factor in Indian Affairs

F.1122/434-7

Undated [June 1947]

PREFACE

It is not the intention of this note to decry the efforts which are being made with such admirable courage and persistence to bring about a solution to the problem of finding a safe and enduring constitution for this newest addition to the comity of nations. To drop into obstetrical metaphor the pregnancy of Indian freedom has been long and difficult and it has now been recognised that to effect ■ safe delivery it will be necessary to resort to ■ Caesarean operation [*sic* for section] in order to bring the twin Dominions of Hindustan and Pakistan alive into the world, and above all in order to save mother India from death in child-birth. Expert specialists have been called in as consultants in this case but one *fatal*¹ mistake has been made, and is still being made. The mother is a psychological case and unless there is ■ full understanding of her personality and a psychological analysis of her critical condition, the results of the care which is being bestowed upon the patient will not be favourable.

2. To return to normal parlance, the permanent defect in the treatment of the Indian problem, both by the British Parliament and

Whitehall has been a lack of recognition of the fact that personalities play the dominant role in the shaping of Indian policies. Unless there is ■ detailed knowledge of the personalities which dominate Indian politics [and] unless they are known *personally* by their opposite collaborators in Britain, fatal and permanent mistakes and misunderstandings are bound to occur. In Britain there is a tendency to approach Indian problems through the well-defined avenues of British parliamentary procedure. In India these avenues are unknown and unrecognised save, as a temporary expedient to be used for the purpose of gaining temporary advantage. The way to hell is paved with good intentions and it is a sad fact that the tortuous path to Indian freedom has been liberally bestrewn with paving stones of the best British intentions but lacking the essential concrete of real psychological understanding. Unfortunately there does not exist in India that genius for compromise which has been said to be the driving force behind British constitutional development. Nowhere in Indian politics can there be found that spirit of accommodation which for centuries has encouraged evolution rather than revolution in the British Isles. It is for this reason that mother India may well be about to give birth to twins bearing the names of Cain and Abel.

A BUFFER AND A BALANCE

3. It is inevitable that Lord Mountbatten has been forced, by the overwhelming weight of the communal wedge which history has driven into the solid heart of Indian social life, to divide the country on a communal basis. The animosities which divide the Catholic from the Protestant in Ireland are known and understood in Parliament but these are as nothing compared to the searing, devouring flame of communal passion which threatens to engulf the whole sub-continent of India as soon as the last British bayonet has left the country. From the ensuing anarchy will arise the bloody phoenix of Communism, for it is upon such smouldering pyres of national aspirations that the communist seed is fertilised. What then is the solution? There is the well-known proverb in the British tongue "two's company, three's none!" What is required in India is the converse, "three's company, two's none."

4. There are two non-communal institutions in India at the present time. The first is that magnificent body, the Indian Army, which has won, in recent months, laurels of greater renown than those so hardly earned on the bloody sands of North Africa, the green, enclosing jungles of Burma or the battle-scarred hills of Italy. As the sole barrier in the Punjab to wholesale civil strife, the men of the Indian Army, Hindus and Musalmans, Sikhs and Christians, have won their greatest

battle, the battle to maintain discipline and remain impartial in an atmosphere supercharged with communal hatreds. This is their crowning achievement for they have demonstrated to the emotional politician of what, with discipline, Indians are capable. The Indian Army has won the admiration of the world for their gallant part in the recent worldwide conflict; to that must now be added the thanks of all who cherish the ideals of humanity and brotherly concord.

5. The other non-communal faction in India is the States. Why is it, when there has been wide-spread communal strife in nearly every province, there has been practically no trouble in the Indian States? It cannot be argued that the States are any more religiously homogeneous than the provinces. Both Hindu and Musalman are mixed in equally varying proportions in the States, and yet there has been, by comparison, no communal trouble in State territory. It has frequently been stated in Indian political circles that British rule in India has always had the ultimate sanction of force. The presence of British and Indian forces in the large towns for internal security purposes is a proof of the truth of this contention. What is the position in the States? How do they bear comparison with the British *raj*? It is true that in the ultimate resort the paramount power could in the past have sent, if necessary, forces from British India to quell disturbances in the States, but how often in the past twenty years has this been necessary, and how often in the same period have Indian and British troops been called in the larger provincial towns and in the presidency cities of Calcutta and Bombay? There must be some reason for this lack of communal strife in the Indian States. In this era when the slogans for democracy and full responsible self-government are on every lip, one hesitates to put forward the claims of the monarchical system prevailing in States. It is almost a sacrilege, and yet the proof of the pudding is in the eating. Many of the smaller States, as a Ruler recently remarked, "... have not a pop-gun with which to maintain law and order", and yet there is comparatively no trouble in these ill-guarded domains. Is it therefore possible that this democracy, the cherished heritage of the English speaking races, is a danger to the world? Instead of making the world safe for democracy have we now to set about the task of making democracy safe for the world? Or is there something inherently stabilising in the presence of a Ruler? No one knowing the States can claim that their system of Government is perfect; far from it. Can, however, the claim be maintained that they deserve to be destroyed? If, in an India torn and distracted by ever increasing communal strife and mounting bitterness, the States remain islands of

comparative peace and security, does not this alone constitute a strong argument for their preservation? The Mountbatten Plan envisages that the States cannot remain separate entities but must merge themselves into one or other communal, party-dominated Dominion. Is this altogether wise? Is it even fair? Why drag the unwilling States behind the Juggernaut chariot-wheels of the bitterly opposed and communally inflamed political parties now wrestling for power in the country?

6. The States should therefore be given the same facilities as the provinces to join together to form themselves into areas suitable in size, population and revenue for achieving Dominion status. The most obvious of such Dominions, and the one which is under examination in this note, is the Rajasthan Union composed of the States of Kathiawar, Baroda and the Gujerat States, Rajputana, Central India and Gwalior. The States in this region comprise one solid geographical entity and have their own access to the sea. The area is comparable in size to France and Germany combined and has therefore, for this reason alone, a right to be considered. This area of what might be called Western Rajasthan would serve as an essential balancing factor between the bitterly opposed Dominions of Hindustan and the western half of Pakistan. Lying as it would between the two, it would provide the vital buffer state between the Hindu and Muslim-majority areas. If civil war breaks out, and this development is by no means improbable, Rajasthan would then become a vital and stabilising factor in a situation dangerous to the peace of the whole world, for not only would Rajasthan hold the balance between the hostile Dominions, but in a war-ravaged India, the States would serve as the final breakwater and the last levee holding up the advancing tide of Communism, a tide which if allowed to engulf the four hundred millions of India would endanger the whole world.

7. Far from preventing the formation of Rajasthan, the British Government and the American Congress would be therefore well-advised to do all in their power to create this life-raft in the dangerous seas of Indian party politics.

¹Underlined here and hereafter in the original.

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*Note by Anonym on Miangul Gulshahzada
Abdul Wadood, Wali of Swat*

F.718/1-2

Undated [June 1947]

He is the grandson and eldest surviving relative of the great Akhund of Swat. His ancestors are said to have been Safis who migrated from Afghanistan to Swat about a century ago. The Akhund adopted a religious life; he became an ascetic and lived for many years on the banks of the Indus near Swabi; he finally migrated to Saidu Sharif, where he settled down from 1845 till his death in 1877.

During this time the Akhund acquired enormous religious influence, and led the tribe against the British in the Ambeyla Campaign of 1863; his chief aim was to maintain the independence of Swat. During this period he made no attempt to gain temporal power for himself. The Akhund left two sons, Abdul Hanan and Abdul Khaliq. Gulshahzada (the Wali) was the elder son of the latter; he disposed of his two cousins, and quarrelled with his younger brother Shirin. Owing to dissension in the family, one Syed Abdul Jabbar Shah, a descendant of the famous saint Pir Baba of Buner, was elected King of Swat in 1915. Gulshahzada and his brother were then driven out of Swat and joined the Nawab of Dir in an effort to recapture Swat. Syed Abdul Jabbar Shah was soon forced to come to an agreement with the Mianguls; this however did not last for long and intrigues resulted, in consequence of which Syed Abdul Jabbar Shah was driven out of Swat in 1917.

Miangul Shirin Badshah was killed a year later fighting against the Nawab of Dir leaving Gulshahzada without a rival in Swat. Adinzai was soon annexed by him. Owing to incessant fighting between Swat and Dir, Adinzai was returned to Dir in 1922 and the boundary between the States was fixed by Government, by the Adinzai agreement, concluded by Sir John Maffey as Chief Commissioner. Gulshahzada then occupied Buner and established his rule in the Swat Valley, in part of Swat Kohistan and in part of the country between the Swat Valley and the Indus.

He was finally recognised as Wali or Ruler of Swat in 1926 and accorded an annual allowance of Rs.10,000. Since that time he has continued to consolidate his position by building forts, and roads and by disarming the population. He has gained the reputation of being an iron and able ruler as well as a most hospitable host and loyal supporter of Government. He received the K.B.E. in 1930.

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Hamidul Huq Chowdhry to M. A. Jinnah

F.10/46-7

Undated [June 1947]

In my view the Boundary Commission should be directed to fix the boundary keeping the following, amongst other points, in view:

1. The boundary to be fixed would be international as opposed to domestic boundaries, hence it should be simple, if possible, straight.
2. It should be such that line of defence of either State against each other be easier. That means some natural demarcating line such as river, mountains, should be aimed at.
3. Customs and crime control would be a very important necessity; unless there is some natural barrier it would be extremely difficult to prevent wholesale smuggling or protect the customs.
4. Creation of pouches belonging to one State within the other State has to be avoided, otherwise line of communication will be extremely difficult, besides creating other difficulties contrary to objectives mentioned in 1, 2 and 3.
5. Allocation of territories should be made keeping in view the necessity of economic self-sufficiency, as far as possible, of the new State that is created. Creation of an economically weak State will be a danger and is bound to create international complications. In this connection, separation of Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri from the Muslim State will be extremely unjust and improper. Jalpaiguri has got the largest forest in the direct possession of the State. This asset has to be divided and in dividing this asset Muslim Bengal cannot agree to take substitute in the form of money, because it has got no other timber area worth the name whereas Hindustan can depend upon its vast territory for supplying its needs. Darjeeling has got the quinine plantation and factory and there is no other field to produce the need of Bengal in this respect whereas Hindustan has got other areas under quinine cultivation. The plantations in Darjeeling are State properties.
6. Muslim Bengal has got no coal and will have to depend entirely for supply of power upon hydro-electricity. The Teesta river is the main source from which electricity can be supplied to Northern Bengal. If Jalpaiguri is taken away from the Muslim Bengal, then this principal source would be denied to her. The proposed Kossie Dam on the border of Purnea District would also fall in Hindustan though the dam lies on the border of the Muslim District of Purnea.

7. Garo Hills, which has Muslim areas on three sides, namely Goalpara on the north, Rangpur on the west and Mymensingh and Sylhet on the south, should be allotted to Muslim Bengal. This hill is reputed to have a number of minerals and is sparsely populated by hill tribes who are not Hindus. Further, the river flowing from the Garo Hills can be utilised to supply electricity to the neighbouring District of Mymensingh.
8. The forest and fishery areas of Sundarbans are also *khass* Government properties and in making the division Muslim Bengal should be given a proportionate share of this territory.
9. The Rajbangshi, a Scheduled Caste community, forms the major portion of the Scheduled Castes inhabiting the 3 Districts of Jalpaiguri, Dinajpur and Rangpur, the biggest portion being in Rangpur. It will be dangerous to divide them into two States; their interests would always lie in putting them in the same State. Similar is the case of the Namasudra. They are mostly to be found in the neighbouring Districts of Barisal, Jessore, Khulna and Faridpur. Nothing should be done to divide them into two States either. The Namasudra and Rajbangshi of these parts, if given a chance to express their opinion, would wholesale declare in favour of remaining in Muslim Bengal. Both these communities of Scheduled Castes being purely cultivators have got common interest with the Muslims who are also mainly cultivators. The Muslims of Khulna and Jalpaiguri should not be dragged into Hindustan and the Scheduled Castes also do not want to go to Hindustan either. In districts where the people are almost balanced, a plebiscite in that district is essential.
10. In finding out respective population of the particular areas consideration should be given as to that section of the people [who] are migratory and who might be in any part of the country in connection with their seasonal work. Such of these people, who come from the other parts of India outside Bengal, should not be taken into account when deciding the respective population of the areas. This will be true in the case of Jalpaiguri and Goalpara where a large number of temporary labourers come from Central and Southern India to work in tea gardens. Similarly, in Calcutta and its neighbourhood, there are a large number of non-Bengalees who are here only temporarily for purpose of employment.
11. Each of the States should have, within its territory, fallow and vacant lands commensurate with the size of its population, to enable it to provide its population some scope for expansion.
12. Calcutta should be treated as a city of common interest to the

province, and this city cannot be allocated to one part inasmuch as the other cannot be compensated in any other way. If necessary, the city should be partitioned or made a free port.

13. Muslim Bengal's economic stability should be assured and should not be compared or set against that of Hindu Bengal, inasmuch as the latter's security and stability will be directly strengthened by that of Hindustan as a whole.

HAMIDUL HUQ CHOWDHRY

346

Abstract of Receipts of Pakistan Fund

F. 156/168

HABIB BANK LTD.,
CHANDNI CHOWK, DELHI,
Undated [June 1947]

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS FOR PAKISTAN FUND AS ON 28 JUNE 1947

Credit balance in ledger	Rs. 29,920-07-0
Outstation cheques under collection	17,917-14-0
Local cheques under collection	Nil
Money orders received to-day to be collected.	5,668-07-0
Total	Rs. 53,506-12-0 ¹
	for Habib Bank Ltd., M.A. SIDDIQUI Agent

¹A sum of Rs. 1,275-6-0 was added subsequent to 28 June 1947, at the end of the Statement, as receipt from 11 donors. See Enclosure.

*Enclosure to No. 346**F. 156/148-67 & 169*STATEMENT OF ACCOUNT OF RECEIPTS
FOR PAKISTAN FUNDHABIB BANK LTD.,
CHANDNI CHOWK, DELHI,
Undated [June 1947]

Date	Name of donor	Place	Amount credited	Amount of outstation cheques under collection	Remarks
17 June 1947	A. Hameed	Fatehpuri, Delhi	100		
	K. B. Abdul Rashid Malik	Delhi	200		
	Haji Muhammad	Delhi	500		
	Said Sharif	Delhi	50		
	M/s Amjad Ali	Darya Ganj, Delhi	100		
	S. Fazal Karim	New Delhi	25		
	Mrs Sh. Fazal Karim	New Delhi	5		
	Miss Farkhanda Akhtar	Delhi	50		
	Qazi Abdul Wahid	Delhi	5		
	Aziz Ahmed Siddiqui	New Delhi	15		
	Sirajuddin				
	[Total]		1,050		
18 June 1947	Muhammad				
	Yaqub Khan	Delhi	50		
	Nasim ul Islam	New Delhi	20		
	Farhat Ali	New Delhi	101		
	Muslim Association of Directorate of Ordnance Factories	New Delhi	30		
	M. Fayazuddin	Delhi	100		
	M. Usmani	Delhi	5		
	Abdul Hamid Anwari	Delhi	150		
	Asghar Ali Alvi	Delhi	50		
	Abdulla Rashid Bhatti	Delhi	25		
	Barkatulla Khan	Delhi	20		
	Khan Salahuddin Khan	Delhi	20		
	Rafi Akhtar	Delhi	20		
	Dr. Muhammad				
	Iqbal Rizvi	Delhi	15		
	Mushtaq Ahmad	Delhi	10		
	S.Q. Ahmad	Delhi	10		
	Abdul Raqeeb	Delhi	5		
	Muhammad Siddiq	Gujranwala	5		
	Muhammad Ishaque	Delhi	5		
	Total		641		
	Total receipt of 17.6.47		1,050		
	Grand total		1,691		

	Major A. G. Dastgir	New Delhi	100	Cheque on Imperial Bank of India, Ferozepur
19 June 1947	Abdur Rahman	New Delhi	100	
	Nazir Husain Qureshi	New Delhi	22-10-0	
	Dr. Hameed	Delhi	25	
	M.Y. Moghal	New Delhi	100	
	A.R. Subhani	New Delhi	15	
	Nawab Ali	Delhi	200	
	Begum Jahan Ara			
	Fahim	New Delhi	100	
	M.Y. Khan	Calcutta	25	
	A.M. Ashraf	New Delhi	50	
	Begum Fazaluddin	New Delhi	1,000	
	N.H. Burney	Delhi	10	
	Mahmood Hasan			
	Burney	Delhi	5	
	Total of the day		1,652-10-0	
	By Balance B.F.		1,691	
	Grand total		3,343-10-0	
	Dr. A.R. Faruqi	New Delhi	6-4-0	Allahabad Bank, Lucknow
	Malik Muhammad			
	Aslam Khan	Jullundur	200	Imperial Bank, Jullundur
	Abdul Qadir A.Ghani	Bombay	51	Habib Bank, Bombay
	M. B. Madina	Nagpur	101	Bank of India, Nagpur
	Total of the day		358-4-0	
	By Balance B.F.		100	
	Grand total		458-4-0	
20 June 1947	Anjuman Islamia	Delhi	50	
	Ghafoor	New Delhi	8	
	Ch. Nazir Ahmad	New Delhi	120	
	Kehabhae	Nagpur City	51	
	Mushtaq Ahmad	Bulsar	212	
	Total		441	
Cheques (encashed)	Abdul Ghafoor			
	Chaudhary	Delhi	25	
	Muhammad Ziaul			
	Haq Mian	Lahore	50	
	Begum Khudeja A.			
	Khan	Lahore	100	
	Ghulam Zainul Abdin	Lahore	25	
	Jalco Bros.	Lahore	100	
	Mst. Husan Ara	Lahore	5	
	A.W. Rathur	Lahore	5	
	Farhat Jahan Begum	Calcutta	500	
	Total of the day		1,251	
	By Balance B.F.		3,343-10-0	
	Grand Total		4,594-10-0	
	A. Jiwanandhan	Lahore	100	Allahabad Bank, Lahore
	A.M. Malik	Lahore	55	Imperial Bank, Lahore
	Ch. Muhammad Afzal	Lahore	100	Central Exchange Bank, Lahore
	Nazir Ahmad Khan	Bhopal	25	Bank of Bhopal

	M. Umar Shah	Phulera	100	Imp[erial] Bank,
	S.A. Usmani	Cawnpore	10	Sambhar
	S.M. Siddiq	Jhansi	50	Hindustan
	[Total]		440	Com[merce]
				Bank, Cawnpore
				Allahabad Bank,
				Bombay
21 June 1947	Abdul Aziz Khan	New Delhi	100	
	Badruddin Ahmad	New Delhi	200	
	Manzar Nasri	Simla	126	
	Jamaluddin	Delhi	45	
	D.A. Basin	New Delhi	45	
	Muhammad Latif	New Delhi	50	
	Agha Muhammad			
	Baqir	New Delhi	100	
	Total of the day		666	
	By Balance B.F.		4,594-10-0	
	Grand Total		5,260-10-0	
	Din Muhammad			
	M. Soomro	Mirpur Khas	50	
	Muhammad Hayat	Calcutta	25	
	Molyi Ghulam			
	Mohiuddin	Lahore	500	
	S. Bahadur Ali	Lahore	100	
	B.J. Morenas	Bombay	51	
	Moosa Ahmad	Bombay	101	
	Major G.H.K. Niazi	Bombay	100	
	Abdul Majid Khan	Jullundur	1,500	
	Abdul Majid Khan	Jullundur	500	
	Muhammad			
	Sagho Pali	Shadipali	2,000	
	Muhammad Ullah	Shahjahanpur	100	
	Amina Begum	Jaipur	50	
21/23 June 1947	Maqbool Husain	Delhi	25	
	Miss Ghulam Fatima	Muradnager	■	
23 June 1947	Miss Amna Begam	Delhi	■	
	Muhammad Riaz	Delhi	5	
	Lali M. Imdad Husain	Agra	25	
	Begam Aziz Fatima	Agra	25	
	Ghulam Husain	Delhi	80	
	Miss Aziza Khatoon	Delhi	5	
	Malik Ghulam Sarwar	Baluchistan	150	
	Mian Siraj Ahmad	Delhi	40	
	Abdul Latif Sait	Shahjahanpur	300	
	Captain S. Zahid Ali	Rawalpindi	100	
	Muhammad Akram	New Delhi	10	
	Hifazat Karim			
	Qureshi	Ajmer	10-1-0	
	A. Ghafoor	Ajmer	100	
	A. R. Ansari	Amritsar	100	
	S. Muhammad			
	Mukarram	Simla	100	
	Muslim Relief Fund	Sialkot	1,000	
	Syed Ghulam Bhik			
	Nairang	Ambala	■	
	Sh. Mubarak Ali	New Delhi	50	
	Muhammad			
	Shafi Khalid	Gujrat	365	
	M. Muhammad Said	Lahore	20	
	Ch. Wali Muhammad	Lahore	50	
	Begum Laiq Ali	Lahore	580	
	Begum Muhammad			
	Husain	Lahore	10	
	Muhammad Ismatulla	Lahore	20	

A. Rashid	Naulakha	63
Begum Laiq Ali	Lahore	420
Islam Ahmad	Cawnpore	100
J.S. Wannd	Bantwa	5
Balance of the day		3,924-1-0
By Balance B.F.		5,260-10-0
Grand Total		9,184-11-0

Yar Muhammad Khan Bareilly		101-4-0
Muhammad Salim Kohat		100
Abdul Majid Meerut		25
Abdul Majid Meerut		127
S. M. Muhammad		
Ibrahim Bangalore		200
Alauddin Simla		468
Begum Muhammad		
Issa Ali Jalna		101
Ahamadi A. Gangru Bombay		51
Muhammad Yar Khan Lahore		10
Abdul Hakim Khan Lahore		100
A.A. Shah Lahore		100
Captain Fateh Khan Karachi		50
A.A. Ahmad Calcutta		58
Hakim Muhammad		
Husain Gujrat (Punjab)		331
Muhammad		
Yakub Beg Jhelum		100
Captain Abdul Malik Peshawar		■
[Total]		1,972-4-0

24 June 1947	Railway Board		
	Muslim Employees		
	Association	New Delhi	250
	Syed Ali	Delhi	10
	Sh. Nasiruddin	New Delhi	100
	Abdul Latif II	New Delhi	10
	Abdul Latif I	New Delhi	■
	Muhammad Ibrahim	New Delhi	10
	Ghulam Husain	New Delhi	5
	Muhammad Raza	New Delhi	5
	Shamsuddin	New Delhi	■
	Badiuddin	New Delhi	15
	M. A. Burni	New Delhi	5
	Muhammad Husain	New Delhi	5
	Ghulam Hyder	New Delhi	2
	Fasihuddin	New Delhi	2
	Tassaduq Husain	New Delhi	2
	Abu Muhammad	New Delhi	1
	Abdul Hakim	New Delhi	2
	Abdul Qaddus	New Delhi	5
	Zarbe Kabir	Godag	80
	Primary Muslim		
	League	Pandharpur	100
	R. A. Khan	Delhi	150
	Ahmad A. Ghani	Calcutta	25
	Haji Muhammad		
	Ibrahim	Delhi	■
	23 Divisional Sepoys		
	(Muslims)	Madras	337-8-0
	Afzal Husain	Cawnpore	100
	T.T. received from		
	Imperial Bank of		
	India. Names of donor		
	are not known	Sargodha	1,042 -10-0
	M/s Basith	Poona	1
	P. Shaukat Ali	Kumbakana	1
	Muhammad Zakaria		
	Khan	Jhansi	10

By T.M.O.

M.A. Rashid	Deolali	10
M.A. Rashid	Deolali	10
Hamad Butt	Lahore	10
Sageer Inayat Husain	Andheri	10
Sageer Inayat Husain	Andheri	5
Sultan Aslam	Delhi	50
68 Money Orders received from various donors		1,662
[Total]		4,193-2-0
Less cheque No.s] F.00047/06 on Grindlays Bank, New Delhi, deposited by Hifazat Karim Qureshi of Ajmer and credited to the a/c on 23.6.47, returned with the reason "full cover not received."		10-1-0
[Total]		4,183 -1
By Balance B.F.		9,184-11-0
[Grand Total]		13,367-12-0

25 June 1947	External Affairs Deptt.	New Delhi	350
	Fazal Muhammad Khan	New Delhi	115
	Residents of Haveli [of] Razia Begam	Delhi	500 -1-0
	Abdul Latif	Delhi	10
	Maqbool Ahmad	Delhi	10
	A.R. Beg	Delhi	51
	Aijaz ul Haq Khan	Delhi	51
	Muhammad Hasan	Delhi	101
	Abdul Hamid	Delhi	25
	Wali Uddin	Delhi	30
	A.H. Khan Sherwani	Delhi	29
	The Ex. Sec. M. League	Saharwar	450
	Muslim Employees of the Press Information Bureau	New Delhi	80
	Abdul Shakoor Abdul Karim Nagda	Madras	51-4-0
	Nisar Ahmad	Madras	50
	Karachi Sind India Flour Mill	Karachi	100
	Malik Muhammad Aslam Khan	Jullundur	200
	Taj Muhammad	Simla	200
	Muhammad Tauqir Husain	Kiratpur	110
	Maqbool Husain	New Delhi	34
	H. Abdul Karim & Sons	Quetta	400
	Abdul Ghaffoor Ahmad	Azam Gunj	136
	Saraya Ubaidulla	Sargodha	100
	I.H. Haider	Simla	300
	Begum Rashid Muhammad Khan	Khurja	300
	Abdul Rashid Khan	Simla	300
	S. M. Juwan	Campbellpur	200
	M.H. Khan	Srinagar	1,000
	Capt. Muhammad Shoib	Benglore	100
	Donor has not given his name		66
	F. Haque	Pilibhit	130

Total of the day	5,579-5-0
By Balance B.F.	13,367-12-0
Grand Total	18,947-1-0

Abdul Khaliq	Calcutta	25
Salahuddin Ahmad	Calcutta	100
Islam & Co.	Calcutta	250
Muhammad Yaqub	Lucknow	200
Decent Leather Works	Cawnpore	25
Ghulam Husain		
V. Patel	Bombay	200
Capt. Muhammad		
Shoib	Banglore	100
Capt. Muhammad		
Shoib	Banglore	200
S.A. Rashid	Rawalpindi	50-4-0
M.I. Malik	Jodhpur	200
F. Rahman	Poona	5,000
M.A. Khan	Bhopal	100
Bhopal Wood Works	Chhindwara	100
A.G. Ansari	Lucknow	150
Manzoor Ahmad	Allahabad	25
S.M. Ellahi	Allahabad	50
Mrs. Jamila Hasan	Tarn Taran	500
[Total]		7,275-4-0

26 June 1947	Begum Altaf	New Delhi	50
	Dr. S.G. Hyder	Muzaffarpur	200
	Malik Muhammad		
	Haresuddin	Goakhora, Bengal	50
	Faizuddin	Goakhora	20
	Abdul Kadir	Mohela, Bengal	10
	Noor Muhammad	Chelnoher, Bengal	10
	Baul Mandal	Mohela	5
	Banal Ali	Boalia	2
	Ramzan Ali	Mohela	3
	Mrs. J.E. Murad	Sialkot	10
	Muhammad Asaf	New Delhi	20
	S.A. Usmani	Cawnpore	10
	Syed Shafqat Ali	Lahore	40
	Sultan Ali	Lahore	200
	Ali Bux & Sons	Lahore	300
	Sh. Imam Ali	Lahore	50
	Abdul Rahman	Lahore	50
	S.M. Kasim	Cawnpore	200
	Wajid Mian	Lahore	100
	Amir Abbas Khan	Banglore	1,000
	A.M. Khan	Poona	1,000
	Khan Abdul Majid		
	Khan	New Delhi	100
	Muhammad Yasin	New Delhi	100
	Malik Muhammad		
	Sharif	New Delhi	100
	Capt. M.A. Mian	Hyderabad Sind	100
	Abdul Ghani	Bahawalpur	144
	75 money orders received from donors == per details in the Pass Book		1,872-2-0
	[Total]		5,746-2-0
	Less amount of two clearing cheques for Rs. 300 & 34 credited to the account == 25th instant & returned		

copies of which have
been sent to you for
your information
[Total]

334
5,412-2-0
18,947-1-0

By Balance B.F

Grand Total

24,359-3-0

Iqbal Mannan	Allahabad	500
Capt. M. Sardar		
Khan	Banglore	25
Capt. M. Sardar		
Khan	Banglore	100
Abdul Majid	Rawalpindi	100
F. Lt. Alauddin	Secunderabad	150
[Total]		875

27 June 1947	Hamid Ali	New Delhi	10
	Hafiz Muhammad		
	Zikria	Delhi	100
	Muslim Staff of Edu-		
	cation Department	New Delhi	61
	Lieut. Muhammad		
	Qasim	Lucknow	100
	Syed Zakir Husan	Muzaffarpur	330
	A.H. Zaidi	New Delhi	55
	Hav. Abdul Hamid	New Delhi	5
	Ch. Shaukat Ali Khan	Rohtak	10
	Muslim H.E. Society	Lahman	500
	Major A.G. Dastgir	New Delhi	100
	Tauqir Hasan	Lahore	25
	M. Ghulam Kader	Lahore	100
	Ferozwala Primary		
	Muslim League		
	through Ch.		
	Muhammad		
	Zafarulla, MLA	Ferozwala	1,000
	Dr. Syed Bahir		
	Hasan	Lahore	20
	Adam Rahman	Ahamadabad	51
	Mohammad Tahir		
	Faraugi	Agra	12
	Shan Ellahie	Calcutta	250
	Incognito	Calcutta	10
	Maqbool Hasan	New Delhi	34
	Ellahi Bux	Nowshera	700
	Muhammad Hasan	Bahawalpur	200
	M. Latafat Hussain	Delhi	10
	L.R. Khan	Tatanagar	25
	Muhammad Gul	Peshawer	100
	F.M. Kashmiri	New Delhi	20
	Total of the day		3,828
	By Balance B.F.		24,359-3-0

Grand Total

28,187-3-0

Mrs. B.R. Khan	Barisal	16	P.F.O.B.C. 63
Wali Haider	Patna	100	P.F.O.B.C. 64
Captain M. Shafi	Kamptee	100	P.F.O.B.C. 65
Mir Muhammad Ali	Baroda	40	P.F.O.B.C. 66
A. Mahmood	Bhowanipur	9	P.F.O.B.C. 67
A. Mahmood	Bhowanipur	33	P.F.O.B.C. 68
A. Basit	Calcutta	500	P.F.O.B.C. 69
Dr. K. Ahmad	Calcutta	15	P.F.O.B.C. 70
Said Ahmad	Calcutta	100	P.F.O.B.C. 71
Ashiq Hasani	Lahore	50	P.F.O.B.C. 72
Muhammad Afzal			
Khan	Lahore	50	P.F.O.B.C. 73
[Total]		1,013	

28 June 1947	O.N.Muhammad		
	Shameem	Colombo	50
	Lalmian	Bargona	■
	Abdul Jalil	New Delhi	20
	Mirza Alla Ditta	Gujrat	1,000
	Sun Proof Hat Co.	Delhi	5
	Dr.A.R.Taqi	Lucknow	6-4-0
	Abdul Kadir A.Ghani	Bombay	51
	S.M. Siddiq	Jhansi	50
	B.J.Morenas	Fort Bombay	51
	Total of day		1,733-4-0
	By Balance B.F.		28,187-3-0

Grand Total 29,920-7-0

Rupees twenty-nine thousand nine hundred and twenty, annas seven only

Rashid Ahmad Khan	Manzai	100
Rashid Ahmad Khan	Manzai	100
Rashid Ahmad Khan	Manzai	100
Rashid Ahmad Khan	Manzai	100
Rashid Ahmad Khan	Manzai	100
S.A.A. Moini	Ajmer	75
Captain M.A.Majid	Meerut	200
A.M.Khan	Jullundur	100-6-0
Anwar Saadat	Lahore	100
Ch. Hissemuddin	Lahore	250
Muhammad Hassan	Calcutta	51
[Total]		1,275-6-0

347

M. Hamid Hussain to M. A. Jinnah

F.682/259

14 STATION ROAD,
DELHI CANTT.,
Undated [June 1947]

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Enclosed please find a cheque for Rs. 1,000 which *Abba Jan* (Nawab Zoolcadre Jung) has sent to you for the referendum campaign.

Yours,
HAMID HUSSAIN
Lt.Col.,
I.A.O.C.

348

Rashid A. Munshi to M. A. Jinnah

F.892/114-7

PANCHGANI, DECCAN,
Undated [June 1947]

Subject:1. Pakistan Funds and Constructive Programmes

2. N[orth] China Linkages

Respected Sir, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah Sahib,

As per your honour's personal letter from Matheran Camp, I have been steadily working with Prof. Haleem, Secretary, Muslim League Economic Planning Committee, Aligarh, and with the Educational Experts Committee there.

They inform me that my suggestions are being considered by the Drafting (Legislation) Committee and also that they are busy printing the report incorporating our N. China Industries and Insurance Projects.

2. Your honour's Pakistan Fund appeal¹ to hand.

3. I had sent to your honour letters and telegrams addressed to New Delhi and even Malir Cantonment, Sind, asking for early adoption of "Rural Types of Insurances" as part of priority schemes and financial venue [*sic*].

The schemes being—adoption of Agricultural Crops Insurances Projects

- i. for one-third provincial areas = a Division = 4/6 Districts, to start with.
- ii. Crops Insurances are launched. The premiums are collected on land assessments:
 - a. 50% going to provincial governments
 - b. 40% going to N. China Centre
 - c. 3/5% going to Pakistan Funds

From second year only 5% for b and c and the rest 95% to the Government Treasury onwards.

- iii. Let one third areas of Sindh or Punjab or Bengal be tried for crops insurance, to start with.
- iv. This would increase Pakistan Fund abundantly—and also affect the scheme so new and modern from Japan/N. China.

4. Apropos of this your honour would kindly place the matter before—

- a. Sind—Hidayatullah Ministry for crops insurance schemes and funds, or

- b. Hon'ble I.I. Chundrigar, Commerce and Insurance [sic] Member, Interim Government, or
- c. League High Command/Council (Constructive Planning Committees) and Pakistan Government and Cabinet members.

The scheme can be followed from III edition now being sent.

This planning also seems and is definitely a new pattern to Congress drive [sic].

Thanking your honour for further advice and guidance regarding Pakistan economic planning and oblige.

Yours obediently,

RASHID A. MUNSHI

B. Ag., Dip. FORESTRY (N. WALES),

EX- F.R.M.S. (LONDON),

Agricultural & Administrative Officer,

Dewas State Junior

¹No. 128.

Enclosure 1 to No. 348

F. 892/122

As corrected, appreciated & duly recommended by Registrar, Co-operative Societies—Poona to Bombay Government—recently

THE AGRICULTURAL CROPS &
FOREST — NURSERIES—
INSURANCE SCHEMES¹

HOW and WHY in Rural Areas

by

RASHID A. MUNSHI

B. Ag., F.R.M.S., (London)

Director: N. China Cottage Industries,
and Edtn. Centres,
MAHABLESHWAR

NATIONAL RURAL INSURANCES PLAN

INDIA AND THE NATIVE STATES

Rural Branch: (N. China Centre). As the further amendment to Insurance Act of 1938—forbids issuing of policies below Rs. 1,000 the rural Branch Tables—stand cancelled in/from I/II Editions.

¹Document not printed.

Enclosure 2 to No.348

F.892/139

ASSEMBLY MOTION

THREE-HOUR DEBATE NEW DELHI—FEBRUARY 1947

1. The House discussed Mr. N. Narayan Murti's resolution asking Government to adopt an effective programme of Crop Insurance. He said—agriculture was the prime occupation of an overwhelming majority of the people of this country—Government should *introduce Crop Insurance*.¹
2. Hon. Seth Govind Das: Supporting the resolution said: (a) That Crop Insurance was very essential for the Indian peasant. The benefit should be extended in the first instance only to small holders and not to big farms. (b) In regard to poor agriculturists—who held less than ten acres—it should *be compulsory*.
3. Hon. Prof. N. Ranga: Supporting the resolution said: the financial responsibility for the scheme should be borne by the Central and Provincial Governments and the agriculturists.
4. Mr. Dinshaw—All India Industrialists Conference said: as regards the financing of the research institute (and other new patterns rural/or urban)—it should be left to the State.
 - a. To ask for contributions from individuals or
 - b. To demand of them *by Legislative Measures*—contributions on a certain percentage basis.

¹Underlined here and hereafter in the original.

349

*Secretary to the Crown Representative to All
Residents of Indian States*

F.2/51-2

NEW DELHI,
Undated [June 1947]

DRAFT LETTER¹

Subject: Direct correspondence between States and the Central Government

Reference Political Department Memo. No. F.24-R(S)/47 dated the 17th April, 1947.²

At a meeting³ with the Congress and Muslim League leaders the Crown Representative raised the question of liaison between the States and the two Dominion Governments which will be set up on 15th August, 1947. Doubt was expressed whether the direct correspondence, which was initiated by this memorandum and which is further developing as States set up joint organisations for this purpose, will ensure adequate liaison between the Successor Governments of the rest of India and the large number of States concerned.

The following alternative arrangements have been suggested:

- a. That the Successor Governments should request the States to allow the location of their own agents in State territory, or
- b. that each State or group of States should appoint an officer to be located at the Headquarters of the appropriate Government to provide information, to elicit replies and to secure co-operation.

Please enquire from the States and group of States in political relations with you, which of these alternatives they prefer.

The Crown Representative feels strongly that one or the other of these arrangements should be put into effect before paramountcy lapses to avoid the disorganisation which all the leaders and he feel may well result if one of these courses is not adopted.

A very early answer is requested.

[E.B. WAKEFIELD]

for Sec[retary] to H.E. the Crown Representative

¹The letter was issued with some modifications on 14 June 1947. See TP, XI, No.197, 382-3.

²Enclosure.

³Annex.

Enclosure to No. 349

IOR, R/3/136

NO. F. 24-R(S)/47

POLITICAL DEPARTMENT,
NEW DELHI,
17 April 1947

MEMORANDUM

Subject: Direct correspondence between States and the Central Government

Since with the lapse of Paramountcy the Political Department will cease to exist from a date not later than June 1948 and for administrative reasons, Residents and Political Agents must be withdrawn earlier, it

is necessary to provide some other channel for communications between the Central Government and States. In order to effect a smooth diversion of the flow of communications into this new channel while the Political Department and local Political Officers are still able to assist as formerly with their good offices, it is proposed gradually to close political channels in advance of their disappearance. As a first step the previous rule, requiring that correspondence with States should be through this Department, which has already been considerably modified in practice, will be deemed to be rescinded with effect from 15th May 1947. From that date all new correspondence *on matters which do not involve States generally or a large number of States*,¹ may kindly be addressed direct to certain States or to Residents in the manner described in paragraph 4 below. Similarly, in pending cases as they arise for action *such* direct correspondence may please be commenced, this Department being informed accordingly so that current files on the subjects may be closed, and relevant papers transferred where necessary.

2. This Department and the Residents, so long as they continue to exist, will be glad to give every assistance in any cases in which their assistance is required.

3. The converse flow, namely of correspondence between the States and the Central Government, must be established. It is accordingly proposed to furnish all States with a list of the Departments of the Central Government and the subjects which each handles, so that States may know the appropriate Department they should address on any particular subject.

4. It is realized that the Departments of the Central Government will not at first be able to deal with a large number of new addressees and it is proposed that for the present direct correspondence shall be established with only a limited number of major States. These are shown in Annexure A together with the designation of the Official who should be addressed, and his postal and registered telegraphic addresses. Correspondence intended for the remaining States may please be addressed for the present direct to the Residents concerned as shown in Annexure B. States which have been addressed through Residents will be informed by Residents whether they should reply through the same channel or direct to the Department of the Government of India concerned. Similarly and with effect from the same date Provinces will be put into direct communication with States.

J. H. THOMPSON²

for Secretary to His Excellency the Crown Representative

To
 All Departments of Government of India
 Copy to the Residents—Hyderabad, Mysore, Central India, Rajputana,
 Western India—Rajkot, Punjab States, Eastern States, Kashmir,
 Gwalior, Madras States, Kolhapur,
 Political Officer in Sikkim and Hon'ble the Agent to the Governor-
 General, Resident and Chief Commissioner in Baluchistan
 J.H. THOMPSON
for Secretary to His Excellency the Crown Representative

¹Underlined here and hereafter in the original.

²Resident, Punjab States, 1945-47; on special duty in Political Department, 1947.

Annexure A

LIST SHOWING THE DESIGNATION, POSTAL AND REGISTERED TELEGRAPHIC ADDRESS OF THE OFFICIALS OF INDIAN STATES WITH WHOM DIRECT CORRESPONDENCE SHOULD BE CONDUCTED

Name of State	Designation of official to be addressed	Postal address	Telegraphic address
1. Hyderabad	Chief Secretary to H.E.H. the Nizam's Government, Hyderabad (Deccan)	Hyderabad (Deccan)	Politics, Hyderabad (Deccan)
2. Mysore	Chief Secretary to the Government of Mysore	Bangalore	Chisec, Bangalore
3. Indore	Prime Minister, Holkar State	Indore	..
4. Bhopal	Prime Minister, Bhopal	Bhopal	..
5. Rewa	Prime Minister, Rewa	Rewa	..
6. Bikaner	Foreign and Political Minister, Bikaner	Bikaner	Polbik, Bikaner
7. Jaipur	Prime Minister, Jaipur	Jaipur	Prime Minister, Jaipur
8. Jodhpur	Prime Minister, Jodhpur	Jodhpur	Prime Minister, Jodhpur

9.	Udaipur (Mewar)	Prime Minister, Udaipur	Udaipur	Prime Minister, Udaipur
10.	Baroda (for attached units please see Appendix. A)	Dewan, Baroda	Baroda 3	Dewan, Baroda
11.	Cutch	Dewan, Cutch	Bhuj	Dewan, Bhuj
12.	Bahawalpur	Prime Minister, Bahawalpur	Bahawalpur	Premier, Baghdad-ul-Jadid
13.	Khairpur	President, Council of Administration, Khairpur Mir's	Khairpur Mir's	Precouncil, Khairpur Mir's
14.	Patiala	Prime Minister, Patiala	Patiala	Kharjia, Patiala
15.	Cooch Behar	Chief Minister, Cooch Behar	Cooch Behar B.N. Rly.	Chief Minister, Cooch Behar
16.	Mayurbhanj	Dewan, Mayurbhanj	Baripada, Via Rupsa, B.N. Rly.	Dewan, Mayurbhanj, Baripada
17.	Tripura	Chief Minister, Tripura	Agartala, via Akhaura, B&A Rly.	Chief Minister, Tripura, Agartala
18.	Kashmir	Chief Secretary, Jammu and Kashmir Govt.	November Jammu Tawi May Srinagar, Kashmir	May Chiefsec, Jammu, Tawi November Chiefsec., Srinagar, Kashmir
19.	Benares	President, Council of Administration, Benares	Ramnagar, Benares State	
20.	Gwalior	Foreign and Political Minister, Gwalior	Lashkar, Gwalior	Sardar, Gwalior
21.	Rampur	Chief Minister, Rampur	Rampur	Ramp, Rampur
22.	Cochin	Dewan, Cochin	Ernakulam	Dewan, Ernakulam
23.	Pudukkottai	Dewan, Pudukkottai	Pudukkottai	Dewan, Pudukkottai
24.	Travancore	Dewan, Travancore	Trivandrum	Dewan, Trivandrum
25.	Kolhapur	Prime Minister, Kolhapur	Kolhapur	

APPENDIX A

STATES AND TALUKAS
ATTACHED TO BARODA

1. Bilkha	38. Garmali Moti
2. Vadia	39. Garmali Nani
3. Balana	40. Gadhia
4. Mansa	41. Charkha
5. Malpur	42. Dholerva
6. Bagasra Majmu	43. Nanavav
7. Barwala	44. Monvel
8. Champrajpur	45. Lakhapadar
9. Dangavadar	46. Vekaria
10. Dedan	47. Vaghavdi
11. Hadela-Bagasra	48. Halaria
12. Harsurpur	49. Silana
13. Khari-Bagasra	50. Dhasa
14. Kotda-Pitha	51. Jhamka
15. Natwarnagar	52. Gigasaran
16. Pipalia	53. Padargadh
17. Thumbala	54. Dahida
18. Vajsur Dosa Estate	55. Patdi
19. Deva Odha Estate	56. Vanod
20. Jiva Valera Estate, Babra Thana	57. Vithalgadh and Pipalva
21. Babra	58. Zainabad
22. Janbai-ni-Derdi	59. Dasada, Jhinjhuwada Thana
23. Randhia	60. Jhinjhuwada
24. Ankadia	61. Rozwa
25. Nilvala	62. Ambaliara
26. Khijadia	63. Bhalusana
27. Bildi	64. Dabha
28. Kamadhia	65. Dedhrota
29. Kariana	66. Derol
30. Nonghanvadar	67. Ghodasar
31. Itaria	68. Hadol
32. Khambhala	69. Hapa
33. Bhadli	70. Ilol
34. Dedan, Lakhapadar Thana	71. Kadoli
35. Kanor	72. Katosan
36. Kathrota	73. Khadal
37. Khijadia-Nayani	74. Khodawada

75.	Magodi	117.	Barmuada
76.	Palaj	118.	Sachodar, Vatrak Kantha Thana
77.	Premour	119.	Nirmali
78.	Punadra	120.	Jeher
79.	Ramas	121.	Telnol, Katosan Thana
80.	Satlasna	122.	Maguna
81.	Sudasna	123.	Deloli
82.	Tajpuri	124.	Rampur
83.	Vakhtapur	125.	Tejpura
84.	Valasna	126.	Vir soda
85.	Varsoda	127.	Kasalpura
86.	Vasna, Gadhawada Thana	128.	Ranipura
87.	Hota Kothasna	129.	Memadpura
88.	Umbri	130.	Ijpura
89.	Nana Kothasna	131.	Deodar
90.	Timba		(Waghela Himatsinhji)
91.	Dedasan	132.	Deodar
92.	Udni		(Waghela Viramsinhji)
93.	Nedardi	133.	Wao
94.	Ambavada	134.	Thara
95.	Vinchhi	135.	Tharad, Kankrej Thana
96.	Chandap	136.	Sihori
97.	Gazipur, Bawishi Thana	137.	Un
98.	Amraji-na-Muada	138.	Kevalpuri Thali
99.	Harakhji-na-Muada	139.	Arniwada
100.	Vatva	140.	Renckpur
101.	Hardoli	141.	Indermana
102.	Harsoli	142.	Manpur
103.	Lawad	143.	Thara Saduji Vas
104.	Palundra	144.	Bhalgam
105.	Dabhoda	145.	Khengarpur
106.	Vadodra	146.	Runi
107.	Siawada	147.	Shirwada
108.	Salki	148.	Kharia
109.	Anguthia	149.	Madkol
110.	Rakhial	150.	Khimana
111.	Khanpur	151.	Bhadramali
112.	Lihoda	152.	Dasana Vas
113.	Kalyani-na-Muada	153.	Lunpur
114.	Sahebji-na-Muada	154.	Zabadia
115.	Kadjodra	155.	Sadarpur
116.	Samotri		

156.	Samau Nana Vas	198.	Makdala
157.	Samau Mota Vas	199.	Forna
158.	Bukoli	200.	Vasarda
159.	Raner	201.	Dhunsol
160.	Kamboi	202.	Vajapur
161.	Ranawada	203.	Bhatvar
162.	Anganwada	204.	Agar
163.	Akoli	205.	Bhaderva
164.	Dugarasan	206.	Chhaliar
165.	Ruppura	207.	Mandwa
166.	Umri	208.	Naswadi
167.	Balochpur	209.	Palasni
168.	Kakar	210.	Shanor
169.	Vada	211.	Sihora
170.	Chemla	212.	Uchad
171.	Dev Darbar, Suigam Sub-Thana	213.	Umeta
172.	Suigam	214.	Vajiria
173.	Radosan	215.	Vora
174.	Nalodar	216.	Alwa
175.	Jhelana	217.	Wasan Virpur
176.	Kanothi	218.	Wasen Sewada
177.	Asara Vas	219.	Chorangla
178.	Nesda	220.	Vanmala
179.	Golap	221.	Bhilodia
180.	Mamana	222.	Sindhiapura
181.	Koreti, Deodar Thana	223.	Jiral
182.	Mojru	224.	Kamsoli
183.	Surana	225.	Rampura
184.	Delvada	226.	Pantalavdi
185.	Sanadar	227.	Nangam
186.	Malukpur	228.	Chudeswar
187.	Kapdi Dev	229.	Bihora
188.	Vatam Juna Vas	230.	Rengan
189.	Vatam Nava Vas	231.	Nalia
190.	Jalodha	232.	Vadia-Virampura
191.	Dhanakwada	233.	Dudhpur
192.	Duchakwada	234.	Anghad
193.	Niladar	235.	Pandu
194.	Golvi	236.	Mevli
195.	Chibhda	237.	Dhari
196.	Mithi Paldi	238.	Raika
197.	Chalwa	239.	Dodka

240.	Gothda	248.	Moti Varnoli
241.	Kanoda	249.	Rajpur
242.	Poicha	250.	Jesar
243.	Itwad	251.	Amrapur
244.	Vakhtapur	252.	Jumkha
245.	Varnol Mal	253.	Kasla-Paginu-Muada
246.	Gotardi	254.	Nani Varnoli
247.	Moka-Paginu-Muada	255.	Nahara

Annexure B

THE HON'BLE THE RESIDENT IN MYSORE, BANGALORE

1. Banganapalle
2. Sandur

THE HON'BLE THE RESIDENT FOR CENTRAL INDIA, INDORE

1. Ajaigarh
2. Alipura
3. Alirajpur
4. Banka Pahari
5. Baoni
6. Baraundha
7. Barwani
8. Beri
9. Bhaisaunda
10. Bihat
11. Bijawar
12. Bijna
13. Charkhari
14. Chhatarpur
15. Dewas Senior
16. Dewas Junior
17. Datia
18. Dhar
19. Dhurwai
20. Garrauli
21. Gaurihar
22. Jaora
23. Jaso
24. Jhabua
25. Jigni
26. Jobat

27. Kamta Kajaula
28. Kathiwarra
29. Khilchipur
30. Kothi
31. Kurwai
32. Lugasi
33. Maihar
34. Makrai
35. Mathwarw
36. Muhammadgarh
37. Nagod
38. Naigawan Rebai
39. Narsingarh
40. Orchha
41. Pahra
42. Paldeo
43. Panna
44. Pathari
45. Piploda
46. Rajgarh
47. Ratlam
48. Sailana
49. Samthar
50. Sarila
51. Sitamau
52. Sohawal
53. Taraon
54. Tori-Fatehpur

THE HON'BLE THE RESIDENT FOR RAJPUTANA, ABU

1. Alwar
2. Banswara
3. Bharatpur
4. Bundi
5. Danta
6. Dholpur
7. Dungarpur
8. Idar (for attached units please see App[endix] K)
9. Jaisalmer
10. Jhalawar
11. Karauli
12. Kotah

13. Palanpur
14. Partabgarh
15. Shahpura
16. Tonk
17. Vijaynagar
18. Kishengarh
19. Sirohi
20. Kushalgarh
21. Lawa
22. Nimrana

THE HON'BLE THE RESIDENT AT BARODA AND FOR THE STATES
OF WESTERN INDIA AND GUJRAT, BARODA/RAJKOT

1. Balasinor
2. Bansda
3. Baria (for attached units please see App[endix] L)
4. Bhavnagar (for attached units please see App[endix] B)
5. Cambay
6. Chhota Udepur (for attached units please see App[endix] M)
7. Dangs
8. Dharampur
9. Dhrangadhra (for attached units please see App[endix] C)
10. Dhrol
11. Gondal (for attached units please see App[endix] D)
12. Jambughoda
13. Janjira
14. Jawnar
15. Junagarh (for attached units please see App[endix] E)
16. Limbdi (for attached units please see App[endix] F)
17. Lunawada
18. Morvi (for attached units please see App[endix] G)
19. Nawanagar (for attached units please see App[endix] H)
20. Palitana
21. Porbandar
22. Radhanpur (for attached units please see App[endix] I)
23. Rajkot
24. Rajpipla
25. Sachin
26. Sant
27. Surgana
28. Vadhwani (for attached please see App[endix] J)
29. Vankaner
30. Vetrak, Kantha Thana

THE HON'BLE THE RESIDENT FOR THE PUNJAB STATES, LAHORE

1. Baghal
2. Baghat
3. Balsan
4. Bashahr
5. Bhajji
6. Bija
7. Bilaspur
8. Chamba
9. Dujana
10. Darkoti
11. Dhami
12. Faridkot
13. Jind
14. Jubbal
15. Kapurthala
16. Kalsia
17. Keonthal
18. Kumarsain
19. Kunihar
20. Kuthar
21. Loharu
22. Mandi
23. Malerkotla
24. Mahlog
25. Mangal
26. Nabha
27. Nalagarh
28. Pataudi
29. Sangri
30. Sirmur
31. Suket
32. Tehri Garhwal
33. Tharoch

THE HON'BLE THE RESIDENT FOR THE
EASTERN STATES, CALCUTTA

1. Athgarh
2. Athmallik
3. Bamra
4. Baramba
5. Bastar

6. Baudh
7. Bonai
8. Changbhakar
9. Chhuikhadan
10. Dhenkanal
11. Daspalla
12. Gangpur
13. Hindol
14. Jashpur
15. Kalahandi
16. Kanker
17. Kawardha
18. Keonjhar
19. Khairagarh
20. Khandpara
21. Korea
22. Nandgaon
23. Narsinghpur
24. Nayagarh
25. Nilgiri
26. Pal-Lahara
27. Patna
28. Raigarh
29. Rairakhol
30. Rampur
31. Sakti
32. Sarangar
33. Seraikela
34. Sonepur
35. Surguja
36. Talcher
37. Tigiria
38. Udaipur
39. Kharsawan

THE RESIDENT FOR KOLHAPUR AND THE
DECCAN STATES, KOLHAPUR

1. Akalkot
2. Aundh
3. Bhore
4. Jamkhandi
5. Jath

6. Kurundwad Junior
7. Kurundwad Senior
8. Miraj Junior
9. Miraj Senior
10. Mudhol
11. Phaltan
12. Ramdurg
13. Sangli
14. Savanur
15. Sawantwadi

THE RESIDENT KASHMIR, SRINAGAR/SIALKOT

1. Hunza
2. Nagir [Nagar]

SECRETARY TO H.E. THE GOVERNOR OF
ASSAM, SHILLONG, ASSAM

1. Manipur
2. Khasi States
 - Bhawal
 - Cherra
 - Khyrim
 - Langrin
 - Maharam
 - Malaisohmat
 - Mawiang
 - Mawsynram
 - Mariaw
 - Myllem
 - Nobosohphoh
 - Nogkhlaw
 - Nongspung
 - Nongstoin
 - Rambrai
 - Ten States not under Siems

THE HON'BLE THE A.G.G., RESIDENT AND CHIEF
COMMISSIONER IN BALUCHISTAN, QUETTA

1. Kalat
2. Las Bela
3. Kharan

THE CHIEF SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF N.W.F.P.,
PESHAWAR

1. Amb
2. Chitral
3. Dir
4. Phulera
5. Swat

POLITICAL OFFICER, SIKKIM

1. Sikkim

APPENDIX B

STATES AND TALUKAS ATTACHED TO BHAVNAGAR

1. Vala
2. Lathi
3. Jasdan Chok-Datha Thana
4. Chok
5. Aiyavej
6. Ranigam
7. Morchupna
8. Gandhol
9. Jalia-Amreji
10. Rohishala
11. Pah
12. Bodanoness
13. Shevdivadar
14. Sanala
15. Samadhiala
16. Rajpara
17. Chiroda
18. Vijanoness
19. Vadal
20. Dedarda
21. Jalia-Manaji
22. Kanjarda
23. Bhandaria
24. Satanoness
25. Junapadar
26. Datha, Paliad Thana
27. Paliad, Songadh Thana
28. Pachhegam
29. Limbda

30. Gadhali
31. Chamardi
32. Vavdi-Dharwala
33. Samadhiala-Chhabhadia
34. Ratanpur-Dhamanka
35. Vadod
36. Alampur
37. Songadh
38. Bhojavadar
39. Ramanka
40. Vavdi-Vachhani
41. Toda-Todi
42. Dhola-Godadji
43. Chitravav
44. Panchavada
45. Katodia
46. Vangadhra
47. Khijadia-Dosaji
48. Gadhula
49. Samadhiala-Charan
50. Matra

APPENDIX C

STATES AND TALUKAS ATTACHED TO DHARANGADHRA

1. Chuda
2. Lakhtar
3. Muli
4. Sayla
5. Ramparda, Chotila Thana
6. Kesharia, Wadhwan-Bhoika Thana
7. Munjpura, Wadhwan-Bhoika Thana

APPENDIX D

STATES AND TALULKAS ATTACHED TO GONDAL

1. Bhadva
2. Kotda Sanghani
3. Mengani
4. Rajpara
5. Shahpur

APPENDIX E

STATES AND TALUKAS ATTACHED TO JUNAGADH

1. Manavadar
2. Thana-Devli
3. Jetpur
4. Sardargadh
5. Suryapratapgadh
6. Anida
7. Nadala
8. Sanala
9. Bhayavadar
10. Manpur
11. Mayapadar
12. Khijadia
13. Alidhra
14. Akala
15. Sardarpur
16. Bantwa Bara Majmu
17. Bantwa Chhota Majmu
18. Jetpur Majmu
19. Amrapur and Lunagiri
20. Kuba and Vichhavad

APPENDIX F

STATES AND TALUKAS ATTACHED TO LIMBDI

1. Rai and Sankli, Wadhwan-Bhoika Thana
2. Bhalala
3. Devalia
4. Talsana
5. Palali
6. Bhathan
7. Tavi
8. Laliad
9. Ankewalia
10. Bhalgamda
11. Bhoika
12. Chachana
13. Bhhalala
14. Darod
15. Gedi

16. Jakhan
17. Kamalpur
18. Kantharia
19. Karol
20. Khambklav
21. Khandia
22. Sahuka
23. Samla
24. Untdi
25. Vanala

APPENDIX G

STATES AND TALUKAS ATTACHED TO MORVI

1. Malia
2. Kotda Nayan, Lodhika Thana
3. Hadala, Vithalgadh Taluka

APPENDIX H

STATES AND TALUKAS ATTACHED TO NAWANAGAR

1. Virpur
2. Khirasra
3. Jalia-Devani
4. Kotharia
5. Gavridad
6. Pal
7. Lodhika (T.S. Mulwaji)
8. Lodhika (T.S. Vijaysinhji)
9. Gadhka
10. Vasavad
11. Anandpur (Khachar Shri Dada and Nana Jiwa)
12. Anandpur (Khachar Shri Hathia Desa)
13. Lodhika Majmu, Dhrafa Thana
14. Dhrafa
15. Satudad-Vavdi, Lodhika Thana
16. Virva
17. Kankashiali
18. Nana-Mahuva
19. Baldhoi
20. Ranpur-Ishvaria
21. Sisang-Chandli
22. Mulila-Deri

23. Vadali, Chotila Thana
24. Samanbore
25. Sanosra
26. Mewasa
27. Bhimora
28. Chobari
29. Anandpur
30. Chotila, Palliad Thana
31. Sudamda Dhandhalpur
32. Sejakpur

APPENDIX I

STATES AND TALUKAS ATTACHED TO RADHANPUR

1. Adesar
2. Terwada
3. Varahi (K.S. Husseinyavarkhanji)
4. Varahi (K.S. Muridkhanji, Deodar Thana)
5. Bhabhari Nana Vas
6. Bhabhari Juna Vas
7. Ujjanwada
8. Panvi
9. Genjesar
10. Chatra
11. Kaprupur
12. Karela
13. Oghadpura
14. Gagun, Santalpur Thana
15. Dhokawada
16. Majusara
17. Par
18. Bakutra
19. Mora Pati
20. Narda Pati
21. Piprala
22. Sanva
23. Barala
24. Vahuva
25. Dadhiapadar
26. [Illegible]
27. Jakhotra
28. Charanka

29. Chhanasara
30. Madhutra
31. Anternes (Jadeja)
32. Anternes (Rahumas)
33. Garamdi
34. Adesar
35. Varnosari
36. Zazam
37. Boru
38. Nilana
39. Dhrechana
40. Chalanda
41. Soneth
42. Masali
43. Limbuni
44. Babra, Varahi Thana
45. Varahi
46. Mord
47. Gadha
48. Unrot
49. Zandada
50. Jhekda
51. Koliwada
52. Daisar
53. Daldi
54. Bamroli
55. Gokhantar
56. Inderva Juna Vas
57. Inderva Nava Vas
58. Sadev
59. Sidhada
60. Chichodra
61. Taravad
62. Modra and Unnadi
63. Saivadpur
64. Daigamda
65. Uchosan

APPENDIX J

STATES AND TALUKAS ATTACHED TO WADHWAN

1. Rajpur, Chotila Thana
2. Chotila (Morvad), Wadhwan-Bhoika Thana
3. Vana
4. Dudhrej
5. Kharali
6. Gundrala
7. Jhamar
8. Jhampodad
9. Vadod
10. Bhadvana
11. Rarmad, Paliad Thana
12. Bharejda

APPENDIX K

STATES AND TALUKAS ATTACHED TO IDAR

1. Bhadardi
2. Bolundra
3. Dadhalia
4. Gabat
5. Likhi
6. Mohanpur
7. Mohar
8. Nanasan
9. Rupal
10. Sathamba
11. Vadagam

APPENDIX L

STATES AND TALUKAS ATTACHED TO BARIA

1. SANJELI

APPENDIX M

STATES AND TALUKAS ATTACHED TO CHHOTA UDEPUR

1. GAD-BORIAD

Annex to No. 349
Minutes of Viceroy's Eighteenth Miscellaneous Meeting¹

SECRET

13 June 1947

ITEM 1
THE STATES
THE POLITICAL DEPARTMENT AND THE
LAPSE OF PARAMOUNTCY

Pandit Nehru said that, before considering the various papers which had been circulated, he wished to point out that this was the first time that members of the Interim Government had had the privilege of being invited to discussions concerning the States.

At Pandit Nehru's request, His Excellency the Viceroy explained that the Political Department had, until the Government of India Act, 1935 came into operation, worked under the Governor-General-in-Council. Under that Act, however, the functions formerly exercised by the Governor-General-in-Council in relation to States were separated and allotted to the Crown Representative. His Excellency stated that his instructions were that paramountcy should lapse not later than the date on which the transfer of power took place. The lapse of paramountcy would automatically involve the closing down of the Political Department.

Pandit Nehru said that, as he understood it, all other functions of the Political Department except paramountcy had continued, despite the 1935 Act, to be exercised under the Governor-General-in-Council. Sir Conrad Corfield said that all functions connected with the States were exercised by the Crown Representative. Pandit Nehru said that, whereas he accepted the position with regard to the lapse of paramountcy at present, surely all the other matters with which the Crown Representative and the Political Department had to deal were Government of India matters and would continue. Sir Conrad Corfield stated that no such clear division could be made. From the point of view of the Central Government the object of the liaison functions of the Crown Representative was that States should not prejudice all-India interests. The procedure was for the Crown Representative to consult the various Departments of the Government of India and to use the paramountcy power to ensure that States did not take any detrimental action. For instance, the Crown Representative might get a representation from the States that the policy of the Central Government in a certain matter was contrary to their own interests. If, after consultation with the Central Government, the Crown Representative was satisfied

that this policy was necessary, he would use his influence under paramountcy to ensure that the States complied. If, however, he was not satisfied, he would use his influence to ensure that States' legitimate interests were not prejudiced by the Central Government.

Pandit Nehru said that he had consulted many eminent lawyers about this matter, and his point was that at the least it was a highly controversial one. He asked what right the Political Department had to go ahead in taking action that was highly injurious to the Government of India. He had been writing letters on this subject for four months. He and his colleagues had not (until now) been shown the common courtesy of being brought into consultation. Completely unilateral action had been taken continuously. Pandit Nehru said that he charged the Political Department and Sir Conrad Corfield with misfeasance. He considered that an immediate enquiry on the highest judicial level into their actions was necessary.

Sir Conrad Corfield said that he wished to point out that in everything he had acted under the instructions of the Crown Representative with the approval of the Secretary of State. His Excellency the Viceroy said that, from his experience, what Sir Conrad had said was absolutely correct. He went on to say that he had invariably carefully considered the points put forward by Pandit Nehru in his various letters, and taken action on them. For example, Pandit Nehru had complained that the Political Department never consulted the Government of India. As a result of that, he (His Excellency) had arranged for Sir Conrad Corfield to go and see Pandit Nehru.

Pandit Nehru said that he alone was not the Government of India. He was talking not only of himself, but of his colleagues too. A stage was now being reached at which very serious consequences were threatened. He pointed out that His Majesty's Government's Statement of 3rd June² referred back to the Memorandum of the Cabinet Mission dated 12th May, 1946.³ He said that he accepted these documents as they were, but in his opinion the policy of the Political Department had been contrary to them.

His Excellency said that, on his arrival, Lord Wavell had informed him that the Political Department had been acting strictly in accordance with the Memorandum of 12th May. Sir Conrad Corfield confirmed that this had been done. Every item of the programme of the Political Department had been based on this Memorandum. There was continual consultation with the Departments of the Government of India. Full details had been afforded to the Government at inter-Departmental conferences. There had continually been full liaison.

Pandit Nehru said that it was one thing to deal with a Department

on a specific matter. The wider policy was quite another question. There were many rights and obligations apart from paramountcy. To deal with each Department separately concerning these would produce administrative chaos.

INDEPENDENCE OF STATES

Pandit Nehru said that he fully admitted the principle that any States could, if they so wished, join the Pakistan Constituent Assembly. But there was no trace in the Cabinet Mission's Memorandum of any State being allowed to claim independence.

Sir Conrad Corfield read out an extract of this Memorandum which stated "The void will have to be filled, either by the States entering into a federal relationship with the successor Government or Governments in British India, or failing this, entering into particular political arrangements with it or them."

Pandit Nehru said that in his opinion this did not signify the possibility of States becoming independent. Sir Conrad Corfield said that in his opinion the term "particular political arrangements" implied relations with autonomous units.

Mr. Jinnah said that in his view the States were fully entitled to say that they would join neither Constituent Assembly. Every Indian State was a sovereign State. Pandit Nehru said that he differed altogether. He spoke as a lawyer. Mr. Jinnah said that he spoke as a lawyer also. Pandit Nehru suggested that the opinion of the Federal Court on this point should be obtained.

Mr. Jinnah reiterated that in his opinion Indian States were sovereign States for every purpose except in so far as they had entered into treaties with the Crown. British India could do nothing to them. The Crown was under certain obligations to them and they to it, according to the terms of treaties and agreements which had been made. To say that the Governor-General or the British Parliament could lay down that every Indian State was bound to enter one Constituent Assembly or the other, was not according to the law or to the Constitution. If the States liked to come in, they could do so by agreement, but there was no way of forcing them in.

Pandit Nehru asked what were the tests of sovereignty? One was the capacity for international relations. The States had no such capacity. Another was the capacity for declaring war. The States had no such capacity. There were 562 States. Of this number there might perhaps be a few which could claim semi-sovereignty, but no more. The significance of every treaty would have to be examined. It was impossible, in his opinion, to plan any general order. The Political Department had been run by

money provided by the Government of India. Tributes obtained from States had not been sufficient to pay for this.

Pandit Nehru then read out several extracts from the Cabinet Mission's Memorandum. He said that, in his opinion, the whole background of this statement was that the States should enter the structure of one or other Government.

Mr. Jinnah reiterated his view that the Cabinet Mission had never laid down that every State was bound to come into one or other Constituent Assembly. They were free to decide themselves; but there were many matters which would require adjustments. These could only be made through the Crown Representative so long as he continued. It was in the interests of both the Muslim League and Congress that these adjustments should be made.

Pandit Nehru said that he entirely agreed with this. He said that he was not intending to lay down that every State must join one or other Constituent Assembly; but if they did not come in, they would have to come to some other arrangement. Such other arrangements could not and should not be preceded by declarations of independence. His Excellency the Viceroy said that he did not consider that the proposals put forward in the papers before the meeting violated Pandit Nehru's point. In fact, they were intended to secure his object.

THE MACHINERY FOR DEALING WITH QUESTIONS OF COMMON CONCERN BETWEEN THE STATES AND THE SUCCESSOR GOVERNMENTS IN BRITISH INDIA

It was with this in mind that he had arranged for a paper on the machinery for dealing with questions of common concern between the States and the successor Governments in British India to be written. This paper proposed two alternatives—that the States should be given the option of:

- (a) Dealing with local representatives of the successor Governments, or
- (b) Appointing their own representatives to the Headquarters of the successor Governments.

A draft letter to all Residents, putting forward the two alternative suggestions, was also circulated.

His Excellency The Viceroy said that he felt that the two alternative choices should be put before the States. He had discussed in London the question of the Government of India taking over the offices in the various States. His instructions had been that this was only to be done if the States agreed. Moreover, it was going to be very difficult to convince the States that Agents of the Government of India located in State territory would not continue to represent a paramount power. In

his opinion, the alternative that each State or group of States should appoint a representative or representatives to be located at the Headquarters of the appropriate Government would be the best arrangement. He had discussed this with the States Negotiating Committee, the members of which had agreed with him. He emphasised that he was not entitled to force a State to continue to accept an agent of the Central Government in their territory.

Sir Conrad Corfield stated that he had discussed this question with a number of *Dewans*. It seemed to him that it would be a mistake to set up an organisation with which the States were not likely to cooperate.

Pandit Nehru said that he considered that these suggestions proceeded from a wrong basis. Neither was a good idea. Present arrangements should continue.

To have representatives of the States at capitals would lead to very considerable delays. He did not understand how H.M.G. could give a ruling in which the Government of India had not even been consulted. This ruling did not flow from the Statement of 12th May.

The Agents of the Government of India should continue in operation until they were withdrawn. The lapse of paramountcy should not lead to independence. Only certain functions would cease to be exercised. Others would remain. It was essential to have a Department to continue to deal with the States. He suggested that the Political Department and the Residents should continue to function. The political and administrative aspects should continue in operation. The choice of what machinery should be set up lay with the Government of India. If any State took up a line of opposition to the policy of the Central Government, this would be considered as an unfriendly act, and all the privileges which those States enjoyed would cease.

His Excellency the Viceroy said that he recognised the rights of the two new Governments each to set up a new Department to deal with States' matters, but he suggested that this should not be called a Political Department. A more acceptable name would be "States Department". It should be set up forthwith, divided into two sections, ready for the partition of the country. The existing Political Department would give all possible assistance and advice in the formation of this new Department.

His Excellency the Viceroy stated that, on the other hand, he was convinced that it was for the States to decide whether to send representatives to either capital or to receive representatives from the successor Governments. On His Excellency's instructions, the letter to Residents on this subject was amended in certain details.

FORMULA FOR STANDSTILL ARRANGEMENTS

A second letter to Residents, covering a draft formula for standstill arrangements when paramountcy lapsed, was then handed round.⁴ It was agreed that the schedule attached to the draft formula should be amended to cover matters of common concern not specifically mentioned. Pandit Nehru said that he had not yet had time to analyse this draft formula. He had discussed it in the early hours of that morning with lawyers, who had raised many points of difficulty. He doubted whether the description that it covered only "administrative" arrangements was correct. Mr. Jinnah gave his view that this was correct.

His Excellency the Viceroy suggested that both parties would wish a longer time to look into this draft in detail. He considered that the States should send representatives to negotiate and sign the agreement proposed. Negotiation could be initiated through the States Negotiating Committee, but all States would have to send fully accredited representatives for the purpose of signature.

THE DISPOSAL OF THE CROWN REPRESENTATIVE'S RECORDS

The next paper considered concerned the disposal of the Crown Representative's records. This explained the steps which were being taken to weed and sort these documents, and to destroy those no longer of interest.

Pandit Nehru said that he thought that, without doubt, the majority of the records were of concern to the Government of India. He considered that there should be a committee of historians and others to look into the whole question. He could see no reason for rushing the destruction.

Mr. Jinnah said that he agreed with this. He was opposed to the idea that the present Political Department should be judge of what should be destroyed.

Sir Conrad Corfield pointed out that the present processes were being carried out in consultation with the Imperial Record Department, which was a very skilled body. He was ready to guarantee that nothing of value would be destroyed. Amongst the documents being sorted, there might be some which should not be handed over to the Government of India. He explained that nearly all important documents were in the Political Department, although the Residencies might have some.

THE STATES' FORCES

Sardar Baldev Singh said that he understood that previously the Commander-in-Chief used to exercise control over the States' forces.

Sir Conrad Corfeild explained that this had not really been control, but more in the nature of a bargain and applied exclusively to units included by agreement in the Indian States' Forces Scheme. A State could have forces outside that scheme but would have to pay for their arms and equipment, whereas arms and equipment for units included in the Scheme were supplied free.

Sardar Baldev Singh asked whether, when paramountcy lapsed, the States would be free to obtain their arms for anywhere they wanted. Sir Conrad Corfield said that his suggestion was that the Central Government should provide arms, on payment, for legitimate purposes. If a bargain was made in advance, there would be factual control.

THE STATES' PEOPLE

Pandit Nehru said that he was speaking as a representative of the people of the States. Mr. Jinnah said that he challenged Pandit Nehru's right to do so. Pandit Nehru reiterated that he spoke for the people. He dealt with the Rulers but would not forget the people.

It was Agreed:

i. that the draft letter to Residents (circulated at the meeting) under the heading, "Direct correspondence between States and the Central Government", should be amended by the Political Adviser as indicated by the Viceroy during the meeting, and despatched;

ii. that it would be advantageous if the Government of India were to set up a new Department, possibly called the "States Department", to deal with matters of common concern with the States; that, if this were done, the new Department should be divided into two sections, ready for the partition of the country; and that the existing Political Department and the Political Adviser should give all possible assistance and advice in the formation of this new Department;

iii. that the draft letter to Residents, (circulated at the meeting), under the heading "Formula for Standstill Arrangements on the lapse of paramountcy", should be amended by the Political Adviser as indicated by the Viceroy during the meeting, and despatched;

iv. that the "Draft Standstill Formula", (circulated before the meeting), should be amended by the inclusion, in the Schedule, of a provision to include matters of common concern not specifically mentioned;

v. that the Indian leaders should give further consideration to this

"Draft Standstill Formula", and inform the Viceroy of any suggestions they might have in regard to it;

vi. that there should be a meeting between the Indian leaders and representatives of the States (possibly the States Negotiating Committee) to consider this "Draft Standstill Formula" and any other matters of common concern, on a date to be decided, probably in July;

vii. that it would be necessary for all States to send fully accredited representatives to sign this Standstill Formula, when it was finally agreed;

viii. that the Political Adviser should empower Residents to continue with the destruction of ephemeral records and of documents, copies of which are held in the Political Department;

ix. that the Political Adviser should apply to the Honourable Member for Education for the services of experts to assist in the weeding and sorting of the Crown Representative's Records; but that there should be no more destruction of these records until after the transfer of power;

x. that records which

i. contained information regarding the private lives of Rulers and the internal affairs of States or

ii. had not been weeded to see whether they contained such information should be handed over, on the transfer of power, to the United Kingdom High Commissioner;

xi. that the Political Adviser should circulate to Pandit Nehru and Mr. Jinnah copies of the report of the Indian States Enquiry Committee (Financial), 1932, commonly known as the Davidson Committee Report.⁵

¹TP, XI, No. 175, Item 1, 320-7.

²No. 1.

³Appendix III, Vol. I, Part II, 32-42.

⁴See Appendix I to Annexure II to No. 83.

⁵See No. 91, note 1.

350

Draft letter¹ from Secretary to Crown Representative

F.2/63

Undated [June]

To All Residents

Subject: Formula for Standstill Arrangements on the Lapse of Paramountcy

Please refer to para. 4 of the Memorandum on States' Treaties and Paramountcy presented by the Cabinet Mission to His Highness the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes on 12th May 1946.²

2. The interim period referred to in this Memorandum is expected to come to an end on August 15, 1947, but no progress has been made in negotiations between the States and British India in regard to the future regulation of matters of common concern. The States cannot remain entirely isolated from the economic life of the rest of India and fresh or modified agreements will have to be negotiated with the Successor Governments in due course. In the meantime, however, to avoid an administrative breakdown on the lapse of paramountcy, it is essential in the interests of all concerned that agreements should be reached in regard to administrative arrangements during the interval between the lapse of paramountcy and the conclusion of such fresh or modified agreements. In the Cabinet Mission's Memorandum it was suggested that such arrangements should be on a standstill basis, and there seems to be no practical alternative to this suggestion.

3. A preliminary draft of a Standstill Agreement³ between individual States and the two Successor Governments is enclosed herewith. Please discuss it urgently with representatives of as many States as possible and report their reactions before the end of this month.

4. In discussing the draft with States please draw their particular attention to Article 3 (c) which contemplates arrangements being made by agreement before the lapse of paramountcy, so that there is no administrative dislocation when jurisdiction reverts to States.

¹It was issued with modifications on 14 June 1947. See *TP*, XI, No. 198, 384.

²Appendix X, Vol. I, Part II, 479-81.

³See Appendix I to Annexure II to No. 83.

APPENDIX I

CORRESPONDENCE RELATING TO JINNAH'S ASSETS AND OTHER
PERSONAL MATTERS—20 FEBRUARY TO 2 JUNE 1947

I.1

*M. A. Jinnah to Collector, Karachi**F. 89/4*OLD GOVERNMENT HOUSE, KARACHI,
21 February 1947

Dear Sir,

I want to purchase land about 10 acres from bed of Dhori in Deh Digh Tapo, Malir Taluka, Karachi, as per sketch attached,¹ on permanent tenure for agricultural and non-agricultural purposes.² I hope you would grant me land at an early date. I will pay the usual *malkano* and altered assessment.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH¹Not available in QAP.²There are two drafts of the letter in F. 89/7 & 8, QAP. In one of the drafts the following sentences were included but subsequently deleted:

I will cultivate about 9-0 acres of land and use 1-0 acre for non-agricultural purposes. I will cultivate this land by scientific methods.

In the drafts Jinnah's name has been typed as "Mahomedali Jenah" and in F. 89/6 & 9, QAP, also initialled as "M. A. J."

*Enclosure to No. I.1**F. 89/5*OLD GOVERNMENT HOUSE, KARACHI,
21 February 1947

AUTHORITY

I hereby authorize Pir Mahfooz, son of Pir Haji Abdul Kadir, to conduct my work in respect of land grant applications in Deh Digh Tapo, Malir Taluka, Karachi.

M. A. JINNAH

I.2

M. A. Jinnah to National Bank of India, Bombay

F. 89/10

OLD GOVERNMENT HOUSE, KARACHI,
22 February 1947

Dear Sir,

I am enclosing herewith a Draft with pay-in slip for Rs. 2,167-13-0 (Rupees two thousand, one hundred and sixty-seven and annas thirteen only) which amount, on realization, please credit to my Account No. 2 with your Bank and oblige.

Kindly acknowledge receipt.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

The Manager, National Bank of India,
Esplanade Road, Fort,
Bombay

I.3

M. A. Jinnah to Pioneer Arms Co., Delhi

F. 910/269-70

OLD GOVERNMENT HOUSE, KARACHI,
24 February 1947

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 14th February¹ and I am really surprised [at] the way in which you are persisting. I have already informed you that it is not possible for ■ to return the articles until I reach Delhi as they are locked up in Delhi.

From the tone and language of your letter it seems that the heavens will fall if there is ■ delay of [a] few weeks and the markets will so crash that you will be ruined financially. I have already informed you that I have accepted the articles on your giving me the assurance that you will charge me the cost price, which I told you I am going to pay. I have spoken to Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, who was in Karachi, to get in touch with you on his return to Delhi. I

wonder whether he has done so, and this was arranged as far back as the 2nd of February. Therefore, I did not think it was necessary for me to reply to your previous letters. I have given him full authority to deal with the matter and I am quite prepared to accept your word of honour if you will only tell me what is the cost price, and the matter will be settled.

I am leaving Karachi tomorrow for Bombay. Therefore, please address further communications to me at my Bombay address, Mount Pleasant Road, Malabar Hill, Bombay.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Messrs. The Pioneer Arms Co.,
Kashmere Gate,
Delhi

¹F. 910/271, QAP.

I.4

Ahmadullah to M. A. Jinnah

F. 757/22

REGISTERED

3RD BRIDGE, SRINAGAR,
KASHMIR,
25 February 1947

Dear Sir,

With reference to our registered letter dated 19th January 1947,¹ we beg to say that so far we have not received any reply nor we have been favoured with the balance amount of Rs. 283-12-0. We hope on receipt of this you will very kindly favour us with the same.

Regarding the 24 silver coffee spoons and a sugar tong which are lying with you, kindly arrange to send them back by registered parcel post, not by insured parcel.

Thanking you in anticipation,

Yours faithfully,
AHMADULLAH
for H. Habib Joo and Sons

¹Jinnah bought three silver trays. He was not satisfied with their "finishing and polishing." He got them "refinished" at a cost of Rs 283-12-0 and asked the suppliers to adjust the amount against the price of the trays. The suppliers remonstrated that they ought to have been consulted before repairs were undertaken at high rates. See F. 910/258-60, QAP.

I.5

Imperial Bank of India, Bombay, to M. A. Jinnah

F. 757/23

POST BOX NO. 13, BOMBAY 1,
25 February 1947

Dear Sir,

With further reference to our No. A4/MKRC/2343 of the 12th instant,¹ we have to advise that by payment of your cheque No. 94034 for Rs. 175 your No. 2 Account is further overdrawn to the extent of Rs. 24,817-5-1. Will you please advise us whether we may adjust this account by transferring a sum from your personal account which shows a credit balance of Rs. 37,548-3-6 as on today's date.

Yours faithfully,
p. Chief Accountant

¹Not available in QAP.

I.6

Noorali Bana to M. A. Jinnah

F. 83/146

RECEIPT

25 February 1947

Received a cheque of Rs. 15,000 only on National Bank of India Ltd., Bombay, by way of payment of earnest money for which we arranged and paid a cheque on your behalf for Rs. 15,000 to Mr. Jamshed Nusserwanjee who is acting as attorney of his sister in the matter of this property¹ to whom it belongs.

NOORALI BANA

¹See Enclosure.

Enclosure to No. I.6

F. 83/145

RECEIPT

KARACHI,

25 February 1947

Received from [Mohammad Ali Jinnah]¹ a sum of Rs. 15,000 (Rupees fifteen thousand only) by cheque 681860 of even date on the Bank of India Ltd., Karachi, as earnest money for the sale to him by the undersigned of a plot of land with buildings thereon bearing Survey No. 1, Survey Sheet F.T. 3 (Old Survey No. [34] Sheet [J-1])² measuring about 6,535 square yards according to Land Register, situate in the Frere Town Quarter, Karachi for the price of Rs. 1,50,000 (Rupees one lakh fifty thousand only) through Noorali Bana & Minwalla, broker[s] to whom brokerage @ one per cent. is payable by the undersigned and @ one per cent. by the purchaser, the balance of the purchase money being payable to the undersigned within one month from this date, on the undersigned making out a clear, valid, subsisting, unincumbered and marketable title to the said premises, free from all claims and burdens whatsoever and completing the sale in all respects.

MRS. PERIN KAPADIA

By her Attorney

JAMSHED NUSSEERWANJEE

¹ & ² See Enclosures 1 and 2 to No. I.8.

I.7

Imperial Bank of India, Bombay, to M. A. Jinnah

F. 757/25

POST BOX NO. 13, BOMBAY 1,

26 February 1947

Dear Sir,

With reference to the various accounts maintained with us in your name, we would be glad if you would kindly call and see the undersigned at your convenience.

Yours faithfully,
Chief Accountant

I.8

Kotwal & Co.¹ to M. A. Jinnah

F. 910/273-4

REGISTERED/A. D.
AIR MAIL

JEHANGIR KOTHARI BUILDING,
BUNDER ROAD, KARACHI,
27 February 1947

Dear Sir,

Re: Purchase of the property bearing New Survey No. 1, Survey Sheet F.T. 3 (Old Survey No. 34 Sheet J-1) situated in the Frere Town Quarter.

As per the instructions received from the broker, Mr. Noorali Bana, on your behalf, we enclose herein the *Kabala* [agreement] on Rupee one stamp paper, prepared by us and signed by Mr. Jamshed Nusserwanjee, together with three duplicate copies² thereof and shall thank you to return the same to us duly signed, filling in the date and initialling the alterations therein, when you so affix your signature. A true copy of the extract from the Property Register³ relating to the said property is also enclosed herein which reveals the following facts, viz.:

1. It is a Municipal leasehold plot held under a Lease for the term of 99 years commencing from 22nd June 1920 and renewable in perpetuity for the like term as per the information received by us from the Karachi Municipal Corporation subject to the revision of the present land rent of Rs. 67-7-0 payable yearly after the expiry of the term of 99 years commencing from 22nd June 1920 as aforesaid.
2. The area of the plot as entered in the Municipal and City Survey records is 6,535 square yards. We have asked Mr. Jamshed Nusserwanjee to forward to us all documents of title for our inspection and if the title is clear, we will take in hand the preparation of the draft sale deed in due course. In the meantime, we shall thank you to send us instructions as to whether you wish to retain your name as the Purchaser or desire that the property be conveyed by the Vendor to any other party or parties.

Yours faithfully,
KOTWAL & CO.
Advocates & Notary Public

- Encls. 1. *Kabala* along with three duplicate copies thereof
2. True copy of the extract

¹Name of M. N. Kotwal, B. A., LL. B., Solicitor, appears on the letterhead of the firm.

²Enclosure 1.

³Enclosure 2.

Enclosure 1 to No. 1.8

F. 910/275-6

AGREEMENT

This agreement made [on] the 27th day of February 1947 between Mrs. Perin Kapadia of Karachi, Parsi inhabitant, by her Attorney, Mr. Jamshed Nusserwanjee, also of Karachi Parsi inhabitant hereinafter called "the Vendor" of the one part and Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah of Bombay Mohammadan inhabitant hereinafter called "the Purchaser" of the other part witnesseth as under:

The Vendor does hereby agree to sell and the Purchaser does hereby agree to purchase all that piece or parcel of Municipal leasehold land with the buildings standing thereon containing by admeasurement 6,535 square yards or thereabouts or approximately as shown in Government land records and bearing New Survey No. 1, Survey Sheet F.T. 3 situated in the Frere Town Quarter of the City of Karachi and bounded on or towards the North by Sir Jehangir Kothari Road, on or towards the South by the plot bearing New Survey No. 2, on or towards the East by a road and on or towards the West by Clifton Road for the lump sum price of Rs. 1,50,000 (in words Rupees one lakh and fifty thousand) only free from incumbrances.

The Vendor has through her said Attorney received from the Purchaser the sum of Rs. 15,000 (Rupees fifteen thousand) only as earnest money by a cheque dated the 25th day of February 1947 drawn on the Bank of India Limited for which a separate receipt¹ has been passed and the balance of the purchase money shall be paid by the Purchaser within one month computed from this date on the Vendor asking out a clear, valid, marketable and unincumbered title to the said property free from all claims and charges whatsoever, executing the necessary sale deed in favour of the Purchaser or his nominee or nominees getting the same registered, getting necessary mutation of names affected and putting the Purchaser and or his nominee or nominees into possession of the said property by attornment from the tenants.

All costs attending the sale deed and registration charges thereof shall entirely be borne by the Purchaser.

All land-rent, rates, taxes, assessments and other charges, if any, payable in respect of the said property up to the date of the completion of the sale will be paid by the Vendor.

This transaction has been brought about by Mr. Noorali Bana and Khurshed F. Minwalla, Estate Brokers, to whom each party, i.e. Purchaser as well as Vendor, shall pay brokerage at the rate of 1 (one) per cent. only.

In witness whereof the said parties hereto have hereunto set their respective hands at Karachi and Bombay, respectively, the day and year hereunder mentioned.

JAMSHED NUSSERWANJEE
Attorney of the Vendor
Karachi, dated 27th February 1947
 MOHAMMAD ALI JINNAH
Purchaser
Bombay, dated 4th March 1947

¹Enclosure to No. I.6.

Enclosure 2 to No. I.8

F. 910/277

KARACHI,
 27 February 1947

FRERE TOWN QUARTER (SHEET NO. F.T. 3)

Extract from the Property Register of the City Survey of Karachi,
 Taluka Karachi, District Karachi

Survey number and Sub-Division number	II
Old Revenue or City Survey or Municipal or Census number	J-1/34
Tenure	Mpl ¹
Area sq. yds. ²	G: Nil
	M: 6,535
Assessment	Nil
Special rent	Rs. 67-7-0
Year from which assessment is liable to revision or lease expires	99 years from 22 June 1920
Owner's name	Perin Kapadia d/o ³ Late K. B. ⁴ Nusserwanjee R. Mehta
Nature and origin of title	By release Head Surveyor

¹Municipal.

²Square yards.

³Daughter of.

⁴Khan Bahadur.

I.9

Details of groceries purchased for M. A. Jinnah¹

F. 1333/1

28 February 1947

Mutton	1-04-0
Ladies' fingers	0-04-0
Papre	0-03-0
Potato	0-04-0
Tomato	0-06-0
Onion	0-03-0
Adrak [ginger]	0-04-0
Lehsan [garlic]	0-03-0
Mirach [chillies]	0-01-0
Lemon	0-04-0
Dhania [coriander]	0-06-0
Mirach [pepper]	0-05-0
Haldi [turmeric]	0-06-0
Cucumber	0-01-0
Garam Masala [spices]	0-04-0
Dal [pulses]	0-08-0
Chicken	1-08-0
Namak [salt]	0-02-0
Eggs	0-12-0
Beet	0-03-6
Total	7-11-6
Cash	10-00-0
In hand	2-04-6

¹This is a representative sample. Details of items purchased on later dates on F. 1333/2-16, QAP, not printed. On scrutiny, it was found that the following other items used to be purchased for Jinnah: beef, kidneys, fish, prawns, peas, *tori*, carrots, brinjals, legumes, spinach, turnips, beans, mint, bitter gourd, tamarind, soup bun, butter, *papre* (thin cake made of pulses and spices), bananas, mangoes, *sago*, fenugreek.

I.10

S. Shamsul Hasan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 757/26

ALL INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE,
DARYAGUNJ, DELHI,
28 February 1947

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your kind letter dated the 15th February 1947,¹ enclosed [*sic*] with a cheque for Rs. 567-6-6 being the salaries of your *kothi*² servants for the months of December 1946 and January 1947.

Your bearer Masitullah Khan in the hospital is in a precarious condition. His spinal cord has not yet [been] set aright. The Medical Officer in charge has done his best but all in vain. Lower portion of his body is completely paralysed. No sensation is left and no pinching effects. Masitullah's wife, father and children all are staying in the servant's quarter of your *kothi*. They are very poor and if the payment of Masitullah's salary is stopped, I understand they shall never be able to pull on.

Repairing in your *kothi* is completed. Everything is all right. Your garden has much improved. Ali Mohammad, your bearer, will remain here, as instructed by you, and I find he is regular.

Perhaps you remember that Mr. Bakhshi, Commissioner of Patna, has filed a suit under sections 500, 501, and 502 I.P.C.³ against myself as the Printer and Publisher of the *Dawn* and Mr. Altaf Husain, the Editor. Summons[es] have been served upon us and the hearing of the case has been fixed for the 6th of March 1947 in the Court of District Magistrate, Patna. We are intending to proceed to Patna on the 3rd March.

Hoping this will find you in the best of health, [and] with respectful regards,

Yours sincerely,
S. SHAMSUL HASAN

¹F. 154/176, QAP.

²A bungalow. Here refers to 10 Aurangzeb Road, New Delhi.

³Indian Penal Code.

I.11

Mahomed Yousif E. Baluch to M. A. Jinnah

F. 886/78-80

OPPOSITE BAHAWALPUR ESTATE GARDENS,
P. O. MALIR, DISTRICT KARACHI,
3 March 1947

Respected Sir,

With due respects and humble submission I, Mahomed Yousif, son of Essal, by caste Baloch, residing at Malir Taluka, Karachi, most respectfully beg to lay down the following few lines for your sympathetic and favourable consideration:

1. That I am a faithful and honest Leaguer. I always render every possible help to the noble cause of the Muslim League and always pray to Almighty God for an early achievement of "Pakistan".
2. That I am a young educated man having passed my Matriculation examination of the Bombay University.
3. That from my childhood I have taken part and [been] putting my keen interest and devoting my whole time and attention in [sic] zamindari business.
4. That I have taken this business as my pet business as it is my ancestral business. I being an educated zamindar have always desired to cultivate more food as much as possible to upkeep the demands of India [sic].
5. That at present I am in exclusive possession of agricultural land measuring 8 acres—10 *ghuntas* or thereabouts—situated in Deh Digh Tapo, Malir Taluka, Karachi. I am regularly taking up this land for cultivation. This land is continuously under my possession for the last about 8 years. Originally I used to take up this land on *eksala* tenure every year and this year I have taken up this land on 5-*salo* tenure on the condition that I would purchase the said land on permanent tenure either on the expiry of the above 5-*salo* period or during the running tenure of the period.
6. Sir, before I took the above land, I secured financial help and invested all my ancestral hard-saved earnings on the above land. Accordingly, on taking up *eksala* tenure of the above

land, I improved the said land, viz. cut jungles, levelled the land, put the manure, removed the pits and made the land quite fit for cultivation purposes and accordingly since then I am cultivating vegetables, fodder, etc., etc.

7. That specially during rainy season, 4 to 5 feet of water comes and collects on the above land and this is not the place for habitation, but is fit only for cultivation.
8. That I find that you have applied for the grant of the above land to the Deputy Collector of Thatta Division, Karachi, for constructing a residential bungalow for you. In this connection, I respectfully beg to request [*sic*] that I was personally called upon by the Deputy Collector of Thatta Division who asked me whether I have got any objection if the land in question is granted to your honour. Sir, from the earning point of view, I requested the learned Deputy Collector of Thatta Division, Karachi, that actually I have objection over the grant of my land, which gives me daily livelihood, to anybody else.

For your sympathetic consideration, Sir, I frankly submit that we, 22 members of the house [*sic*], solely depend upon the cultivation of the said land. We have no other source of livelihood except this. If this land is snatched from us, we will be deprived of our only source of livelihood, and our circumstances will be plightable [*sic*].

I would therefore earnestly request that we are under no circumstances prepared to leave this land giving daily livelihood to us. You can well realize and imagine that if I am deprived of my livelihood what would be my fate. In these days there is acute shortage of everything. There is great unemployment and slackness in business. I cannot leave this, my ancestral business and take a new business and wander hither and thither.

Sir, as your faithful follower, [I] am ready to sacrifice myself for your convenience and facility, but, Sir, on the other hand you can well realize that how possible it is [*sic*] for me to sacrifice the lives of remaining 21 members of the house who also depend upon the cultivation of the said land.

Sir, I understand that you are [a] well-wisher of the poor public and accord every helping hand towards *the poor Muslim brothers*¹ and therefore, having such confidence in your honour, have forwarded this petition to you to do justice yourself.

I can leave this land provided I am financially helped and given a sum of Rs. 10,000 in lieu of my land so that I may be able to purchase any other

land in lieu of the above, so as to make my living. You are well aware that now-a-days the cost of land has risen too high.

Hope your honour will be pleased to look into this and do justice to me, for which act of kindness I shall ever remain grateful.

Awaiting your early and favourable reply,

I beg to remain,
Sir,

Your most obedient servant,
MD. YOUSIF E. BALUCH
Zamindar

¹Underlined in the original.

I.12

M. A. Jinnah to Ghulam Mohy-ud-Din Khan

F. 89/14

4 March 1947

Dear Mr. Ghulam Mohy-ud-Din,

I have received your telegram¹ and I am glad that you are once more free and now I hope you will be able to attend to my matter.

I have written to your son, Mr. Abdul Aziz, but I have heard nothing from him either, although he promised me to let me know after he had looked into the papers. Lajya Ram has handed over to him a complete copy of the correspondence that had passed between him and the vendor, and I have also a number of letters. There is not the slightest doubt that the contract was completed. Please let me know now how the matter stands without any delay.

Hoping you are well,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Mr. Ghulam Mohy-ud-Din Khan, MLA,²
Advocate,
61 Temple Road,
Lahore

¹Not available in QAP.

²Member, Punjab Legislative Assembly; elected in 1937.

I.13

M. A. Jinnah to M. N. Kotwal

F. 910/283

REGISTERED

4 March 1947

Dear Mr. Kotwal,

I am in receipt of your letter of 27th February 1947¹ and I am returning the *Kabala* contract herewith duly initialled and signed by me as required.

Please, therefore, now proceed to complete the sale deed and I wish to retain my name as the Purchaser and, therefore, the sale deed and all other documents will be made out in my name.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

M. N. Kotwal, Esq.,
Kotwal & Co.,
Jehangir Kothari Building, Bunder Road,
Karachi

¹No. I.8.

I.14

S. Shamsul Hasan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 757/112-3

ALL INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE,
DARYAGUNJ, DELHI,
7 March 1947

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

It so happened that we could not go to Patna on the 3rd instant as mentioned in my previous letter.¹ Our advocate there submitted medical certificates on our behalf. The court granted our application and fixed 28th March next date for hearing.

Mr. Khan has again promised to submit his report direct to you. He could not do so as he was seriously ill.

I have disbursed the salaries of your *kothi* servants for the month of February, 1947, as per statement attached herewith. The salary of Masitullah

the bearer in the hospital has been stopped pending your instructions. His condition is precarious and [he is] making no progress.

Ali Mohammad has been paid Rs. 50 for February but he insists for an extra allowance of Rs. 20 for fooding [sic] which I have withheld for want of your instructions. Abdul Hakim, your cook, arrived here on 2nd March, 1947. He has been paid Rs. 50 for February, 1947 deducting Rs. 10 which were paid by you at Karachi. He expressed that you had granted him leave with pay.

Perhaps you are in touch with the situation of the Punjab. Sikhs and Hindus are playing havoc. They are observing 11th March as anti-Pakistan Day in Delhi also.

I hope you will inform me of the exact date of your arrival at Delhi beforehand.

Hoping this will find you in the best of health. With kindest and most respectful regards,

Yours sincerely,
S. SHAMSUL HASAN

¹No. I.10.

Enclosure to No. I.14

F. 757/114

ALL INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE,
DARYAGUNJ, DELHI,
7 March 1947

ACCOUNT OF THE SALARIES PAID FOR
THE MONTH OF FEBRUARY, 1947

Yousuf Hasan, Mate—pay Rs. 25	
plus Rs. 15 food allowance	Rs. 40
Tika Ram, Sweeper	Rs. 35
Jamman Khan, <i>Mali</i>	Rs. 35
Hosla, Coolie	Rs. 30
Ali Mohammad	Rs. 50
Feroze, Driver	Rs. 80
Abdul Hakim, deducting Rs. 10 paid by you	Rs. 50
Kaloo Singh, <i>Mali</i> —pay for 8 days from 1st to 8th	
January 1947	<u>Rs. 9-0-6</u>
Total	Rs.369-0-6

[S. SHAMSUL HASAN]

I.15

Pioneer Arms Co., Delhi, to M. A. Jinnah

F. 757/115-6

REGISTERED

KASHMERE GATE, DELHI,
10 March 1947

Dear Sir,

We have for acknowledgment your letter of the 24th last.¹

We did not know anything about your instructions to Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan until we received the above letter. We have waited these few days in case you have sent any instructions to Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, but we have heard nothing from him so far. In your last letter you said you would return the weapons which we agreed to take back, and as they are locked, we do not know how Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan can fix up things by returning them to us.

You will please excuse us to refute the allegation now contained in your letter under reference that the articles were given to you on the assurance of charging cost price for which you now ask for our word of honour. Let us remind you that the articles were urgently needed by you then and although the sales were under suspension we had obtained a special *ad hoc* permit to sell the weapons to you. We had not even received the papers back from our clearing agents at the port. When the weapons were made over to you, you enquired the price and we informed you that the selling price was Rs. 550 but there will be special concession for you which we could not tell you unless the actual cost was known to us. This surely does not mean that the cost price will be charged.

On a matter of principle, we never like the question of cost price to come in. Concession we desired to make ourselves, for which you did not ask, and concessional prices were charged but unfortunately you did not accept it and wanted to return the weapons, which suggestion we cheerfully accepted. Now we regret our reminder has again caused you annoyance which we did not mean. But let us hope you do realise that as long this matter is hanging we have to draw your attention to its satisfaction [*sic*].

You are now in the arms market and can conveniently find out the correct prices for the articles supplied to you. The quotations given to us by a Bombay dealer for similar guns are Rs. 600. You might get cheaper. You can have new guns there [*sic*] and return ours. But please do inform us when you would expect to return them to us so that we do not have to

remind you again and again causing you inconvenience and annoyance. In case you decide to retain the weapons please inform us by return [sic] and intimate approximate time when your cheque may be expected.

Trusting prompt attention, and with sincere regards,

Yours faithfully,
Pioneer Arms Co.

¹No. I.3.

I.16

M. A. Jinnah to Secretary, Peshawar Club

F. 910/284

12 March 1947

Dear Sir,

With reference to your advertisement in the *Times of India* of 12th March 1947,¹ I shall feel obliged if you will send me the full particulars regarding the properties of the Peshawar Club offered for sale.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

The Secretary,
Peshawar Club,
Peshawar, N.W.F.P.

¹Not available in QAP.

I.17

Brijmohan Lakshminarayan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 679/75

REGISTERED

36 STOCK EXCHANGE BUILDING,
APOLLO STREET, FORT, BOMBAY,
12 March 1947

Dear Sir,

I beg to say that I was the holder of thirty-five shares of the Simplex Mills Co. Ltd., and [they] were absolutely my property at the time

when the dividend was declared. The Nos. of the said shares were 841-50, 1461-4, 5426, 6999-7003, 9654, 9660, 11559-66 and 13206-10. The said shares were delivered through International Bank of India Ltd., Bombay. As the said shares were kept blank by me through oversight, I had written to the International Bank of India Ltd., for the dividend of Rs. 315 ending 31st March 1946, for the said 35 shares but in reply they wrote to me that they had nothing to do in the matter but to apply directly to the party. As you were the last holder of the said shares, I request you to send me the dividend of the said shares amounting to Rs. 315 ending 31st March 1946, as the said shares were absolutely my property at the time when the dividend was declared.

Herewith I enclose the copy of the certificate of proof from the Union Bank of India Ltd. for your perusal as a positive proof that I was the holder of the said shares and that they were absolutely my property at the time when the dividend was declared.

I trust that you will be good enough to send me the cheque for Rs. 315 dividend on the said 35 shares of the Simplex Mills Co. Ltd.

Yours faithfully,
[BRIJMOHAN LAKSHMINARAYAN
Share and Stockbroker]

*Enclosure to No. I.17
Certificate by Union Bank of India Ltd.*

F.679/76

APOLLO STREET, FORT,
POST BOX NO. 518, BOMBAY 1,
6 June 1946

COPY

We hereby certify having received on the 14th May, 1946 in the account of Messrs. Brijmohan Lakshminarayan, 35 Shares Nos. 11559-566, 9654, 9460, 6999-7003, 5426, 1461-64, 841-50 and 13206-210 of the Simplex Mills Ltd. registered in the name of Mohammad Ali Jinnah with blank transfer forms.

for THE UNION BANK OF INDIA LTD.

Accountant

PS. The above mentioned shares were delivered by us to the Clearing House on 24th May, 1946.

I.18

A. D. Shroff to M. A. Jinnah

F. 910/285

BOMBAY HOUSE, 24 BRUCE STREET,
FORT, BOMBAY,
12 March 1947

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

With reference to our conversation yesterday and this morning, I am enclosing herewith a note¹ for your kind consideration and such action as you may deem best.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,
A. D. SHROFF

PS. I am enclosing an extra copy of the note for your record. My man will call at your house to-morrow about 1 p.m. to pick up your letter.

A. D. S.

¹Enclosure.

Enclosure to No. I.18

F. 910/286-91

BUSINESS PROFITS TAX

The exemption limit of Rs. 1,00,000 for all businesses, large and small, works out inequitably. The Unit of all organized industries in India—Steel, Cotton Textile, Jute, Sugar, Cement—is large enough to make the exemption limit of Rs. 1,00,000 practically negligible with the result that nearly all the business profits are subjected to this additional 25% tax.

The incidence of the new tax has been actually worked out in the case of a number of companies and it is found that on the basis of the proposed new tax, certain companies will be paying more than if the E.P.T.¹ was restored completely, e.g. in the case of one large company, if the E.P.T. at 66 $\frac{2}{3}$ % was enforced for 1946-47, the E.P.T. payable on the profits of 1946-47 would be 1.14 crore whilst the business profits tax at 25%, with the exemption of Rs. 1,00,000, would come to Rs. 1.42 crore. Government cannot be unaware that ■ number of public utility

companies did not benefit at all during the war and therefore were not liable to E.P.T. In the case of these companies, therefore, the new tax is entirely an additional burden with the result that companies which paid regularly a dividend of 7% on their ordinary shares will be compelled, if the proposed business profits tax stands, to reduce their dividend to $3\frac{1}{2}\%$.

The assumption made in several quarters that the profits of 1946-47 are the same as those of 1945-46 is in actual experience found to be incorrect. Practically all cotton textile mill companies whose balance sheets are being published now show a decline in profits of anything between 20 to 40% compared to 1945-46. The profits of the steel industry will also show considerable decline both owing to fall in production and to higher labour costs.

It has been contended that since this tax is imposed only for one year and is to be levied on profits already made, it should make no difference to future industrial production and enterprise. In the first place, the assurance given by the Finance Member is not enough in that the proposed business profits tax is introduced by way of amendment of the Indian Income Tax Act and it does not rule out the possibility of being renewed next year and thereafter. An assurance of this character to be effective should take the form of a new bill being introduced, in the preamble of which it may be definitely stated that this tax is intended for one year and is to be levied on the profits of the previous year.

The imposition of this tax which is bound to result in smaller dividends of industrial companies will reduce the confidence of the investing public in industrial investments and thereby diminish the amount of capital available for industrial investments in future. Finance and investment markets are very sensitive mechanisms and the psychological reaction to this proposal is such as to destroy the confidence of investors in industrial investments. This is not an imaginary fear but an appreciation of conditions in investment markets based on long experience.

The estimate of Rs. 30 crore made in the budget out of the realisation of this tax appears to be on the low side. A reasonable modification of this proposal should be to reduce the tax to $12\frac{1}{2}\%$ and to operate it on the basis of E.P.T., i.e. after allowing a percentage of capital employed in the business as defined in Schedule 2 to E.P.T. Act. The E.P.T. Act was in operation for nearly 5 years and its basis now is completely understood both by the assesseees and the income tax authorities. Administratively, therefore, it would be simpler than the operation of the new tax.

CAPITAL GAINS TAX

The definition of capital given in the bill is too wide and sweeping in character. It appears to include, excepting stock-in-trade in business and agricultural property, every conceivable type of property a man can possess. Its definition therefore needs to be reconsidered and restricted only to certain types of capital which particularly lend themselves to frequent sales or transfers. Landed property which is a very common form of investment is therefore to be exempted. There must be thousands and thousands of middle-class people in the country who have landed property as their only capital and it would be a very great hardship on this large section of the community to subject their properties on sale to this taxation. Again, the main objective of the tax should not be to penalise bona fide investors. For instance, a person who bought shares in an industrial company some years ago and after holding them for years sells them now should not be subjected to this tax. The most imperative modification therefore of this tax is to restrict its application only to capital gains made on investments held for less than five years.

It is proposed in the bill that all capital held before 1939 shall be valued as on the 1st January 1939 and the difference between that value and the sale made now or hereafter should be subject to this new tax. Administratively it would become exceedingly difficult to value individual investments of thousands of people as on 1st January 1939. Take for instance the case of a person who inherited a landed property some 15 or 20 years ago and sold that property in 1947. Under the provisions of this bill this property will have to be valued as on 1st January 1939. It is difficult to see what basis Government would adopt in valuing such a property. The man who held this property for 15 to 20 years may have spent before 1939 considerable amount of money on its repair, maintenance, extension, etc. The delay involved in determining the value of each such property would be so prolonged that Government would take considerable time in completing assessments of this tax and in the meantime the position of parties may substantially alter. The consequent hardship can well be imagined. Similarly the difficulty of assessing value for jewellery, gold and silver ornaments, etc., would even be far greater than the case of landed properties.

This is entirely a new form of taxation for India and it is therefore extremely desirable that all its implications should be thoroughly studied before Government take a final decision in the matter. The Government may also make a thorough study of a similar tax levied in the United States and particularly the reasons why this tax was introduced in America and amended a number of times during the last few

years. The main intention behind the American tax is to appropriate for the State a proportion of the capital gains made on sales or transfer of property within short periods. For instance, capital gain made within six months of acquiring the investment is taxed at the highest.

The psychological effect referred to above as a result of the business profits tax is aggravated by the fact that an investor in industrial securities is not only to be reconciled to a lower dividend on his capital but that his capital itself is to be subjected to a further tax on any profit that he makes on realisation.

STEPPING UP OF SUPER-TAX SLABS

It is proposed in the Budget to step up slabs of super-tax on individual incomes so that the maximum slab of $10\frac{1}{2}$ annas in the rupee is reached at Rs. 1.5 lakh in the case of earned income and Rs. 1.2 lakh in the case of unearned income. Till now this maximum slab is respectively applicable to incomes of Rs. 5 lakh and Rs. $3\frac{1}{2}$ lakh. This is a very drastic change in that the person with an income of Rs. 5 lakh will have, after paying all his taxes, a net income of only Rs. 56,000. Every rupee earned over Rs. 1.5 lakh will mean a net retention of only half an anna or, in other words, every one lakh earned over Rs. 1.5 lakh would mean a net retention of Rs. 3,125. The effect of this proposal would be that people with large incomes will not be left with any savings at all. It appears to have been completely overlooked that although the number of people with large incomes in this country is comparatively small, it is these people who have been largely responsible for the promotion of industries in the country. If the slabs proposed in the Budget are finally given effect to, the capacity of people with large incomes to save will be completely destroyed and therefore the main source from which capital is now made available for new industrial undertakings will dry up. It has been argued by some people that whatever industries have come to be established in this country are due to tens of thousands of small investors in the country and that the industrial entrepreneurs have obtained unduly large reward for their enterprises. Those who argue in this way are completely unmindful of the fact that the promoters of industries have also been large investors who have risked their capital in the new industries that were sponsored and but for their lead the numerous small investors would not find suitable channels for investment of their savings. If, therefore, the saving capacity of people with large incomes is destroyed, as would be the case under the proposed drastic increase of super-tax on individual incomes, it is difficult to visualise how, in future, new industries will be promoted or even existing industries expanded.

Whilst the effect of every single proposal is harmful to the business and industries of this country, the cumulative effect of these proposals will certainly prove disastrous to the economic development of the country. That such drastic proposals for heavy increase in direct taxation would at any time impose a severe strain on the industrial economy of the country, the proposals in the form in which they are made in the Budget, particularly at a time when the trend of production is falling, cannot but produce the most adverse psychological reactions and thus effectively check any enthusiasm for industrial enterprise in the country.

¹Excess Profits Tax. Also see No. 123, Vol. I, Part I, 236-7.

I.19

J. R. Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 910/292

AFTAB MANZIL, KHIRKI TAFAZZAL HUSSAIN,
MACHLEWALAN, DELHI,
13 March 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I have the honour to say that all the internal repairs and colour-washing of the bungalow has [*sic*] been completed. Outside white-washing has not been done, as it was not decided by you at that time.

As regards the bathroom of Miss Jinnah the necessary repairs to the leakage of water can be done only after removal of marble panels round the bath-tub which can be done only in your presence.

I am sorry that I could not write [to] you earlier as I was not well for ■ long time after the completion of repairs.

Please convey my respects to Miss Jinnah.

With love, admiration and respects,

Your most obedient servant,

J. R. KHAN

I.20

Mazhar-ul-Haq to Private Secretary to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1025/152

NEW DELHI,
13 March 1947

Dear Sir,

It has been reported to me by my Superintendent Incharge Anti-Water Measures of Filtered Water, that there is leakage/overflow in flush cistern of servant quarters, as a result of which considerable quantity of filtered water is running to waste.

You are therefore requested to get this leak repaired within three days of the receipt of this letter, failing which necessary action will be taken against you under Section 13/e.3 of the Municipal bye laws.

Yours faithfully,
MAZHAR-UL-HAQ
Electrical Engineer,
Municipal Committee

I.21

Habib Bank Ltd., Calcutta, to M. A. Jinnah

F. 757/119

43 EZRA STREET, CALCUTTA,
15 March 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have already despatched to you yesterday a demand draft for Rs. 55,092-4-6 by registered post. I am now sending to you all the files and the Cash Book showing the account with a representative who is proceeding to Bombay to-morrow.

I shall be highly obliged if you will please acknowledge receipt of the following:

1. One Cash Book
2. Four files

Yours sincerely,
A. W. BAAKZA

I.22

M. A. Jinnah to Imperial Bank of India, Bombay

F. 757/122

16 March 1947

Dear Sir,

I am enclosing herewith two cheques with pay-in slip for Rs. 203-8-0 (Rupees two hundred and three and annas eight) only which amount, on realization, please credit to my Current Account No. 2 with you and oblige.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

The Agent,
Imperial Bank of India,
Apollo Street, Fort,
Bombay

I.23

Imperial Bank of India, Bombay, to M. A. Jinnah

F. 861/92

POST BOX NO. 13, BOMBAY,
17 March 1947

Dear Sir,

I beg to inform you that your Current Account No. 2 is overdrawn by Rs. 25,242-5-1 by payment of cheque No. 94036 favouring Mr. A. Y. Syed for Rs. 175.

I shall be obliged if you will be good enough to adjust this at your early convenience.

Yours faithfully,
Chief Accountant

I.24

M. A. Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 310/56

51 EZRA STREET, CALCUTTA,

17 March 1947

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

If I remember the last time when I was in Bombay you intended making some investments in landed properties.

There is now a very good proposal in which I was interested during 1940 but Sir John Herbert, the then Governor of Bengal, refused to sell this property as he did not know what to do with the money. The military were paying Rs. 10,000 a month on the same. This property happens to be La Martiniere. I am sending you a copy of the properties which will all be sold together. The total area works up to 35 *bighas* and 8 *cottahs*. Each *cottah* is 80 sq. yards. 20 *cottahs* make one *bigha* and three *bighas* make one acre. My own valuation on land valued at Rs. 3,000 a *cottah*, works out to Rs. 21,24,000. For your information, the price at which I had offered and they had practically accepted was 12 lakh in 1940. Today if they will accept 18 lakh, I think, it is a very good proposition, because that will be less than Rs. 3,000 a *cottah*. The land value in this vicinity cannot go down. To give you an idea, smaller plots of land opposite to this School were transacted at Rs. 6,000 a *cottah*. I doubt very much whether we will get it at 18 lakh or even 21 lakh, but it is worth trying in view of the present depressed state of the market. Everyone is so depressed about the Budget¹ and its complexity that no one would dare to get into any financial commitments. I must say Liaquat has upset the whole economic equilibrium of India. He could have taxed the people in other ways than bringing about a financial disaster which is bound to have repercussions on the masses and in return, the masses must look to the Government for employment and support.

I had a letter from Begum Shah Nawaz that Daultana was proceeding to see you. We are also raising funds for them on this side.

With kind regards to Miss Jinnah and self,

Yours sincerely,

M. A. ISPAHANI

¹See No. 123, Vol. I, Part I, 236-7.

I.25

Gilbert-Lodge and Co. to M. A. Jinnah

F. 87/2-3

PATEL HOUSE, CHURCHGATE STREET,
FORT, BOMBAY,
17 March 1947

Dear Sir,

Re: "Sandow Castle"—Chembur

We thank you for your telephone enquiry, and beg to inform you that the property advertised by us in the *Times of India* recently is known as "Sandow Castle" and is situated at Pir Pao accessible by a good road via Mahul.

The property consists of about 19 acres of land, with several buildings, with unrestricted view of the sea.

The property can be approached either by road in about forty minutes from Bombay or by launch from the Gateway of India.

There is a pier to land people or material by boat.

There are also two wells in the compound.

Our client's idea of the price is Rs. 5 lakh, but they may be prepared to consider a counter offer provided an immediate sale is possible.

We shall be glad to show you the property any time convenient to you, by previous appointment.

Our commission payable by you, in the event of your purchasing any land or property through our introduction, will be 2% (two per cent.) on the total consideration.

Yours faithfully,
GILBERT-LODGE AND CO.
Land and Estate Agents

I.26

Reserve Bank of India, Bombay, to M. A. Jinnah

F. 89/15

RECEIPT TO BE GIVEN TO THE PAYER

BOMBAY
17 March 1947

Received the sum of Rs. 1,034-3-0 (Rupees one thousand thirty-four

and annas three) only on account of income-tax for 1946-47, due from M. A. Jinnah, Esq., Bar-at-Law, Mount Pleasant Road, Bombay.

Manager

I.27

M. A. Jinnah to Director, Sirsilk Ltd., Hyderabad

F. 757/124

18 March 1947

Dear Sir,

With reference to your letter dated 17th November 1946,¹ owing to my absence from Bombay, I was not able to attend to it earlier. I find that you have allotted me 50 ordinary shares although I had applied for 300 and had sent you the amount of Rs. 2,588 (Rupees two thousand, five hundred and eighty-eight) only and as you have only allotted me 50 shares, you have intimated to me that the amount payable was Rs. 1,075 and the balance of Rs. 1,513 is to my credit. And, you further informed ~~me~~ by your letter under reply that you are refunding this amount to me by a separate cheque. But I am sorry to say that I have not received your cheque for Rs. 1,513 so far. Will you, therefore, please look into the matter; perhaps the cheque may have gone astray owing to the disturbances that were going on in Bombay² and I was not in Bombay; or on its way when it ought to have been properly directed; it may have been misdirected. Anyhow, I have not received the cheque. Please make enquiries and let me have the cheque for Rs. 1,513 (Rupees one thousand, five hundred and thirteen) only and oblige.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Director,
The Sirsilk Limited,
Maserret Manzil,
Hyderabad, Deccan

¹Not available in QAP.

²See Appendix V, Vol. I, Part II, 65-123.

I.28

M. A. Jinnah to Ghulam Mohy-ud-Din

F. 886/118

18 March 1947

My dear Mr. Ghulam Mohy-ud-Din,

I have received your telegram¹ asking me to send you the papers. I suppose you mean the correspondence that was passed between Mr. Lajya Ram and me. I have already informed you that so far as those papers go, Lajya Ram has made it quite clear to me that the Vendor had concluded the contract; and from time to time assured me that the thing will be expedited and put through. The only hitch was that one of the title deeds that you required had to be examined when a certified copy was obtained to make out a marketable title. But the real basis would be the correspondence that was [sic] passed between the Vendor and Lajya Ram. This, no doubt, will throw some light and you may take it that it will prove to the hilt, as far as Lajya Ram is concerned. However, as Lajya Ram informed me that he has handed over all the correspondence between him and the Vendor to your son, Mr. Aziz,² who informed me that he was looking into the matter and will let me know. But I have not heard anything from him. Now that you are free, I hope you will look into it and keep the originals with you and let me have a copy of those letters so that I can then express my opinion.

Hoping you are well, [and] with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Ghulam Mohy-ud-Din, Esq., MLA, Advocate,
61 Temple Road,
Lahore

¹Not available in QAP.

²See No. I.12.

I.29

M. A. Jinnah to Manager, Hyderabad Construction Co.

F. 757/125

18 March 1947

Dear Sir,

With reference to the 200 new shares in the Hyderabad Construction

Co. Ltd., to which I was entitled according to your offer dated 20th August 1946, and which I accepted and remitted a sum of Rs. 4,287-8-0 due on or before the 30th of September 1946, by my cheque dated 9th September 1946. Since then I find that I had to pay a similar amount by the 31st December 1946. Owing to my absence from India, unfortunately, I was not able to attend to this matter and I am not sure, from my records, whether this amount has been sent to you. Please, therefore, let me know whether this amount of instalment has been received by you or not; if not, on hearing from you I shall send you a cheque for the amount.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

The Manager,
The Hyderabad Construction Co. Ltd.,
Hyderabad, Deccan

I.30

M. A. Jinnah to Noorali Bana

F. 84/19

18 March 1947

Dear Mr. Noorali,

Please keep me in touch as to what progress is being made by Mr. Kotwal in completing the sale of the property.¹ I have sent him duly signed the *Kabala* and requested him to complete the sale as soon as possible.

I have not heard anything more from you about other properties, especially the property of the Padri [Padre] at Clifton. Please do keep me in touch with any other properties that you think are worth considering and let me have the result of your efforts about the Padri's property.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Noorali Bana, Esq.,
Estate Broker,
Britto Road, Garden Quarter,
Karachi

¹See Nos. I.8 and I.13.

I.31

Mohammed Mahfooz Pir to K. H. Khurshid

F. 757/127

MOHATTA BUILDING, MCLEOD ROAD,
KARACHI 2,
18 March 1947

Dear Mr. Khurshid,

I am in receipt of your letter dated 9th March 1947.¹ I have already sent a sketch of the land which Quaid-i-Azam proposed to purchase at Malir. However, I am enclosing herewith another copy.²

The application for the grant of the land has been recommended by all the offices and has passed all the red tapism, but the man who is in possession of the property at the time being has raised an objection.³ He wants to be compensated for the standing crop.

I had sent for him and asked him as to what he wanted.

He was under the impression that the land was not required by Mr. Jinnah himself, but he was made to understand by some fellows in Malir that the land would be given to Noordin Khan. He told me that he has sent a letter to Quaid-i-Azam also and was awaiting a reply.

However, I have explained the position to him and I hope he will waive the objection. Even if he does not do so, the land will be granted to Mr. Jinnah.

Please convey my profound regards to Quaid-i-Azam.

With best wishes for yourself,

Sincerely yours,
PIR MAHFOOZ

¹Not available in QAP.

²Not printed.

³See No. I.11.

I.32

*Shantilal L. Thar to M. A. Jinnah**F. 757/126*

STOCK EXCHANGE BUILDING,
HAMAM STREET, FORT,
BOMBAY,
18 March 1947

Sir,

I have bought by your order and on your account the following securities for ready delivery subject to the Rules and Regulation[s] of the Native Share and Stock Brokers' Association. Brokerage is included in the price.

Quantity	Kind of Security	Rate Rs.	
300	Osmanshahi Mills Ltd.	329	C.D.
<u>200</u>	Azam Jahi Mills Ltd.	<u>302</u>	C.D.
500	(five hundred shares only)	631	

Yours faithfully,
SHANTILAL L. THAR
*Member of the Native Share & Stock
Brokers' Association*

I.33

*Mir Laik Ali to M. A. Jinnah**F. 757/139*

MASERRET MANZIL, ABID ROAD,
HYDERABAD, D[ECCA]N,
19 March 1947

Dear Sir/Madam,

Re: Second Instalment of First Call of O.S. Rs. 25

In continuation of our circular dated 20th August 1946/14th Meher 1355 F., we beg to inform you that the second instalment of first call of

O. S. Rs. 25 (B. G. Rs. 21-7-0) amounting to B. G. Rs. 4,287-8-0 on 200 ordinary shares held by you was due to be paid on or before 31st December 1946/31st *Bahman* 1356 F. We regret to observe that the amount is still not paid and therefore interest at the rate of six per cent. per annum is accruing.

We request you kindly to remit the amount together with interest to date of payment at your earliest convenience.

Yours faithfully,
 BY ORDER OF THE BOARD,
 THE HYDERABAD CONSTRUCTION CO. LTD.,
 MIR LAIK ALI
Engineer-in-Chief and General Director,
Hyderabad Construction Co., Ltd.

'The following note appears in the original:

Interest for Jan[uary], Feb[ruary], March Rs.	64-0-0
	<u>4,287-8-0</u>
Total	4,351-8-0
Paid [by] cheque [on] 25.3.47.	

I.34

Mahomed Yousif E. Baluch to M. A. Jinnah

F. 886/119-20

OPPOSITE BAHAWALPUR STATE GARDENS,
 MALIR, KARACHI,
 19 March 1947

Respected Sir,

I take the liberty to submit the following few facts with a hope that your honour will be pleased to give a favourable and most sympathetic consideration.

To cut the long story short, I beg to remind you to [sic] my previous petition to you, dated the 3rd instant, copy whereof is attached herewith marked "A,"¹ which throws clear and sufficient light over the matter under reference.

That ever since that day and time, I am being troubled by the officials of the Sind Government and other so-called big people of the place. I have already stated in my previous application cited above, that 22 members of my family depend on the land in my possession measuring about 8 acres

[and] 10 *ghuntas* only, situated in Deh Digh Tapo, Malir Taluka, Karachi. I am really in a fix and fail to understand all this.

After my above petition to you, I was called by the *Mukhtiarkar* of Karachi, who persisted that I should give a statement, relinquishing all my claims in the above land. I was so pressed and cornered that I could not breathe, hence requested for some time. In the meanwhile I sent an express telegram to you dated the 14th inst[ant] requesting for a favourable reply in my favour to ease my case, but regret to find that so far I have received no communication from you at all (copy of telegram attached and marked "B").²

Thereafter I am now being put in awkward position by Pir Mahfooz Shah,³ a big zamindar and a rich person of the locality and the President, Malir Zamindars Association, and Mr. N. A. Faruqui, the Collector and District Magistrate of Karachi. They are all forcing me to yield and give way by giving the statement to [*sic*] their choice.

Sir, I am myself a true Musalman and know my duty towards myself, my religion, my family members and God above. I have great love for your honour. But after all, there is the question of the living of 21 other members of my family. I staked all my money on this land which I have been cultivating since [*sic*] about last 8 years. You may not be aware that I and my family people have laboured on this land with their sweat. It is our very life and existence. Where should my 21 members go? Your honour stands for the good and welfare of the poor and the needy, more so for Musalmans. Is it not a fit case, where officials and other big persons may be told not to trouble me further? Pir Mahfooz or others have come into prominence only now. They have made good money by sitting while I and my family have laboured. It is really funny that these so-called big people tell me to sacrifice whatever little my family has, while they, who have made tons of money by sitting, do not like to sacrifice even a farthing when asked in plain.

Sir, I can well understand that a true leader of ours can never allow such persistence [*sic*] and that your honour will never like to trouble the poor Musalmans. The only thing is that these so-called persons do not give and render [you] true facts.

I have hope unto you and pray you in the name of humanity and Almighty to kindly instruct the above-stated persons not to trouble me in this matter any further. The land and locality in fact is not suitable for residential purposes at all, but if the same is at all required, I think it is only fair and laudable that my 21 members of the family may be compensated in some other direction [*sic*] to enable them to pass their

lives in safety, for which act of favour and kindness I and my family people will ever remain grateful.

I beg to remain,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

MD. YOUSIF E. BALUCH

¹No. I.11.

²Not available in QAP.

³See No. I.31.

I.35

Garrison Engineer, Lahore, to M. A. Jinnah

F. 757/129

REG[ISTERED] D A.D.

LAHORE CANTONMENT,
20 March 1947

ACCOMMODATION—LAHORE CANTONMENT

Ref: This Office No. 2006/E2B dated 5 February 1947.¹

In line 2 of my above quoted letter, instead of the words "*vide* clause 6 of your Lease Agreement" please read "*vide* clause 3 of Schedule VII"

Major, R.I.E.

G. E. Lahore (South)

¹Annex.

Annex to No. I.35

G.E. Lahore (South) to M. A. Jinnah

F. 757/11

NO. 2006/A.E2B

LAHORE CANTONMENT,
5 February 1947

Sub: Accommodation—Lahore Cantonment

In exercise of the powers conferred on the O. C. Station, *vide* Clause 6 of your Lease Agreement, the Commander, Lahore Sub-Area, directs me to serve upon you this, by way of notice, that your bungalow No. 157 bearing Survey No. 53, situated in the Cantonment of Lahore, has,

under the provisions of the said Clause, been appropriated for use by the Army.

2. You will, therefore, intimate to me without delay every change of ownership in respect of furnishing full particulars of

- a. the new owner,
- b. the extent of his interest, and
- c. the date of change of ownership

and will be responsible that the new owner does not get possession of the said premises without my prior concurrence.

Major, R.I.E.
G.E. Lahore (South)

I.36

Garrison Engineer, Lahore, to M. A. Jinnah

F. 757/130

REG[ISTERED]D A.D.

LAHORE CANTONMENT,
20 March 1947

ACCOMMODATION—LAHORE CANTONMENT

Sir,

Receipt is hereby acknowledged of your letters of 10th February¹ and 13th February 1947,² both of which have been passed on to the Commander, Lahore Sub-Area, from whom you will hear direct in the matter.

I have etc., etc.,
Major, R.I.E.
G. E. Lahore (South)

Copy to: The Commander, Lahore Sub-Area.

¹Annex I.

²Annex II.

*Annex I to No. I.36**M. A. Jinnah to Major S. Khanna**F. 757/14**10 February 1947*

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of 13th January, 1947,¹ and I am really surprised to hear from you the arbitrary attitude adopted and based on the ground that as this bungalow is being used as a Mess it is not possible to find an alternative accommodation to house the same conveniently.

It seems that the only factor to be considered is what is convenient to you, and on that ground, I have either got to continue the lease to the military authorities on the expiry of the period of requisition, or, I have no voice with regard to my property but to submit to such terms as you consider desirable and convenient to you. This is an extraordinary position taken up by you and I cannot accept it. It means that you can continue as long as you desire and as long as it is convenient to you. This virtually means expropriation of my property, not to use a strong word—confiscation.

I have already made it clear that I am not willing to continue the lease of my bungalow to the military authorities after the expiry of the period of requisition of my property. I would, therefore, request you please to hand over the possession of this property to me as soon as possible. I need this bungalow for my own personal use, as I have made it clear to you in my letter of 7th November, 1946, and I do not propose to enter into any negotiation and call upon you, in fairness and justice, to hand over this property. You cannot continue forced possession merely on the ground that it is convenient to you. There is plenty of room in the cantonment and you must find accommodation for your requirements elsewhere.

I do hope that you will appreciate my point of view and not take merely what suits you as the only course to be adopted, viz. that I must be forced to grant a lease to you. Please let me have your reply as early as possible and oblige.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Maj. S. Khanna, R.I.E.,
Garrison Engineer,
Lahore Cantt.

Annex II to No. I.36
M. A. Jinnah to Major S. Khanna

F. 757/16

REGISTERED

13 February 1947

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your communication dated 5th February, 1947.¹ I have already been in correspondence with you with regard to this property since the 28th of October, 1946, ending with my letter of 10th February, 1947,² so far; and now I have received this communication from you informing me that "In exercise of the powers conferred on the O. C. Station, *vide* Clause 6 of your Lease Agreement, the Commander Lahore Sub-Area, directs me to serve upon you this by way of notice that your bungalow No. 157, bearing survey No. 53 situated in the Cantonment of Lahore, has, under the provisions of the said Clause, been appropriated for use by the Army."

Before I can deal with this notice, it is necessary to know:

1. what is the "Lease Agreement" and Clause 6 that you refer to;
2. the date of the agreement; and
3. the date of the expiry of the period of requisition of my property.

Please let me have these particulars without delay and oblige.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Maj. S. Khanna, R.I.E.,
G. E. Lahore Division,
Lahore Cantt.

¹Annex to No. I.35.

²Annex I.

I.37

Gopaldas Gordhandas to M. A. Jinnah

F. 759/16

COPY

		BOMBAY, 20 March 1947	
Date	Particulars	DR. Rs. as.ps.	CR. Rs. as.ps.
18.3.1947	To cost of 300 Osmanshahi Mills Ltd., shares @ Rs. 329 C.D. per share	98,700-0-0	-
	By dividend on above @ Rs. 15 per share	-	4,500-0-0
	To stamps (Rs. 600) and transfer fee (Rs. 37-8-0) on above	637-8-0	-
		99,337-8-0	4,500-0-0
	By balance due to me (Balance at his debit)	94,837-8-0	
		Per pro. SHANTILAL L. THAR GOPALDAS GORDHANDAS	
Received Rs. 94,837-8-0 with thanks.			
SHANTILAL L. THAR			
28-3-1947			

I.38

Gopaldas Gordhandas to M. A. Jinnah

F. 759/15

		BOMBAY, 20 March 1947	
Date	Particulars	DR. Rs. as. ps.	CR. Rs. as. ps.
18-3-1947	To cost of 200 Azam Jahi Mills Ltd., shares at Rs. 302 C. D. per share	60,400-0-0	-
	By dividend ■ O. S. Rs. 15 per share O.S. Rs. 3,000 i.e. in B.G. @ Rs. 116-10-6	-	2,571-10-6

To stamps (Rs. 400) and transfer fee (Rs.25) on above	425-0-0	
	60,825-0-0	2,571-10-6
By balance due to me (Balance at his debit)	58,253-5-6	

Per pro. SHANTILAL L. THAR
GOPALDAS GORDHANDAS

Received Rs. 58,253-5-6 with thanks.

SHANTILAL L. THAR
28-3-1947

I.39

Imperial Bank of India, Bombay, to M. A. Jinnah

F. 757/131

POST BOX NO. 13,
BOMBAY,
20 March 1947

Dear Sir,

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of 16th March 1947¹ enclosing two cheques aggregating to Rs. 203-8-0 out of which a sum of Rs. 200 has been credited to your account and bills for Rs. 3-8-0 have been sent for collection.

Your account has been debited with As. 0-8-0 on account of exchange.

Yours faithfully,
p. Chief Accountant

¹No. I.22.

I.40

*Gopaldas Gordhandas to M. A. Jinnah**F. 759/14*BOMBAY,
21 March 1947

DUPLICATE

Date	Particulars	DR. Rs.as.ps.
15-3-1947	To cost of 1000 Bengal Steel shares at Rs. 30 per share	30,000-0-0
	To stamps (Rs. 225) and transfer fee (Rs. 20) on above	245-0-0
	Balance at his debit	30,245-0-0
	Per pro. SHANTIAL L. THAR GOPALDAS GORDHANDAS	

Received Rs. 30,245 with thanks.
SHANTILAL L. THAR
21-3-1947

I.41

*S. Shamsul Hasan to M. A. Jinnah**F. 757/132*ALL INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE,
DARYAGUNJ, DELHI,
21 March 1947

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I beg to acknowledge receipt of the two bills of New Delhi Municipality sent to me for payment. They have been paid accordingly.

I informed you a fortnight ago that the repairs in your *kothi*¹ had finished, but yesterday the ceiling plaster of the Visitors' Room in the upper storey fell down in a large quantity. I referred the matter to the

Contractor the same day. I hope he will get it repaired in a day or two.
Hoping this will find you in the best of health.

Yours obediently,
S. SHAMSUL HASAN

¹See No. I.10.

I.42

Ahmad Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 757/133

ABID ROAD, HYDERABAD, D[EC]CA[N],
22 March 1947

Dear Sir,

Re: Issue of new shares

We thank you for your letter dated 18th March 1947.¹

As per our letter sent to you on 19th March 1947,² we shall be glad if you will kindly favour us with a cheque for B. G. Rs. 4,287-8-0 together with interest at 6% per annum up to the date of payment.

Thanking you,

Yours faithfully,
AHMAD ALI KHAN
Hyderabad Construction Co. Ltd.

¹No. I.29.

²See No. I.33.

I.43

*Secretary, Willingdon Sports Club, Bombay,
to Private Secretary to M. A. Jinnah*

F. 679/63

2ND REMINDER

WILLINGDON SPORTS CLUB,
BOMBAY 11,
22 March 1947

Dear Sir,

I beg to remind you that your account with this Club is in debit to

the extent of Rs. 120, the amount of the bill for Assured Subscription to you in the month of January 1947.

Bills are payable by the 25th of the month in which they are submitted and I should be glad of an early settlement.

Yours faithfully,
Secretary

I.44

*Gopaldas Gordhandas to Steel
Corporation of Bengal, Calcutta
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)*

F. 759/23

BY REGISTERED POST

24 March 1947

Dear Sirs,

Re: Transfer of 1,000 ordinary shares
Nos. 180344 to 180443, 2793901 to
2794000, 287969 to 288068, 287869
to 287968, 287769 to 287868, 287669
to 287768, 2875769 to 287668, 287469
to 287568, 287269 to 287368, 287369
to 287468

I beg to enclose herewith 10 transfer deeds duly completed and stamped together with 10 certificates of 1,000 Steel Corporation of Bengal ordinary shares to be transferred to the name of my client, Mr. M. A. Jinnah. I also enclose Rs. 21 in currency notes towards transfer and renewal charge of the certificate No. 775. Please do the needful in the matter.

Yours faithfully,
Per pro. SHANTILAL L. THAR
GOPALDAS GORDHANDAS

The Managing Agents,
Steel Corporation of Bengal Ltd.,
12 Mission Row,
Calcutta

I.45

M. A. Jinnah to Imperial Bank of India, Bombay

F. 757/136

24 March 1947

Dear Sir,

I am enclosing herewith one cheque and one demand draft with a pay-in slip for the total of Rs. 55,649-4-6 (Rupees fifty-five thousand, six hundred and forty-nine, annas four and pies six) only which amount, on realization, please credit to my Current Account No. 2 with your Bank and oblige.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

The Agent,
Imperial Bank of India,
Apollo Street, Fort, Bombay

I.46

N. Dhirajlal to M. A. Jinnah

F. 178/41

NATWARLAL MANSIONS,
63 PEDDER ROAD, BOMBAY 26,
25 March 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I hope you will remember me as the constituted attorney of late H. H. Tilkayat of Nathdwara when you were fighting on our behalf in the Bombay High Court against Ramakant Malavia and Udaipur State, for the then minor son of Damodarlalji. He has come of age and has come to take possession of his properties in the British India from the Receivers. He is a proprietor of nearly sixty properties in Bombay alone. The Receivers rented his beautiful bungalow (an absolutely private property of his own) and he has no house of his own to stay in Bombay. If I offend you please forgive me; but someone told me that you are inclined to sell your lovely house in Bombay, and if it is true, then please grant me and H. H. of Nathdwara (just 20 years old) an interview to fix up the purchase if it suits both the sides. Unluckily

Justice Khan Bahadur Tyaballyji, Chief Justice of Udaipur, is out of India,—in East Africa, else this matter would have been arranged by him.

I do not take part in any political activities; hence I am not going to worry you about political matters.

Yours sincerely,
NATWARLAL DHIRAJLAL
B.A., A.A.S.R.E. (AMERICA)

I.47

M. A. Jinnah to Hyderabad Construction Co., Hyderabad

F. 757/138

25 March 1947

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of 19th of March¹ and I regret the delay in paying the second instalment but I was away from Bombay and, therefore, the matter was overlooked.

I am now sending you the cheque for Rs. 4,351-8-0 (Rupees four thousand, three hundred and fifty-one and annas eight only) for the second instalment plus interest up to the end of March amounting to Rs. 64.

Please acknowledge receipt and oblige.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

The General Director,
Hyderabad Construction Co. Ltd.,
Abid Road,
Hyderabad, Deccan

¹No. I.33.

I.48

M. A. Jinnah to Mahomed Yousif E. Baluch

F. 886/175

25 March 1947

Dear Sir,

I have received your letter of the 3rd of March¹ and another of 19th

of March² and I beg to inform you that I have nothing to do with regard to your right or claim that you may have with reference to the land in question. I have only applied in the ordinary course as I understood that land was available.

If you have any claim, it is a matter between you and the Government, who should look into the matter. I have applied only as an ordinary citizen and therefore it is for the Government to decide whether they can allot this land to me or not on the terms and conditions laid down by the Government.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Mahomed Yousif E. Baluch,
Opposite Bahawalpur State Gardens,
Malir, Karachi

¹No. I.11.

²No. I.34.

I.49

Ghulam Mohy-ud-Din Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 908/65

61 TEMPLE ROAD, LAHORE,
25 March 1947

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

The authority given by the Vendor to Lajaya Ram¹ to sell his property is dated 3-5-1946.

I find that in the document the time to use the authority originally was one month, but the word month has been scored off and the word week is written over it. The presumption would be that it was due on the same day, i.e. 3-5-1946.

The point to be determined is: when was the authority used by Lajaya Ram?

From the papers handed over by Lajaya Ram the earliest document is a copy of the telegram sent by Lajaya Ram dated 15-3-1946 saying "that on your Vendor[']s authority the bargain was struck as already inferred." This telegram does not say when was the bargain struck, within that week or afterward.

To make sure I have seeked [*sic* for sought] an appointment from

Mr. Lajaya Ram for Saturday (29-3-1946) [?]. I would like to have in writing from him when was the bargain struck and also to see if he has entered this bargain in any of his registers.

After that I will send you copies of the papers with me along with my opinion.

We came out on 28th February. Since then we have been passing through hard times.

Things are settling down. Everything is being done to restore peace in the province.

Yours sincerely,
GHULAM MOHY-UD-DIN
Advocate

¹See No. I.28.

I.50

Noorali Bana to M. A. Jinnah

F. 67/1-2

BRITTO ROAD, GARDEN QUARTER,
KARACHI 5,
26 March 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I beg to submit the following for your information:

1. The stone quarries at Ghizri are owned by Karachi Municipal Corporation. They are given on lease. The lease money is Rs. 70 per year for a piece of land measuring 100 feet by 100 feet, i.e. 10,000 square feet which a lease holder can exploit. Moreover, there are certain conditions attached to the procurement of the lease. Firstly, one person should get only one plot. Secondly, the person whose sole business is or will be stone-quarrying gets preference over others. In case of virgin land the digging and bringing it into workable condition costs another five to six hundred rupees. The running quarries are not allowed to change hands unless shown by the holder that he is unable to work nor is he making profit over the transfer.
2. The Lotia Bros. bungalow on Victoria Road in which Mr. B. R. Patel was staying is not for sale as the brothers have finally decided not to part with it.

3. About Clifton plot the nuns are not prepared to sell their plot. The priests are selling their 7,200 square yards at Rs. 25 per square yard.
4. The bungalow belonging to Mr. Sahijram Motiram in Civil Lines is for sale but he is not inclined to sell it for less than Rs. 1,50,000. At least I will not advise anybody to pay so high a price for a very old house.

After Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan's budget speech the rich class of people seem to have decided not to part with their properties unless compelled by reason of financial needs. Hence the property market in Civil Lines or Frere Town area does not show signs of going down.

I have got some other properties in Civil Lines and Frere Town but the bargain can best be done when you are in Karachi.

About the property you have purchased, Mr. Kotwal is proceeding with the investigation of title. The seller has mis-placed some of the documents. His pleader has applied for certified copies of the same from the Government records.

Hoping and praying for the best of your health, [and] with best regards,

Yours truly,
NOORALI BANA
Estate Broker and Property Valuer

I.51

Imperial Bank of India, Bombay, to M. A. Jinnah

F. 757/142

POST BOX NO. 13, BOMBAY,
26 March 1947

Dear Sir,

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of 24-3-1947¹ enclosing a remittance for Rs. 55,649-4-6 for credit to your Current Account No. 2.

Yours faithfully,
p. Chief Accountant

¹No. I.45.

I.52

M. A. Jinnah to Air India Ltd., Bombay

F. 757/145

26 March 1947

Dear Sirs,

I am enclosing herewith the letter of allotment of 500 shares (ordinary) of the Air India Limited, together with the receipt of payment of Rs. 37,500 (Rupees thirty-seven thousand, five hundred) only paid on application; and also the receipt of the payment on call of Rs. 12,500 (Rupees twelve thousand, five hundred) only making a total of Rs. 50,000 (Rupees fifty thousand) only. Please let me have in exchange the share certificates in respect of shares allotted to me. I hope you will expedite the matter and oblige as I am likely to leave Bombay within the next few days.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Air India Limited,
Bombay House,
24 Bruce Street, Fort,
Bombay

I.53

National Bank of India Ltd., Bombay, to M. A. Jinnah

F. 759/20

POST BOX NO. 141, BOMBAY,
26 March 1947

Dear Sir,

I have to acknowledge receipt of your letter of 24th instant¹ enclosing an income-tax voucher for Rs. 8,607-9-0 for credit, on realization, to your No. 1 Account with us.

I am,
Yours faithfully,
Manager

¹Not available in QAP.

I.54

The New India Assurance Co. Ltd., Bombay, to M. A. Jinnah

F. 757/143

P.O. BOX 969, BOMBAY,

26 March 1947

Dear Sir,

We have the pleasure to acknowledge with thanks your remittance for Rupees one hundred thirty-nine annas eight pies nil, which has been placed to the credit of your account against Fire Policy No. 322600.

Yours faithfully,

B. K. KAPADIA

Cashier,

The New India Assurance Co. Ltd.

I.55

Secretary, Willingdon Sports Club,¹ Bombay, to M. A. Jinnah

F. 169/10

BOMBAY,

26 March 1947

No. 26706

Received from M. A. Jinnah, Esq., the sum of Rupees one hundred and twenty only by cheque being the amount of his bill.

Secretary,

The Willingdon Sports Club

¹See No. I.43.

I.56

Gilbert-Lodge and Co. to M. A. Jinnah

F. 87/1-A

ELPHINSTONE BUILDING, CHURCHGATE STREET,
FORT, BOMBAY,
27 March 1947

Dear Sir,

Re: "Sandow Castle"—Pir Pao, Chembur

We beg to invite your attention to our letter No.G/587/47 of 17th instant,¹ giving you particulars of the above property.

We shall be glad to take you to inspect the property any time convenient to you, by previous appointment.

Awaiting to hear further from you in this matter,

Yours faithfully,
GILBERT-LODGE AND CO.
Land and Estate Agents

¹No. I.25

I.57

Imperial Bank of India, Bombay, to M. A. Jinnah

F. 757/147

POST BOX NO. 13, BOMBAY,
27 March 1947

Dear Sir,

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of 24-3-1947¹ enclosing a remittance for Rs. 3,715 for credit to your account. Your account is debited with Rs. 3-4-6 on account of exchange.

Yours faithfully,
p. Chief Accountant

¹Not available in QAP.

I.58

Insurance Policy Issued by the New India Assurance Co. Ltd.

F. 84/21-5

POLICY NO. 355076¹
 SUM INSURED RS. 1,75,000
 PREMIUM RS. 139-8-0

ESPLANADE ROAD,
 BOMBAY,
 27 March 1947

This Policy of Insurance witnesseth that upon M. A. Jinnah, Esq., Bar-at-Law, MLA, hereinafter called the Assured paying to The New India Assurance Company Limited, hereinafter called the Company, the sum of Rupees one hundred and thirty-nine and annas eight only, for insuring against loss or damage by fire or lightning, as hereinafter mentioned, the property hereinafter described, in the sum or several sums following, namely:

RUPEES ONE HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-FIVE THOUSAND ONLY

On the building of a bungalow, belonging to the Assured, bearing "D" Ward No. 3259 and Street No. 6-8, situate at Mount Pleasant Road, Malabar Hill, Bombay and used as residence only.

Subject to warranties Nos. 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13 and 14 as per annexed form "A".²

The Company hereby agrees with the Assured (but subject to the conditions³ printed on the back hereof which are to be taken as part of this Policy, and to such other conditions as are herein expressed) that if the property above described, or any part thereof, shall be destroyed or damaged by fire or lightning, after payment of the Premium, at any time between the second day of March 1947, and four o'clock (Standard Time) in the afternoon of the second day of March 1948 or before four o'clock (Standard Time) in the afternoon of the last day of any subsequent period in respect of which the Assured shall pay to the Company, and it shall accept the sum required for the renewal of this Policy, the Company will pay or make good all such loss or damage, to an amount not exceeding in respect of the matter or each of the matters above specified the sum set opposite thereto and not exceeding in the whole the sum above mentioned.

In witness whereof, the undersigned being duly authorised by the Directors of the Company and on behalf of the Company has/have hereunto set his/their hand at Bombay this twenty-seventh day of March 1947.

*For the new India Assurance Company Limited
 By its Constituted Attorney*

¹Issued in lieu of Policy No. 332600. Also see No. I.54.

^{2&3}Not printed.

I.59

The New India Assurance Co. Ltd., Bombay, to M. A. Jinnah

F. 84/20

FIRE DEPARTMENT
No. 19443

BOMBAY,
28 March 1947

Received from M. A. Jinnah, Esq., Bar-at-Law, MLA, the sum of Rupees one hundred and thirty-nine and annas eight only, being Premium and Stamp Duty on Policy No. 355076.¹

B. K. KAPADIA
Cashier,

The New India Assurance Co. Ltd.

¹I.58.

I.60

Reserve Bank of India, Bombay, to M. A. Jinnah

F. 757/148

RECEIPT TO BE GIVEN TO THE PAYER

RESERVE BANK OF INDIA, BOMBAY,
29 March 1947

Received the sum of Rs. 1010-6-0 (Rupees one thousand and ten and annas six) only on account of super-tax for 1946-47 due from M. A. Jinnah, Esq., Bar-at-Law, Mount Pleasant Road, Bombay.

Manager

I.61

Muhammad Saieed to Habib Bank Ltd., Delhi

F. 679/64

BAHREIN ISLAND,
30 March 1947

Sir,

The Eastern Bank Ltd., Bahrein, inform us that they have issued in your favour a draft of Rs. 679-8-0 on the Imperial Bank of India, Delhi,

on our behalf and mailed it direct to you (per our advice). This is for credit to Quaid-i-Azam M. A. Jinnah Relief Fund.

Please acknowledge if you have received it.

Thanks,

Yours truly,
MD. SAIEED
*For Indian Muslims
Aramco Employees,
Dhahran, Saudi Arabia*

Copy to Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, President, All India Muslim League, Delhi, in continuation of my letter dated January 30, 1947 addressed to you and forwarded to Old Government House, Karachi.

MD. SAIEED

I.62

M. A. Jinnah to Imperial Bank of India, Bombay

F. 757/151

31 March 1947

Dear Sir,

I am enclosing herewith a cheque with pay-in slip for Rs. 2,100 (Rupees two thousand and one hundred) only which amount, on realization, please credit to my Current Account No. 2 with your Bank and oblige.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

The Agent,
Imperial Bank of India,
Apollo Street, Fort,
Bombay

I.63

M. A. Jinnah to National Bank of India, Bombay

F. 68/35

31 March 1947

Dear Sir,

I ■■ enclosing herewith a demand draft for Rs. 7,284-5-0 (Rupees

seven thousand two hundred and eighty-four and annas five) only with ■ pay-in slip. Please realize the amount and credit the same to my Account No. 2 with you and oblige.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

The Manager,
The National Bank of India,
Esplanade Road, Fort,
Bombay

I.64

Travel Expenses of M. A. Jinnah from Karachi to Bombay

F. 757/150

31 March 1947

FROM KARACHI TO BOMBAY

Four 1st Class berths @ Rs. 150 per berth	Rs. 600
3 Deck tickets for servants ■ 24 per ticket	Rs. 72
To porters in Karachi and Bombay docks (Rs. 5 each time)	<u>Rs. 10</u>
Total	Rs. 682
As per office account for January, February and March	Rs. 285 -12-6
Total Expenditure	<u>Rs. 967 -12-6</u>
Advance	Rs. 1,000 -00-0
Less Expenditure	Rs. 967 -12-6
Cash in hand	<u>Rs. 32 -03-6</u>
(Rupees thirty-two, annas three and pies six only)	

I.65

Imperial Bank of India, Bombay, to M. A. Jinnah

F. 910/296

BOMBAY,
1 April 1947

MEMORANDUM

Ref. date	Colln. No.	Place	Amount	Our commission	Amount credited
16-3-1947	Cheque	Lahore	3-8-0	0-6-0	3-2-0

Your Current Account No. 2 is credited as above.

p. Chief Accountant

I.66

Kantilal Madhavadas and Co. to M. A. Jinnah

F. 910/297

SHARE BAZAR, DALAL STREET,
FORT, BOMBAY,
1 April 1947

Dear Sir,

Re: Dividend on 5 shares [of] Simplex Mills Co. Ltd. standing in your name: share Nos. 13206 to 13210.

Please note that above mentioned shares were blank with us through oversight. So, please be good enough to send us a cheque for Rs. 20 being the last dividend of the same as we are entitled to it. The transfer deed has been signed by the National Bank of India Ltd. under the power of Attorney granted by you.

Excuse [us] for the trouble and oblige.

N.B. We have also approached the National Bank of India Ltd. for the same dividend which please note.

Yours faithfully,
KANTILAL MADHAVDAS
Share, Stock and Finance Brokers

I.67

Commander H. Q., Lahore Sub-Area, to M. A. Jinnah

F. 757/157

REGISTERED

LAHORE CANTONMENT,
2 April 1947

Dear Sir,

Your letter dated 13th February 1947¹ regarding No. 53 Bungalow has been passed to this H. Q. and I would be grateful if further correspondence be addressed to this H. Q. on the subject.

The position regarding accommodation in the Cantonment has not, I regret, been made clear to you.

The Cantonment is reserved by the Government of India for its armed forces. Private owners are granted sites in Cantonments and are permitted to build bungalows or to purchase existing bungalows, on the express condition that the Government have, at all times, a lien on the use of such bungalows for members of the armed forces.

To this end the Government has powers, under the Cantonments (House Accommodation) Act (VI of 1923) to appropriate bungalows for occupation by the armed forces and this power has been extended by the assumption of the power to requisition accommodation under the Defence of India Rules (751).

On examination of the present position, I find that ■ requisitioning order for an indefinite period is actually in force (Requisition Order No. SWBN/999 by D.C. Lahore dated 22nd January 1944) in respect of this house and I regret that, in view of the necessity for retaining all accommodation in Lahore Cantonment, for the present and future requirements of the armed forces, I cannot authorise this house to be derequisitioned. Further, should the Government of India give up the power to requisition property or to retain property now under requisition, it will be incumbent upon me to issue orders for the appropriation of your property under Clause 3 of the lease executed under Schedule VII and accepted by you as binding upon you at the time of purchase of the property, as authorised by the Cantonments (House Accommodation) Act (VI of 1923). In this connection I regret that an

incorrect reference was made by the Garrison Engineer in his previous letter to you.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,

Your obedient servant,
R. A. HARRIS
Colonel, for Brigadier,
Commander, H. Q., Lahore Sub-Area

¹See Annex II to No. I. 36.

I.68

Executive Officer, Lahore Cantonment, to M. A. Jinnah

F. 89/16

LAHORE CANTONMENT,
2 April 1947

RECEIPT

No. 61 Book No. 84968

Received from M. A. Jinnah, Esq., MLA (Central) the sum of Rupees 324-0-0 (Three hundred and twenty-four) only on account of House Tax [from] 1-4-1946 to 31-3-1947.

Executive Officer

I.69

*Gopaldas Gordhandas to Osmanshahi Mills Ltd., Hyderabad
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)*

F. 759/21

REGISTERED AND INSURED FOR RS. 100

2 April 1947

Dear Sirs,

I beg to send herewith 60 transfer deeds duly completed in respect of 300 ordinary shares of your Company to be transferred to the name of my client, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, Bar-at-Law. The relative share certificates and temporary receipts are posted separately.

Please acknowledge receipt. On hearing from you I shall remit by M. O. your usual stamps and transfer charges.

Yours faithfully,
Per pro. SHANTILAL L. THAR
GOPALDAS GORDHANDAS

The Osmanshahi Mills Ltd.,
Share Transfer Department,
Hyderabad, Deccan

I.70

M. Shafi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 910/293

REGISTERED A.D.

NEW DELHI,
2 April 1947

Dear Sir,

Irrigation water charges amounting to Rs. [?] in respect of Bungalow No. 10 Aurangzeb Road, New Delhi, billed for against you under this office bill No. 69/IWP, dated the 21-3-1947, are due to be paid by 25-4-1947. You are, therefore, reminded to remit the amount by 30-4-1947.

It is further pointed out that rules require that if unfiltered water charges are not paid within the prescribed time, the irrigation water connection to the said building should be cut off, without any further notice and not re-opened until Rs. 50 as penalty and Re. 1 as reconnecting fee are received in this office.

Yours faithfully,
M. SHAFI
*Executive Engineer,
Services Division,
Public Works Department*

I.71

*Shantilal L. Thar to Azam Jahi Mills, Hyderabad
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)*

F. 759/22

2 April 1947

REGISTERED AND INSURED FOR RS. 100

Dear Sirs,

I beg to send herewith 40 transfer deeds duly completed in respect of 200 shares of your Company to be transferred to the name of my client, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, Bar-at-Law. The relative share certificates and one temporary receipt are posted separately.

Please acknowledge receipt. On hearing from you I shall remit by M. O. your usual stamps and transfer charges.

Yours faithfully,

Per pro. SHANTILAL L. THAR

The Azam Jahi Mills Ltd.,
Share Transfer Department,
Hyderabad, Deccan

I.72

Mahomed Yousif E. Baluch to M. A. Jinnah

F. 67/3-4

OPPOSITE BAHAWALPUR STATE GARDENS,
MALIR, KARACHI,

3 April 1947

Sir,

I am in receipt of your kind letter of 25th March¹ and thank you for the same. I do understand that you applied for the land only as an ordinary citizen and I also being a citizen of the same soil to which you belong found it worthwhile to approach you directly in the matter. After all I am your subject and you as a Ruler of proposed Pakistan which you have decided to achieve in India must seek [*sic* for do] justice at your noble hands as I do not expect any justice from the temporary Government whichever at present exists. I am also a Muslim Baloch,

your follower, and have the same objects of achieving our goal of Pakistan and as my direct Great Command High Leader [sic] would again request your honour to kindly look into the matter and do justice to me.

I do not intend or like that you should not get a piece of land at Malir for your personal use, but my only request is [that] this piece may be spared for me as this is the only piece of land which gives livelihood to me and my large family consisting of 21 members. If it is not possible to spare a [sic for this] piece of land for me, I request that a sum of Rs. 10,000 be paid to me as compensation of my land so that I may purchase another land and produce cultivation thereon [sic] and thus fetch [sic] livelihood for me and my children. As already requested zamindari is my hereditary and ancestral business and I have no other source of livelihood except this.

Sir, I understand that you will never see [sic] or mar the rights of a Muslim brother, but your honour can well imagine that the Sind Government cannot refuse you as a Big Leader and hence your two words at least [sic] are needed at this hour to write to the *Mukhtiarkar* of Tal[uka] Karachi or the Collector of Karachi that this land is not required by you and be continued to be used by me.

I would also at the same time request you to kindly send me a copy of the letter for information if a letter is sent by you to the Collector or the *Mukhtiarkar* concerned.

An early and favourable reply is requested,

I beg to remain,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

MD. YOUSIF E. BALUCH

¹No. I.48.

I.73

M. A. Jinnah to Imperial Bank of India, Bombay

F. 757/153

3 April 1947

Dear Sir,

I am enclosing herewith a cheque on the Bank of India Ltd., Bombay, for Rs. 5,000 (Rupees five thousand) only together with a pay-in

slip for the same amount, which please realize and credit to my Current Account No. 2 with your Bank and oblige.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

The Agent,
Imperial Bank of India,
Apollo Street, Fort,
Bombay

I.74

M. A. Jinnah to Garrison Engineer, Lahore

F. 757/152

3 April 1947

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your two letters dated 20th March, 1947,¹ one acknowledging my letters of the 10th February² and 13th February 1947,³ both of which you say have been passed on to the Commander, Lahore Sub-Area from whom, you inform me, I shall hear directly in the matter and your second letter of the 20th March⁴ informs me that in line 2 of your letter of the 5th of February, I should read, instead of words "*vide* clause 6 of your lease agreement" the following: "*vide* clause 3 of schedule VII."

I regret that my letter of the 13th of February, asking you to let me know the date of the agreement that you refer to, the clause or clauses upon which you have proceeded to give me this notice, and the date of the expiry of the period of requisition of my property according to you [*sic*]. And further, I hope you will be good enough to let me know under what law and the provisions thereof do you propose to deal with this matter.

I had expected a straightforward and frank reply, especially from the Defence Services. If you have certain rights and you wish to exercise them, you should make them clear to me and frankly inform me as to what you propose to do in the matter, so that I may know what my rights are. I have always addressed you very frankly and I expect a

reciprocal treatment from you, especially as you represent the Defence Services.

An early reply will oblige.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Major S. Khanna,
Garrison Engineer,
Lahore Cantonment

¹Nos. I.35 and I.36.

² & ³ Annexes I and II to No. I.36.

⁴No. I.36.

I.75

Commander, H.Q., Lahore Sub-Area, to M. A. Jinnah

F. 757/156

LAHORE CANTONMENT,
11 April 1947

Dear Sir,

Your letter dated 3rd April 1947¹ regarding your property has been sent on to me by the Garrison Engineer, Lahore Cantonment.

I regret that it should have been necessary for you to have had to write another letter. The legal position regarding your property is involved and delay has occurred in clearing the position.

The agreement to which reference is made is the lease executed under Schedule VII, Cantonments (House Accommodation) Act (VI of 1923). I refer to this in the final paragraph of this Headquarters letter No. 700/108/Q, dated 2nd April 1947.² You accepted this when purchasing the property.

The notice is given under Clause 3 of Schedule VII of the Cantonments (House Accommodation) Act (VI of 1923).

The date of expiry of the requisitioning order (No. SWBN/999 of 22nd January 1944 by D.C. Lahore) is not fixed as the Order is for an indefinite period.

I have already made clear the position regarding future appropriation in the event of the Government of India giving up its powers of requisition or to retain requisitioned property.

I trust that my letter of the 2nd April 1947,³ read with the above, is a clear exposition of the situation and that it places you in a position to appreciate the difficulties under which the Defence Services suffer in dealing with legal problems arising out of the administration of Cantonments.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,

Your obedient servant,
R. A. HARRIS
Colonel for Brigadier,
Commander, H.Q., Lahore Sub-Area

Copy to: The Military Estates Officer, Lahore Cantonment

¹No. I.74.

²*³No. I.67.

I.76

M. N. Kotwal to M. A. Jinnah

F. 89/19-20

JEHANGIR KOTHARI BUILDING,
BUNDER ROAD, KARACHI,
11 April 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Re: Sale of the property bearing Survey No. 1 Survey Sheet F.T.
3 Frere Town Quarter

We hereby acknowledge receipt of your letter dated the 4th ultimo¹ along with the enclosures and have to state in reply as under:

1. The Vendor Mrs. Perin Kapadia has only a life-interest in the said property and on her demise the same is to vest in her only daughter.

2. It is also clear that in case the daughter dies in the life-time of her mother, Mrs. Perin Kapadia, the property is to vest in Messrs. Homi and Jamshed, sons of Nusserwanjee Mehta, or their children in equal shares.

3. Mr. Homi Mehta has recently died leaving him surviving [sic] his son by name Sohrab as his only issue and since the daughter of Mrs. Perin Kapadia, who takes a vested interest in the said property, subject to the same being divested as aforesaid, is a minor about 17 years of age, I have called upon the Vendor to file an application in the Chief

Court of Sind for appointment of a guardian of the property of the said minor and for obtaining sanction of the Court to the sale unto you of the right title and interest of the minor in the said property.

4. I have also called upon the Vendor to arrange for Mr. Jamshed Mehta and Mr. Sohrab Homi Mehta to join as parties to the Sale Deed so that all the aforesaid parties, who are interested in the said property, may convey the same unto you.

5. As the Court opened only yesterday after the Easter holidays, the necessary application will be filed during the course of this month and orders will be obtained thereon.

6. For your reference I enclose herein a copy of my letter dated 3-3-[19]47 which sets out the above position.

You will kindly note accordingly and acknowledge receipt of this letter.

Yours sincerely,
M. N. KOTWAL

'No. I.13.

*Enclosure to No. I.76
M. N. Kotwal to C. M. Dalal*

F. 89/21-2

3 March 1947

Dear Sir,

We hereby acknowledge receipt of your letter dated the 1st inst[ant] with the enclosures and have to state in reply as under:

1. Under the will of Bai Goolbai, Mrs. Perin Kapadia had only a life-interest in the bungalow No. 8 Staff Lines. This bungalow was sold with her consent by Messrs. Homi and Jamshed the Executors of Bai Goolbai's will and from the sale proceeds thereof the present property was purchased, to be held by the said Executors upon the trusts as set forth in the said will with the result that Mrs. Perin has only a life-interest in the property as provided in clause 8 of the said will.

2. It is further provided under the aforesaid clause that on Mrs. Perin's demise the property is to vest in her daughter and in the event of the demise of the daughter also in the life-time of Mrs. Perin, the property is to go to Messrs. Homi and Jamshed or their children in equal shares.

3. Under these circumstances it is necessary that an application be filed in the Chief Court of Sind for appointment of a guardian of the

property in respect of the interest of Goolzareen who is a minor and sanction be obtained for such guardian conveying the property to Mr. Jinnah and/or his nominee or nominees in terms of the *Kabala* herein.

4. Since Messrs. Homi and Jamshed and Mr. Sohrab have also a contingent interest in the said property in term of clause 8 aforesaid, they will have to join in the execution of the Sale Deed as disclaimants.

5. We shall thank you therefore if you will kindly ask Mr. Jamshed Nusserwanjee to do the needful forthwith.

6. Concluding we have to state that in the Property Register, Mrs. Perin's name is entered as the owner of the property claiming under a Release Deed. You will please therefore obtain full information on this point from Mr. Jamshed and inquire whether he and Mr. Homi had executed any document in respect of the property in favour of Mrs. Perin Kapadia.

Yours faithfully,
[M. N. KOTWAL]

C. M. Dalal, Esq.,
Karachi

I.77

Louis and Edwina Mountbatten to M. A. Jinnah and Fatima Jinnah

F. 1291/33

NEW DELHI

The Viceroy and Viscountess Mountbatten of Burma

AT HOME

Saturday, 12th April 1947, at 7.00 p.m. at the Viceroy's House, New Delhi

Dress:

Defence Services—Uniform

Civilians—Short Coat or equivalent Indian Dress

Ladies—Evening Dress or equivalent Indian Dress

An answer is requested to
the A. D. C. in charge of invitations

I.78

*Imperial Bank of India, Bombay, to M. A. Jinnah**F. 680/103*POST BOX NO. 13, BOMBAY 1,
17 April 1947

Dear Sir,

We have to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 10th instant¹ enclosing two Fixed Deposit Receipts as under:

Office	F.D.R. No.	Date	Amount	Favouring
Bombay	32354	18-4-1946	Rs. 20 lakh	Mohammad Ali Jinnah
New Delhi	C.03161	5-4-1946	Rs. 2,50,000	M. A. Jinnah

The principal of the F.D. Receipt for Rs. 20 lakh will be renewed on due date, viz. 18-4-1947, and the interest credited to your No. 2 Account as per your instructions.

We are sending the F. D. Receipt of our New Delhi Branch to that Branch with a request to renew it from due date, viz. 5-4-1947, and to remit to us the interest for credit to your Current Account No. 2.

Yours faithfully,
p. Chief Accountant

¹Not available in QAP.

I.79

*Mahomed Ali Chaiwala to M. A. Jinnah**F. 169/12-3*15 MILITARY SQUARE LANE, FORT, BOMBAY,
18 April 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

At one of the functions held in honour of Mr. Chundrigar, I met Sir Cawasji Jehangir who on his own asked me whether you will be coming down to Bombay and go to Matheran in this season so that he may keep his bungalow reserved for you otherwise he may give it to somebody else. He desired me to write to you and get your reply.

Your staff of the bungalow have been paid as per your instructions and everything else is all right. The old *mali* who has gone on leave for marriage of his relation has not yet returned but his substitute carries on the work satisfactorily.

With best compliments,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. CHAIWALA
Solicitor

I.80

M. A. Jinnah to Syed Wajid Ali

F. 757/155

18 April 1947

My dear Wajid,

I am enclosing herewith copies of the two last letters dated 2nd April¹ and 11th April, 1947,² in the series of correspondence between me and the Defence Services. These letters are under my consideration and I propose to send the reply as soon as possible. In the meantime, I authorise you to see Brigadier Commander [*sic*], Headquarters, Lahore Sub-Area and explain to him, personally, my point of view; and if a satisfactory solution can be found well and good, otherwise the rights of the parties can only be settled by ■ Court of Law and of course, I am loathe to resort to legal action.

I have explained to you how badly I need this property and I hope that you will succeed in convincing the authorities.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Syed Wajid Ali,
New Delhi

¹No. L67.

²No. L75.

I.81

S. Shamsul Hasan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 156/88

ALL INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE,
DARYAGUNJ, DELHI,
23 April 1947

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

In compliance with your instructions I have the honour to submit herewith statement of expenses regarding payments of various bills in connection with electric [*sic*], water and motor taxes; and two bills for the salaries paid to the *kothi* servants, details of which are given below:

Statement of expenses regarding taxes etc.	Rs. 822-2-0
Salaries bill for February, 1947	Rs. 309-6-0
Salaries bill for March, 1947	Rs. 248-6-3

Total	Rs. 1,379-14-3
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With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
S. SHAMSUL HASAN

I.82

Shantilal L. Thar to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 560/40

BOMBAY,
24 April 1947

Regret through oversight cheque for [Rs.] 122-8-0 not enclosed with my letter dated twenty-second.¹ Posting same today.

SHANTILAL CARE SHAGOV

¹Not available in QAP.

I.83

Shantilal L. Thar to M. A. Jinnah

F. 680/111

AGA KHAN BUILDING,
1ST FLOOR, ROOM NO. 40, 9 DALAL STREET,
FORT, BOMBAY,
24 April 1947

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I beg to confirm my telegram of date¹ reading as under:

"Regret through oversight cheque for [Rs.] 122-8-0 not enclosed with my letter dated twenty-second. Posting same today."

Through clerical oversight, the amount of the cheque was left unmentioned as well as the cheque for the same was not enclosed. I however enclose the cheque for Rs. 122-8-0.

I regret the error in my previous letter.

Yours sincerely,
SHANTILAL L. THAR
Share and Stock Broker

¹No. I.82.

I.84

M. A. Jinnah to Commander, H. Q., Lahore Sub-Area

F. 757/154

25 April 1947

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of 11th April, 1947,¹ and I have refrained from replying to it as I thought it advisable to authorise Syed Wajid Ali to establish contact with Headquarters, Lahore Sub-Area and explain matters personally and place my point of view. Syed Wajid Ali, accordingly, with my letter of authority had an interview with Col. Harris, Col. Administration, Lahore Brigade [sic] Area [a]few days ago and, on his return to Delhi on the 24th of April, he reported to me that the matter was going to be carefully considered by you and that a way may be found to deliver possession of this property to me

at an early date; and that within a week, Col. Harris assured him,² he will send him a reply.

In these circumstances, I have postponed dealing with your letter of 11th April in the hope that satisfactory arrangements can be made to avoid any resort to legal rights.

I may point out that the Government and the Defence Services have any number of houses and properties which can suitably be used for the convenience of the Defence Services. Release of this house, I venture to say, cannot make any serious difference if you are prepared to consider my position in all fairness. Well! I have only got one roof—one house; and I really bought this house in the hope that after the war it would be derequisitioned.

I do hope you will appreciate how badly, how urgently I need this house in the light of the developments that are taking place and are likely to take place, which will oblige me to be in Lahore for a considerable time.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Commander,
Headquarters, Lahore Sub-Area,
Lahore Cantonment

¹No. 1.75.

²Underlined in the original.

I.85

Mian and Begum Bashir Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1292/3-4

Mian and Begum Bashir Ahmad¹ request the pleasure of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah's company at the wedding of their daughter Rifat Jahan with Capt. Masood Karim R.I.A.S.C. son of Dr. Fazal Karim, on Saturday, the 26th April, 1947.

PROGRAMME

Saturday, the 26th April, 1947

Reception of Barat	6.15 p.m.
Nikah Ceremony	6.30 p.m.

Garden Party	6.45 p.m.
Dinner	9.00 p.m.
<i>Ruhksati</i>	10.00 p.m.
Sunday, the 27th April, 1947	
Garden Party at Bridegroom's House	6.00 p.m.

¹See No. 338, Vol. I, Part I, 587-8.

I.86

Habib Bank Ltd., Delhi, to M. A. Jinnah

F. 680/154

CHANDNI CHOWK, DELHI,
28 April 1947

Dear Sir,

We acknowledge receipt of your letter dated 25-4-1947¹ together with 3 cheques, one draft and a pay slip for Rs. 421 with a list of names and addresses.²

Yours faithfully,
M. A. SIDDIQUI
Agent

^{1&2}Not available in QAP.

I.87

Habib Bank Limited, Bombay, to M. A. Jinnah

F. 68/36

MAHOMEDALI ROAD,
BOMBAY,
[? April 1947]

We beg to enclose our payment order for Rs. 7284-5-0 on account of proceeds of foreign currency notes and coins received from you.

This order must in accordance with the terms be presented through

a bank. If presented at this branch for cash, proper identification will be required.

Manager

I.88

Commander, H. Q., Lahore Sub-Area, to M. A. Jinnah

F. 757/158

H. Q., LAHORE SUB-AREA,
LAHORE CANTONMENT,
1 May 1947

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of 25 April 1947¹ and have discussed the situation at length with Syed Wajid Ali and Syed Sir Maratib Ali.

I have also discussed the matter with the Sub-Area Commander. He has, after reviewing all the factors, authorised me to say that, while appreciating your position and views, he regrets very much that he is unable to surrender your house. In view of the most uncertain position regarding the size and location of the post-war garrison of Lahore, the acute shortage of accommodation in Lahore Cantt., and the increased demands for married accommodation for officers arising out of the nationalisation of the officer corps of the Indian Armed Forces, he judges it most imprudent to give up any accommodation in the Cantonment while these factors obtain. In connection with this I have to tell you that there are 90 officers of the Armed Forces waiting for married accommodation, the bulk of whom are Indian officers.

The Sub-Area Commander appreciates to the full how important it is to you to occupy this house and would be glad to accede to your request if the accommodation problem in the Cantonment were not so acute and if it were not absolutely incumbent upon him to consider the interests of the Armed Forces first and foremost.

The Sub-Area Commander discussed all these points with Syed Sir Maratib Ali on 29 April 1947 and I have no doubt that he will apprise you of the situation as put to him.

Yours faithfully,
R. A. HARRIS
Colonel

I/c Adm., Lahore Sub-Area

Copy to: The Military Estates Officer, Lahore Cantonment

I.89

M. A. Jinnah to Imperial Bank of India, Bombay

F. 89/17

1 May 1947

Dear Sir,

I am enclosing herewith a cheque on the Imperial Bank of India, Delhi, with a pay-in slip, for Rs. 1,891-10-0 (Rupees one thousand, eight hundred and ninety-one and annas ten) only which amount, on realization, please credit to my Current Account No. 2 with your Bank and oblige.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

The Agent,
Imperial Bank of India,
Apollo Street, Fort,
Bombay

I.90

M. A. Jinnah to A. M. Thariani

F. 169/19

2 May 1947

Dear Mr. Thariani,

I am in receipt of your letter of 25th April¹ and as regards the sale of my residence at Mount Pleasant Road, I beg to inform you that the present valuation, according to the report of my architectural engineer, is 25 lakh and of course, you yourself can value and I am sure that you will not advise me to sell the property for 17 lakh. The minimum price which I am prepared to accept is twenty lakh rupees net, all costs including brokerage to be borne by the purchaser.

As regards the printing press, I am afraid, it is not possible for me just now to go into this matter, as I am so pre-absorbed in what is going on.

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

A. M. Thariani, Esq.,
Ismail Building, Flora Fountain,
Hornby Road,
Bombay 1

¹Not available in QAP.

I.91

*S. Wajid Ali to M. A. Jinnah**F. 757/159*

TRANSIT CAMP,
COLABA, BOMBAY,
5 May 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I cannot say how sorry I am that the Sub-Area Commander has not acceded to my request with regard to the house.¹ General Bruce, the Lahore District Commander, has gone to Rawalpindi as Commander of Northern Command, so my father was unable to see him.

The requisition of property is controlled by General Wood, the Quartermaster-General in India, who is away to England for a month and who is returning early in June. I have discussed this matter with friends who have suggested to request you to very kindly postpone this till such time I have the opportunity of meeting General Wood, and if he also does not accede to my request, then I shall request you to permit me to take up the case legally and fight it out in Court.

I shall be in Delhi on the 10th May and will avail myself of the honour of waiting on you if you are free, and will phone on my arrival to find out the suitable time. The carpets are aired out once a week and are all right.

I sincerely hope Miss Jinnah and yourself are enjoying the best of health.

With respectful regards and wishing Miss Jinnah and you long life, health, happiness and success,

Yours sincerely,
S. WAJID ALI

¹See No. I.80.

I.92

*Imperial Bank of India, Bombay, to M. A. Jinnah**F. 681/180*

POST BOX NO. 13, BOMBAY,
5 May 1947

Dear Sir,

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of 1-5-1947¹ enclosing a

cheque for Rs. 1,891-10 only for credit to your Current Account No. 2. Your account is debited with Rs. 2-8-0 on account of exchange.

Yours faithfully,
p. Chief Accountant

¹No. I.89.

I.93

Mohan Singh to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1127/412

CONNAUGHT CIRCUS,
OPPOSITE FIRE BRIGADE,
NEW DELHI,
12 May 1947

Dear Sir,

As per your verbal command, we are enclosing¹ herewith the design for the glazing of the three openings in the verandah to be done.

The cost of the same shall be Rs. 730.

Hope you will give it your favourable consideration and awaiting your early reply,

Yours faithfully,
MOHAN SINGH
*For Oriental Building & Furniture Co.,
Proprietor*

¹Not available in QAP.

I.94

M. A. Jinnah to M. N. Kotwal

F. 89/18

13 May 1947

Dear Mr. Kotwal,

I am in receipt of your letter of 11th April¹ and today is the 13th of May, but I have heard nothing further from you. You pointed out that

as the Court had opened only on the 10th of April after Easter holiday, the necessary application would be filed during the course of April and orders would be obtained thereon. Please let me know how the matter stands, as I want the transaction to be completed as soon as possible.

You know that the Vendor, Mrs. Perin Kapadia, has already received Rs. 15,000 by way of earnest money and I cannot allow any delay as the money is utilized by them and I am losing interest. I should have thought that Mr. Jamshed Mehta as a responsible man would carry out the transaction as soon as possible and that there would be no difficulty or delay.

Hoping to hear from you as soon as possible and please let me know what progress you have made.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

M. N. Kotwal, Esq.,
Kotwal & Co.,
Bunder Road,
Karachi

¹No. 176.

I.95

M. A. Jinnah to Yahya M. Merchant

F. 169/22

15 May 1947

My dear Mr. Yahya Merchant,

This is just to inform you that I have now finally settled with Messrs. Gannon & Dunkerely as regards my property. I wonder whether you have heard anything further from the Iraq Consul.

I have got an offer of 18 lakh, which I am not inclined to accept. You know, I would rather sell the house to the Iraq Consul than anybody else. But I am not prepared to accept less than twenty lakh nett to me. Things are moving and if I get my reserve price I may sell it at any time.

Please let me know what progress you have made with the Iraq Consul.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Yahya M. Merchant, Esq.,
Architect,
Bombay

I.96

A. K. Babu Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 682/261

MASERRET MANZIL, ABID ROAD,
HYDERABAD, D[ECCA]N,
17 May 1947

Sir,

Re: Twelfth dividend for the year ending 31st December 1946, declared at the Annual General Meeting held on the 9th May 1947 payable on or after 26th May 1947

We have the pleasure in sending you herewith the attached Warrant No. 15 for O. S. Rs. 2,000 being the dividend at the rate of O. S. Rs. 10 per share (Rs. 100 paid up) on the 200 shares standing in your name on the date of closing of the Register of Members of the Company (3rd May 1947). It is payable at the Central Bank of India Ltd., Hyderabad, Deccan.

Yours faithfully,
A. K. BABU KHAN
Managing Agents
The Hyderabad Construction Co. Ltd.

I.97

M. A. Jinnah to Imperial Bank of India, Bombay

F. 681/241

18 May 1947

Dear Sir,

I am enclosing herewith three cheques with a pay-in slip for the sum of Rs. 158-8-0 (Rupees one hundred and fifty-eight and annas eight) only which amount please realize and credit to my Current Account No. 2 with your Bank and oblige.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

The Agent,
Imperial Bank of India,
Apollo Street, Fort, Bombay

I.98

M. A. Jinnah to National Bank of India Ltd., Bombay

F. 89/23

20 May 1947

Dear Sir,

I am enclosing herewith a cheque for Rs. 1,00,000 (Rupees one lakh) only on the Imperial Bank of India, Bombay, which please realize and credit the amount to my Current Account No. 2 with your Bank.

Please acknowledge receipt and oblige.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

The Manager,
National Bank of India Ltd.,
Esplanade Road, Fort,
Bombay

I.99

Jayantilal C. Mehta to M. A. Jinnah

F. 757/160-1

89 NEW STOCK EXCHANGE BUILDING,
APOLLO STREET, FORT, BOMBAY,
20 May 1947

Dear Sir,

Re: Div[iden]d on 15 Shares Simplex Mills Ltd., held blank
by K. M. Nemani

In the above matter, we have to inform you that out of the 1st lot of 100 shares of the Simplex Mills Ltd., sold and delivered by us on your behalf, the said 15 shares were not transferred by K. M. Nemani as stated by him before the closing of the transfer books of the co[mpan]y for the declaration of the div[iden]d and which were ultimately transferred by their banker, the Central Bank of India Ltd., after the opening of the transfer books. Therefore, the div[iden]d on these shares might have come to you.

We have therefore to request you that as we have received only Rs. 1,800 on 200 sold as 2nd lot, if you have got the div[iden]d on

further 15 shares, i.e. Rs. 135 more from the co[mpany], you are to pay the same to Mr. K. M. Nemani to which they are entitled.

The market at present is going down due to political uncertainties.
Hoping you to be in the best of health,

Yours faithfully,
J. C. MEHTA
Share and Stock Broker

I.100

Imperial Bank of India, Bombay, to M. A. Jinnah

F. 681/283

POST BOX NO. 13, BOMBAY,
23 May 1947

Dear Sir,

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of 18-5-1947¹ enclosing 3 cheques aggregating Rs. 158-8-0 only for credit to your Current Account No. 2. Your account is debited with Rs. 1-4-0 on account of exchange.

Yours faithfully,
p. Chief Accountant

¹No. 197.

I.101

K. H. Khurshid to Mohan Singh

F. 1127/411

NEW DELHI,
24 May 1947

Dear Sir,

As arranged between you and Mr. Jinnah this morning, I am returning herewith, under Mr. Jinnah's instructions, the design for the glazing of

the three openings in the verandah, which you had enclosed with your letter of 12th May¹ addressed to Mr. Jinnah.

Yours faithfully,
[K. H. KHURSHID]
Private Secretary

Mohan Singh, Esq.,
Proprietor, Oriental Building & Furnishing Co.,
Connaught Circus, New Delhi

¹No. I.93.

I.102

Mohan Singh to M. A. Jinnah

F. 85/8

CONNAUGHT CIRCUS, OPPOSITE FIRE BRIGADE,
NEW DELHI,
24 May 1947

Dear Sir,

This is just to acknowledge receipt of letter of date¹ sent by your Private Secretary forwarding the designs of the glazed openings which we are taking in hand as per your verbal acceptance.

We shall try to complete the same as explained.

Thanking you,

Yours faithfully,
MOHAN SINGH
Proprietor,
Oriental Building and Furnishing Co.

¹No. I.101.

I.103

Abdalla Hussein to M. A. Jinnah

F. 910/294-5

32 MIDAN ABDINE,
LE CAIRE,
25 May 1947

Excellency,

I have the honour to recommend payment of the sum of 20 pounds being the price of an album, collection of pictures of H. M. King Farouk 1st [sic] to Mr. Mohamed al Attar, 27 Malikes Farid Str[ee]t, Cairo.

I am your great [sic],

Sincerely,
ABDALLA HUSSEIN
*Avocat a la Cour,
Journaliste et Directeur des Etudes Arabes*

I.104

Abdul Latif Dada to M. A. Jinnah

F. 910/298

UNDER POSTAL CERTIFICATE
AIR MAIL

BOTAWALLA BUILDING,
ELPHINSTONE CIRCLE,
FORT, BOMBAY 1,
26 May 1947

Dear Sir,

We are enclosing herewith the Prospectus¹ of Muhammadi Steamship Co. Ltd., whose official announcement will come in the press on the 28th May 1947. You will note from the Prospectus that this Company has on the Board Directors who are business magnates in India, and in our opinion the Company has a very very bright future.

We hope you will invest your money in the Ordinary or the Preference Shares of the Company, and also recommend it to your friends.

In case you require any further information, please write to us. The application should be sent to the above address.

With my best regards,

Yours faithfully,
[ABDUL LATIF DADA]

Underwriter,

Muhammadi Steamship Co. Ltd.

Note. All the commission on the shares purchased by you through us will be given entirely to the Bombay Provincial Muslim League Relief Fund, or any other Fund you [may] desire.

¹F. 910/299-308, QAP (Not printed). Also see No. 487, Vol. 1, Part I, 894-900.

I.105

M. N. Kotwal to M. A. Jinnah

F. 757/167

JEHANGIR KOTHARI BUILDING,
BUNDER ROAD, KARACHI,
27 May 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Re: Sale of property bearing Survey No. 1 Survey Sheet F. T. 3
Frere Town Quarter.

I was in receipt of your letter dated the 13th inst[ant]¹ which reached me yesterday. Since writing to you last on the 11th ultimo,² I was after the Advocates for the Vendor to file the necessary application and the same was filed last week only with the result that the application will be ripe for hearing after the issue of the usual notice in July 1947. The courts will be closing for summer vacation from tomorrow and will re-open on the 30th June 1947 and I will do my best to expedite the completion of the sale transaction herein [*sic*] as soon as the sanction is obtained from the Court.

Yours sincerely,

M. N. KOTWAL

Solicitor, Advocate and Notary Public

¹No. I.94.

²No. I.76.

I.106

Duplicate of Receipt issued on 21-4-1947

F. 169/24

KASHMERE GATE,
DELHI,
28 May 1947

THE PIONEER ARMS CO., DELHI

Received on 21-4-1947 with thanks from Quaid-i-Azam M. A. Jinnah the sum of Rs. 1,300 (Rupees one thousand and three hundred) only towards the payment in full and final settlement.

Certified that the original receipt was stamped with n[ecessary] revenue stamp.

for The Pioneer Arms Co.

I.107

Mahomed Ali Chaiwala to K. H. Khurshid

F. 169/25

15 MILITARY SQUARE LANE, FORT,
BOMBAY,
30 May 1947

Dear Mr. Khurshid,

I had sent one letter on 23-5-1947 to Miss Jinnah, ■ copy of which is enclosed, to which I have no reply—please consult Miss Jinnah and let me have her reply in the matter.

There is ■ thick rumour in Bombay that Mr. Jinnah has sold his bungalow to Mr. Dalmia—I don't know whether it is correct. In ordinary course I have paid Collector's Bill & Municipal Bill ending 30-9-1947 and will go on paying staff and other expenses as usual. I will like to know whether there is any truth in the report.

Yours sincerely,
MAHOMED ALI CHAIWALA

I.108

Brenda Blencowe to M. A. Jinnah

F. 87/4-9

H. B. MAYFLOWER, THE ISLAND GHAT,
SRINAGAR, KASHMIR,
31 May 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Mr. Ghulam Mohidin showed me your letter¹ to him about my House Boat I am wanting to sell.

I am having an inventory of carpets, cutlery, furniture, linen, crockery, typed out and will send it along in a day or so—if you are interested to buy. The House Boat is a very nice boat—it has 2 large bedrooms, 1 large bathroom, 1 small bathroom, 1 hall, 1 very long and large drawing-room with high roof and a long sun window to give in extra light and sun in the winter months, 1 dressing-room, 1 large pantry and a large flat deck roof.

The boat is in a *very*² good order and was rebuilt in 1943; the hall is in first class order. I should like to say—as you yourself are a very tall gentleman—one can get in and out of the doors without bending as they are large. The gentleman who takes the boat in the winter for 6 months every year is 6 ft. 4 in. himself—takes the boat because of this. All the furniture is in a very good state, all made by Suffering Moses for the boat in 1943, and it is in first class con[dition]. A large *shikara* also goes with the boat.

I have a beautiful garden with nice big trees one can sit under all day. I rent the *ghat* at Rs. 15 p.m. on a lease of 5 years at a time with the option of extending it at the same rent for an extra five years. I have another 3 years to go before the lease is up.

I am willing to sell both the House Boat and the Cook Boat fully furnished with carpets, cutlery, linen, crockery and plate (EPNS), for Rs. 28,000 only. I cannot let you have it till the end of September as I am up here on leave till then. I am sorry to worry you as I know you are a very busy man these days. But could you let me know as soon as you can, as I have other people who are asking me about it. Mr. Ghulam Mohidin has asked me to put them off till I hear from you.

The one thing I would like to say is [that] I have a very good Muhammad *manji* (unmarried) and a very good *mali*. I pay [Rs.] 30 to *manji*, [Rs.] 30 to

sweeper [and Rs.] 25 [to] *mali*—all good servants. Have been with me [for] 6 years now.

You would need nothing extra in the boat whatever.

Thanking you [and] best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
BRENDA BLENCOWE

¹Also see Nos. 14, 15 and 16.

²Underlined in the original.

I.109

M. A. Jinnah to J. C. Mehta

F. 757/162

31 May 1947

Dear Sir,

I have received your letter of the 20th May¹ and I am sending you a cheque for Rs. 135 (Rupees one hundred and thirty-five) only which please endorse in favour of Mr. K. M. Nemani, who is entitled to the said amount, being the dividend on 15 shares [of] Simplex Mills transferred to me.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Jayantilal C. Mehta,
Share & Stock Broker,
89 New Stock Exchange Bldg.,
Apollo Street, Fort,
Bombay

¹No. I.99.

I.110

M. A. Jinnah to Imperial Bank of India, Bombay

F. 682/266

2 June 1947

Dear Sir,

I have received the complete statement of my Current Account No. 2 ending with May 3rd and on checking the statement with my records, I find that there are certain discrepancies between the two. Please look into the matter and inform me with regard to the following:

A. DEPOSITS

show an entry of Rs. 200 on 20-3-1947 by D. D. There is no trace of this amount having been sent to you in my records. Please, therefore, let me have the full particulars with regard to it.

B. WITHDRAWALS

(i) on 25-11-1946 show an entry of Rs. 16 on account of "Being on D. D. 6190 negote". This is not clear and I should like to know what it refers to.

(ii) on 31-3-1947 show an entry of Rs. 204-8-4 on account of "amt. of Ins. for the $\frac{1}{4}$ y. e. 31-3-1947".¹ This again is not quite clear and I would like to have full particulars.

C. On 19-2-1947, demand draft No. 46/5, issued by the Standard Bank of South Africa, Pietersburg, on the Chartered Bank of India, Australia and China, Bombay, for Rs. 2,167-13-0 was sent to you but there is no trace of it in your statements. Please let me know whether the amount has been realized or not.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

The Agent,
Imperial Bank of India,
Apollo Street, Fort,
Bombay

¹Amount of interest for the $\frac{1}{4}$ year ending 31-3-1947.

I.111

M. A. Jinnah to Imperial Bank of India, Bombay

F. 682/260

2 June 1947

Dear Sir,

I am enclosing herewith ■ Dividend Warrant with ■ pay-in slip for Rs. 2,000-O. S. (Rupees two thousand only of Hyderabad State Currency) which amount, on realization, credit to my Current Account No. 1 with you and oblige. Also please inform me of the amount when realized according to the British Indian currency.

Thanking you,

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

The Agent,
Imperial Bank of India,
Apollo Street, Fort, Bombay

APPENDIX II

COMMUNAL DISTURBANCES IN THE PUNJAB

The Civil Disobedience Movement of the Muslim League in the Punjab¹ had a successful culmination when the Coalition Ministry of Khizar Hayat Khan Tiwana was forced to resign on 2 March 1947. The League was the single largest party in the Punjab Assembly, and expected to be invited to form the Ministry but there were certain factors which weighed against its induction into office. On the eve of partition, the atmosphere throughout the country was already charged with communal tension. Provocative utterances by political leaders heightened mutual bitterness and eventually led to rioting on an unprecedented scale.

The announcement of 3 June Plan² touched off a new wave of communal violence all over India. The impending partition of the Punjab as envisaged by the Plan further exacerbated communal feelings. The riots were widespread and affected most places in the Punjab particularly Rawalpindi, Amritsar, Lahore and Gurgaon. This Appendix gives an overview of the communal disturbances. Because of the paucity of the material available, it does not fully reflect the scale and intensity of the riots.

¹See Appendix VII, Vol. I, Part II, 199-325.

²No. 1.

II.1

Jawaharlal Nehru to John Colville¹

IOR, R/3/1/90

SECRET/PERSONAL

MUSSOORIE,
AS AT: 17 YORK ROAD, NEW DELHI,
23 May 1947

Dear Sir John,

During my very short stay here I have been increasingly distressed by news from the Punjab, especially Lahore. Parts of the old walled city of Lahore are being gradually reduced to ashes and there appears to be a complete lack of control of the situation. Reports of those killed

by police firing or wounded or arrested and searches made in houses indicate an extreme partiality on the part of the police. It is extraordinary how the administration, in so far as Lahore is concerned, is hardly functioning as it should. I realise fully the difficulties and the strain caused by these occurrences. At the same time it seems to me obvious that if this kind of thing continues, it will spread with great rapidity in other parts of the Punjab also. If the situation in Lahore cannot be controlled, it is still less likely that a wider conflagration will be controlled. The present police authorities are apparently totally unable to control it and reports reach me from impartial sources that no very serious attempt has been made to meet the situation. Whether these reports are correct or not, I cannot say. But the fact that such a serious situation could continue for days and weeks is bad enough. I would earnestly request you to consider what other and further steps should be taken in this matter. The only other step that suggests itself is the effective use of the army in the city of Lahore with freedom to act as they think proper to deal with the situation.

2. I realise that during your brief tenure of the Viceroyalty you will hesitate to take any new step. Perhaps Lord Mountbatten might be consulted by cable or otherwise.

3. Reports from Calcutta are also disturbing. Many of these reports are often exaggerated and alarmist. Nevertheless it is safer to take every precaution for a possible contingency. I have received a letter from a Muslim friend, whom I consider impartial and balanced, from Calcutta. I enclose a copy of this letter for your information.²

4. I hope to return to Delhi on Monday morning.

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

¹Also see TP, X, No. 522, 968-9.

²Ibid., Enclosure to No. 522, 969-70.

II.2

Evan Jenkins to John Colville¹

Telegram, IOR, R/3/1/90

IMMEDIATE/SECRET
106-G

NEW DELHI,
25 May 1947, 4.20 p.m.

Your telegram 1155-S of May 24th.² Existing powers are adequate.

Difficulty of handling situation is due to facts (a) that communal hostility is now universal and (b) that stabbings and fires are usually work of individuals and not of crowds. Police and troops get few targets and offenders frequently escape.

2. On martial law Patel is probably echoing constantly reiterated opinion of Punjab Hindus. Under present constitution martial law can I understand be imposed only by military commander who would usually decline to impose it unless his troops were in danger or civil authorities had ceased to function. In view of extensive emergency powers already taken and of fact that civil authorities are functioning normally everywhere, imposition of martial law would mean in effect simply the substitution of G.O.C. in C., Northern Command or Lahore Area Commander for Governor. Martial law is therefore unlikely to affect situation materially.

[E.M. JENKINS]¹

¹Also see *TP*, X, No. 536, 985.

²Colville informed Jenkins that military authorities were unable to spare Brigade besides "the troops of the Fourth Division now moving into the Punjab" in order to quell disturbances in Lahore, and expressed the hope that the position would improve after the arrival of additional force. *Ibid.*, No. 535, 984.

³Copy of this telegram was sent to Deputy C-in-C on 26 May 1947.

II.3

Note by Evan Jenkins¹

IOR, R/3/1/90

25 May 1947

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan saw me at 12 noon today at his request. We talked until 1.30 p.m.

2. On the general situation he said that the Muslim League did not accept certain particulars in the announcement proposed by H.M.G.² When I asked what these particulars were, he replied that the League would not agree to the partition of Bengal or the Punjab.

3. I said that in that case the outlook was not promising. The Muslims wanted the whole of the Punjab; the Sikhs would yield only about 2/5ths of it to them; and the Hindus would follow the Congress leaders. There was a "civil war" atmosphere in the Punjab now and all communities were fatalistic and hysterical. How did Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan suggest that the situation should be handled?

4. Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan said that the Muslims felt aggrieved—they

were not the aggressors, but the present administration in the Punjab was bitterly hostile to them. Only two of the Magistrates employed in Lahore City were Muslims; and a relatively small number of the police officers so employed were Muslims. British officers were rough and discourteous in their dealings with Muslim non-officials. I replied that I had to go on facts and not on party propaganda. The official figures for deaths caused by the disturbances since March 4th were, on 23rd May, 3,410. I believed the correct figure (including Rawalpindi deaths not yet registered) to be about 3,600. Of this total probably not more than 600 were Muslims. Similarly the loss of property was probably Rs. 10 to Rs. 15 crores, and less than 5 per cent. of this was probably Muslim property. It was difficult for me to hold that the Muslims were not the aggressors—even in the renewed Lahore rioting their deaths were less than one-third of the total number of deaths recorded. I did my best to preserve communal balance in posting Magistrates, and I had no doubt that I. G. Police did the same in posting police officers. As regards British officers, I was sure they were being fair; but many of them had been gravely shocked, and I thought the League leaders didn't realise how horrible the Rawalpindi massacre seemed to any impartial person.

5. Resuming his argument Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan said that we ought to get much tougher with the Sikhs. They had had and missed their chance of forming a Ministry with the League in the spring of 1946, and could not be permitted to dictate indefinitely. I said that the Muslim League must try to understand the Sikh view—the Sikhs, unreasonable and difficult as they were, had a real grievance. The League had never apologized for the Rawalpindi massacre and the continued burning in Lahore and Amritsar were making a reconciliation impossible. The Sikhs now felt, and with reason, that they would not be safe in a Muslim State. I believed partition to be a disaster for the Punjab, but if we were to avoid it, all parties must be prepared to make sacrifices. It was no solution to say that the Sikhs were headstrong and unreasonable—three months ago this criticism was justified, but now the Sikhs had a good deal of reason on their side, though in ten years' time the present disputes might, and probably would, seem entirely futile. How would Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan solve the problem?

6. Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan replied that there would be trouble anyhow, and that the right solution was the one which would cause least trouble. Personally he thought that whatever decision H.M.G. announced should be enforced with the utmost firmness. (Rather an odd suggestion in view of the League's rejection of partition). I pointed out that H.M.G. and the British element in the services did not want to get involved in a communal

civil war, and he replied that we could not evade our responsibility. There would be civil war, and we could not possibly walk out.

7. Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan spoke at some length and with some bitterness about *Kirpans* and *Nihangs*. I said that by going for the *Kirpans* I might cause the explosion I was trying to avoid. (I did not tell him that H.E. Lord Mountbatten had instructed me not to move in this matter without his concurrence). I intended to deal with *Nihangs* but was not anxious to publicise the fact.

8. This is a very jejune record of a long and rather rambling talk. The main points are:

a. the determination of the Muslim League to reject partition [of the Punjab and Bengal];

b. the complacency of the Muslim League about Muslim atrocities (I did wear Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan down a little on this towards the end);

c. the implacable hostility of the Muslim League to Hindus and Sikhs. (When I said that the Muslim League could hardly deny the non-Muslims in the Punjab the rights they claimed for themselves in India, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan said that "truncated" Pakistan was a Congress device for the ultimate suppression of the Muslims, and that the all-India and Punjab questions were not *in pari materia*).

d. the dissatisfaction of the Muslim League with the present administration;

e. the advice that H.M.G.'s decision should be enforced ruthlessly. (This seems inconsistent with (a). Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan got very hot about the communal composition of the Army).

9. A most depressing talk. Like every one else Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan believed that there will be "civil war." He may see me again tomorrow after he has visited Amritsar.

E.M. JENKINS

¹Also see TP, X, Enclosure 1 to No. 537, 986-7.

²No. 1.

II.4

Vallabhbhai Patel to John Colville

Telegram, IOR, R/3/1/90

CONFIDENTIAL/IMMEDIATE

26 May 1947

1384-S

Have just seen Gov[ernment] of Punjab telegram No. 100-G dated 21st May about Lahore situation.¹ It is clear that police are unable to control

situation and that even military aid is not proving adequate. I am sure Your Excellency realises dangerous potentialities of continued disturbances in Lahore. Consequences may not be confined to Punjab alone. I feel Governor's telegram fully vindicates my letter dated 21st May regarding placing seriously affected areas in Lahore under military regime.² I would earnestly advise Your Excellency to take action before it is too late.

[V. B. PATEL]

¹Jenkins informed Colville of the inadequacy of Military force to handle the Lahore situation and expressed the need for an additional Brigade for greater Lahore area. See *TP*, X, No. 500, 927-8.

²Patel had proposed to Colville and Jenkins to impose martial law in the worst affected areas of Lahore. *Ibid.*, No. 501, 928-9.

II.5

Ghazanfar Ali Khan to John Colville

IOR, R/3/1/90

6 KING EDWARD ROAD, NEW DELHI,
29 May 1947

Dear Sir John Colville,

You will kindly remember my submissions to you during our interview last week about the participation of men from Sikh States in the Punjab in rioting in Lahore and Amritsar. The allegations reaching me in this connection have since been confirmed. It appears that in certain instances men who came from these States to create disturbances were in uniforms and had in their possession firearms belonging to the States. Your Excellency was kind enough to promise to take necessary action in this connection. I trust the matter has not escaped your memory.

2. Much more serious complaints are now being received about the incursion of troops from Alwar and Bharatpur States into villages in the territory of Gurgaon District, to help the Hindus against Muslims in riots and to terrorise Muslim villagers in other ways. It is difficult to obtain any but oral evidence of this. It appears, however, that in the beginning of May a party of Alwar State troops accompanied by some Hindus of the British territory raided the Muslim village of Chundika within the jurisdiction of the Police Station of Taoru and bayoneted a Muslim. I am told the incident is well-known to the authorities in Gurgaon District. I am reliably informed that the Alwar and Bharatpur States have posted military pickets at several places near the border of the Gurgaon District. The ostensible reason for this may be the prevention of ingress of men from

the British territory into the States. Actually these pickets are said to have become a menace to Muslims within the British territory.

3. In connection with measures which are being taken for the suppression of disturbances in Gurgaon District, responsible and respectable Muslims from the district have approached me with the grievances that the composition of the forces which are patrolling the disturbed areas is overwhelmingly non-Muslim and that sufficient patrolling is not being done in those areas where Muslim minorities are surrounded by Hindu mobs.

4. I should like to submit that these grievances should be brought to the notice of the local civil and military authorities. If they are correct, they deserve to be redressed. Very alarming reports are being received from the interior of the Gurgaon District. I hope that the authorities will [be] able speedily to bring the situation under control.

Yours sincerely,
GHAZANFAR ALI

II.6

Baldev Singh to John Colville

IOR, R/3/1/90

DEFENCE DEPARTMENT, NEW DELHI,
29 May 1947

Dear Sir John,

The enclosed reports¹ show that the communal situation in Gurgaon is taking a very serious turn. Mobs armed with lethal weapons are perpetrating atrocities on opposing communities over a large area and are getting out of control. At a conference attended by the Army C.O., D.C. and G.II [Major] "all were of opinion that no form of law and order now exists." In his Committee this morning the Deputy Commander-in-Chief remarked "that the disturbances in the Gurgaon area had reached a serious stage which amounted almost to armed insurrection." This is a situation bordering on martial law conditions and is one in which immediate action should be taken to control it by sending substantial military forces. Under the present procedure, this can be done only at the request of the civil government. I do not know if any such requests have been received but I certainly consider this case serious enough to be taken notice of by us and one in which initiative should not be left with the civil government.

Gurgaon has a special importance for us as it is so near Delhi and if

the situation gets out of control there, it is likely to spread not only in the neighbouring districts of the Punjab but also to Delhi.

Yours sincerely,
BALDEV SINGH

His Excellency The Right Hon'ble Sir John Colville,
Viceroy's House,
New Delhi

¹Not available in QAP.

II.7

Ghazanfar Ali Khan to John Colville

IOR, R/3/1/90

6 KING EDWARD ROAD, NEW DELHI,
30 May 1947

Dear Sir John Colville,

In continuation of my submissions during our interview of last week and my letter of yesterday,¹ I consider it necessary to bring to your notice the serious reports which have been made to me today by deputations of Muslims from various parts of Gurgaon District. Rioting has now been going on over a widespread area for five days and arson, looting and killing have not yet been checked. That rioting on such a big scale should go on for days on end within 30 and 40 miles of the capital of India gives one an impression that the administrative machinery has all but completely broken down. I do hope that stronger military forces of ■ mixed composition will be rushed to the scene of disturbances and would disperse mobs with ■ strong hand.

2. Complaints seem to be increasing every day about the ingress of troops from Alwar and Bharatpur States into the Gurgaon District territory to help rioters of a particular community. These troops come in uniform carrying their firearms and freely take part in the horrible killing and arson that are going on. I believe the district administration is aware of this. Nothing seems to have been done by the States concerned to control their troops. I hope their attention has been drawn with sufficient clearness to these complaints.

3. The urgency of the situation which is worsening every hour has compelled me to worry you with this letter so soon after what I wrote yesterday. Every hour of delay in bringing the situation in Gurgaon

District under control seems to involve risk to the lives of hundreds or even thousands of women and children.

Yours sincerely,
GHAZANFAR ALI

¹Appendix II.5.

II.8

Liaquat Ali Khan to Louis Mountbatten¹

IOR, R/3/1/90

SECRET/IMMEDIATE

No. 40-P.S.F.R./47

NEW DELHI,

30 May 1947

Dear Lord Mountbatten,

Allow me to extend to you a hearty welcome on your return to New Delhi. I wish that I could spare you from our tale of woe for at least some time after your arduous journey. The problem of saving millions of lives in Gurgaon District and, I believe, the adjoining territory in the U.P. has, however, become so imperative that I feel compelled to draw your attention to it immediately.

My colleague, the Hon'ble Mr. Ghazanfar Ali Khan, has been making representations about the situation in Gurgaon District (only about 40 to 50 miles from Delhi) to Sir John Colville during your absence.² The situation has, however, been rapidly worsening since trouble started there on Saturday night last. Arson, looting and killing has been going on unchecked over a wide area and the trouble has spread to several parts of the district. Judging from the reports which are being received almost hour after hour from the afflicted areas, it appears that very big mobs, numbering sometimes 20,000 to 30,000, carrying 303 rifles and other modern as well as crude weapons, besiege one village of Muslims after another and destroy it, killing as many as cannot escape and looting whatever can be easily removed.

The military has been patrolling part of this area; but either because of inadequate strength or for some other reason, has almost entirely failed to check this one-sided war of the majority upon the minority community in this area. There are persistent complaints that troops from Alwar and Bharatpur States which are posted at various points near the borders of the Gurgaon District move in the district territory in plain clothes or even in uniforms, carrying modern firearms, and take a hand in rioting.

Almost every hour some village is being sacked and destroyed. The situation calls for immediate action. If possible, more military (of a mixed composition) should be sent into this area. Even the use of cavalry and para-troops may be considered. I suggest that, if it be not too inconvenient to you, an aerial survey of the area by yourself will be most useful and will probably have a salutary effect on the situation.

Before this there was serious trouble in Lahore. There [were] also men from certain Sikh States, who had in their possession arms belonging to the States and who in certain instances wore uniforms, were found to have been helping rioters. From such reports as have reached us, it appears that they were treated with undue leniency. The situation in Lahore seems, however, to have quietened down now. The most imperative problem now is that of Gurgaon and adjoining parts of the U.P. I do hope that with your drive and well-known capacity for bold decisions and action, we shall save this area from impending disaster.³

Yours sincerely,
LIAQUAT ALI KHAN

¹Also see *TP*, X, No. 558, 1033-4.

²See Appendix II.5 and II.7.

³On 31 May, Mountbatten expressed concern in his reply over the grave situation in Gurgaon which he promised to visit next day. Colville had assured him of prompt action to deal with the disturbances there and in other areas of the Punjab despite inadequate number of troops. See *TP*, X, No. 558, note 1, 1034.

II.9

Liaquat Ali Khan to Louis Mountbatten¹

IOR, R/3/1/90

NEW DELHI,
31 May 1947

Dear Lord Mountbatten,

Accompanied by my colleague the Hon'ble Mr. Ghazanfar Ali Khan, I visited certain parts of Gurgaon District today, including the District headquarters as well as the headquarters of the small military force which is assisting the civil authorities in checking the widespread rioting in the District. We had an opportunity of discussing the situation with the Deputy Commissioner² and certain other officials as well as with Muslims who came to us on hearing about our arrival.

Our discussions with the local officials brought out a few points very clearly, which deserve to be brought to your notice immediately.

- a. It is not merely a spontaneous flare-up of communal feelings in this part of the country, but a planned, pre-meditated and well-organised attack that has been launched with the object of completely suppressing the Muslim community of Meos numbering about one million and forming a more or less compact Muslim belt in a predominantly Hindu area. Possibly it is intended to pave the way for the establishment of a Jat province by force. The idea of the Jat province has been openly favoured not only by the Jat Hindu population on both sides of the Punjab-U.P. border, but also by certain rulers of Indian States. A sinister aspect of the present attack is that armed troops from the Indian States of Bharatpur and Alwar have been frequently entering the Gurgaon District territory. They have been noticed in uniforms. It is not improbable that a number of them in plain clothes have been mixing up with the rioters during the present trouble and using their modern weapons against the Meo villagers. The impression in Gurgaon District is widespread that arms and ammunition are freely pouring into the riot affected areas from the Indian States. The present trouble started, according to all reports, with a treacherous attack by Hindu Jats on a Muslim village, Naurangpur, after an elaborate series of meetings, held under official auspices, at which pledges and undertakings were given for the maintenance of peace. From there the disturbances have rapidly spread over a wide area and assumed the form of an offensive on a very wide front against the Meo villages by large crowds drawn from Hindu Jats, Ahirs, and Gujars of several districts in the Punjab as well as the U.P., among whom are no doubt certain number of trained soldiers, carrying arms belonging to the Alwar and Bharatpur States.
- b. The military force which has been sent to help in stopping this carnage is altogether inadequate. It consists of four companies with a total strength of about 500. One of them is a Gork[h]a Company. The other three until today were the Rajputana Rifles. The Rajputana Rifles have a mixed composition but, it is an unfortunate accident the three companies sent to Gurgaon were all Hindu. Today they have been replaced by Sikh companies. There is no doubt that in a situation like this a military force of mixed composition can alone ensure fairness and inspire confidence in the population. What I regard as another unfortunate accident is that the visit of the Hon'ble Members for Home³ and Defence⁴ to Gurgaon yesterday should have been followed by replacement of

the Hindu companies by Sikh soldiers today. I know that there is no connection between the two, but it is difficult to convince unintelligent and panic-stricken villagers.

- c. It was explained to us that owing to its inadequate strength the military force can make its presence felt only in one sector. This leaves killing, looting and arson practically unchecked in other parts. An additional reason for the inability of the forces to control the situation in these latter areas is their inaccessibility and lack of motorable roads.

In view of the points mentioned above I would make the following submissions for your immediate consideration:

1. The rulers of Indian States clearly need a prompt warning to keep their civilians and soldiers out of these disturbances. The need of such a warning is also indicated by the fact that armed men and soldiers from certain Sikh States in Central Punjab have recently been mixed up with the disturbances in Lahore and Amritsar.
2. More military force should be sent to the disturbed areas in Gurgaon District immediately. It will be appreciated that an attack on a minority on such a big and organised scale in the neighbourhood of India's capital may have most unfortunate repercussions in remoter parts of the country, if it is not promptly checked. What is equally important is that the force to be sent there should be of a mixed composition. This is a point on which I cannot lay too much emphasis.
3. In view of the inaccessibility of those areas where rioting, killing and arson are now at their worst, the use of such cavalry as can be assembled immediately and the need of machine-gunning from the air may also be seriously considered. I would further submit that the rioting in Gurgaon District must be controlled immediately, if the Meo community is to be saved from almost complete effacement.

Yours sincerely,
LIAQUAT ALI KHAN

¹Also see *TP*, XI, No. 11, 20-2.

²Patrick Brendon.

³Vallabhbhai Patel.

⁴Baldev Singh.

II.10

Louis Mountbatten to Liaquat Ali Khan¹

IOR, R/3/1/90

133/14

1 June 1947

Dear Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan,

Thank you for your letter of the 31st May² about the situation in Gurgaon. I have been there myself today with the Governor of the Punjab, and have informed myself of the position.³

I saw Brigadier Vaughan, the District Commander, and he will go at once to G.H.Q. to see about strengthening the garrison.

The reports of intervention by members of the Indian States forces from neighbouring States are probably exaggerated, but I am instructing the Political Department to draw the attention of the Resident to the reports, and do everything possible to see that such intervention is prevented.

Yours sincerely,
MOUNTBATTEN OF BURMA

¹TP, XI, No. 16, 31-2.²Appendix II.9.

³Jenkins reported on 1 June on his visit to Gurgaon, "that the position was 'not satisfactory,' the ■■■■ affected being about ■■■ square miles, with raiding and counter-raiding by Meos and Hindus on the Mewat border, and Hindus attacking Muslim pockets in the Palwal area. He reported at least 50 villages destroyed, that casualties 'must be heavy,' and that police and military had had 'to fire frequently,' adding that in his opinion the number of troops employed (only 365) was inadequate." On 4 June, Abell informed Abott that "an extra battalion is going in, and a few cavalry from Remounts are being provided." See TP, XI, No. 16, note 2, 31. Also see Appendix X.3.

II.11

Liaquat Ali Khan to Louis Mountbatten

IOR, R/3/1/90

NEW DELHI,
4 June 1947

Dear Lord Mountbatten,

I thank you for your letter of the 1st June¹ regarding the Gurgaon situation which I received last evening. I am grateful for the action that

you have taken in regard to the strengthening of the garrison and to prevent any intervention on the part of the neighbouring States.

The latest reports that have reached me from the disturbed area, and which receive support from the Military Intelligence Report of the 3rd June, indicate that the situation in the area has deteriorated and the mopping up of Muslim villages by Hindu mobs continues. There is considerable panic among the Muslim population.

One specific ground of complaint is the absence of Muslim troops from the forces that have been posted to the area. Without wishing to cast any doubt on the impartiality of the non-Muslim troops who are there now, I think that the grievance is a legitimate one. I would therefore urge that the existing garrison should be strengthened immediately by the addition of a fair proportion of Muslim troops in order to restore confidence among the Muslim population. The matter is one of great urgency and I trust it will receive your favourable consideration.

Yours sincerely,
LIAQUAT ALI KHAN

[Note]: Pl[ease] ask C.G.S. whether there are any Muslims in the new battalion going to Gurgaon.

[GEORGE ABELL]

D.P.S.V. [I.D. SCOTT]

¹Appendix II.10.

II.12

*Mumtaz Daultana to Liaquat Ali Khan*¹

IOR, R/3/1/90

6 KING EDWARD ROAD, NEW DELHI,
12 June 1947

My dear Liaquat Ali Khan Sahib,

A party consisting of Pir Ilahi Bakhsh,² Mir Bunde Ali,³ Mir Ghulam Ali Talpur,⁴ Ministers of Sind, Mr. M. H. Gazdar,⁵ Mian Amiruddin, Mayor of Lahore, 3 members of the Ad Hoc Delhi Muslim League Committee and myself toured riot-affected area of Gurgaon District on the 11th of June 1947.

We visited Gurgaon, Sohna, Taru, Nuh and Palwal and the surrounding villages which have been devastated in the recent disturbances.

We went in no official capacity and it was not our intention to present a detailed report of our observations, but we were so completely taken aback by what we saw, and by the nature and extent of the devastation already caused and likely to be caused in the immediate future, that we feel it our duty to impress you with the gravity of the situation and to urge you to take immediate steps to bring under control, what is, in effect, full-scale civil war raging within 20 miles of the capital of India. If the least delay is permitted in this, it is our opinion that thousands of helpless men, women and children will be massacred within the next few days and an irretrievable disaster will befall more than half a million of human beings, which will tarnish the birth of Indian freedom and shame the last days of the British rule in India.

We are surprised that it is not sufficiently realised in Delhi, or for the matter of that in any part of India, that a cruel and merciless war is being waged at this very moment in the closest proximity to the Indian capital, with all the horrors and atrocities attendant on a campaign for extermination conducted with the most modern weapons of destruction but unchecked by any of the conventions of civilised warfare. It is ridiculous to apply the phrase communal rioting to the situation in Gurgaon. What is actually taking place is a large-scale invasion of the Muslim villages by thousands of armed and disciplined men from the adjoining districts of the United Provinces, as well as by the official armed forces of Bharatpur and Alwar States. It is to be borne in mind that the Meo tract in Gurgaon and the adjoining Indian States is the only compact and populous concentration of Muslim majority population between the Sutlej and the border of Bengal, numbering near 10 lakhs of people, and it appears to be the firm intention of the surrounding Hindu provinces as well as the Hindu States to liquidate this powerful and gallant pocket by all the tactics made familiar by Herr Hitler in Poland. From reliable information that we were able to collect on the spot we are convinced that many thousands of men, women and children have been massacred in the last few days and that scores of villages have been burnt to the ground, and that people in all the surrounding villages are living day and night in imminent peril of attack and extermination.

Whilst in the Meo tract there is a sufficient concentration of Muslim population to admit of some attempts at local self-defence, the Muslims of, for instance, Palwal Tehsil have no means whatever to withstand the fury and magnitude of the daily attacks on them, and have ceased to expect any quarter. Our conversations with the D.C. Gurgaon, Mirza Muzaffar Ahmad, I.C.S., stationed at Palwal elicited the information that nearly 80% of the Muslim villages in Palwal Tehsil have been burnt and looted involving in each case a large loss of life. At the time

of our interview alarming reports and pathetic appeals were pouring in from every one of the solitary posts holding out for immediate succour and evacuation. Whilst we were at Palwal, six heavily loaded Muslim League trucks under police protection were brought in cram-full with refugees, who informed us that it had been possible to evacuate only a fraction of the threatened villages, and that unless immediate steps were taken there was little prospect of saving the lives of those who remained behind. With our own eyes we saw evidence of the mass forcible conversions which was the first demand of the attacking mobs. The entire Muslim population of Thanthri village some of whom were evacuated had been forced to shave their heads and wear *bodis*⁶ and the holy thread, whilst the women had been compelled to change their national dress for the Hindu *sari*. Reports of similar treatment had been received from the villages of Hassapur, Alawalpur, Bodiaun and many others.

Most of the villages in Palwal are being attacked every night by mobs of 5,000 to 10,000 people who pour into Gurgaon from the adjoining districts of the United Provinces. It is strange that whilst this has been going on for the last fortnight no attempts have been made to take this matter up with the United Provinces Congress Government, nor have any steps whatsoever been taken by that Government to check the organised savagery of its people. It would almost appear as if the U.P. Government had formally declared war on the Gov[ernmen]t of India or at least on the Muslims that live in Gurgaon.

The Muslim villages are almost totally unprotected. We were surprised to note the Provincial Gov[ernmen]t has at its disposal only 50 men of the additional police to protect the entire area of Palwal Tehsil, which would work out at about 1 constable per village. We feel that in this administrative break-down the only hope to save at least some Muslim lives is to permit an extensive issue of arms-licences to the Muslims in threatened villages, and in view of the extreme difficulty of purchasing licenced arms to distribute the arms in the Gov[ernmen]t *Malkhanas*⁷ to the persons to whom licences are allowed.

The refugee problem has attained and will progressively attain formidable proportions. Thousands of people are pouring in daily into Palwal and there can be no question of re-settling them in the villages from which they have escaped under the very shadow of the valley of death.

Worst of all the very town in which they are collecting, viz. Palwal, might be threatened and stormed any day. The Muslim League relief workers are doing their best to cope with this tremendous problem, but it is manifestly beyond their power or resources, and unless the Government shows the generosity and munificence so amply demonstrated in Rawalpindi and Jhelum, we can see very little hope.

The most alarming feature of the whole situation is the conduct of the military that has ostensibly been called out to restore order. The composition of the military in Gurgaon is exclusively non-Muslim. From time to time a purely Hindu Rajput Regiment is replaced by a Sikh Regiment which is later relieved by the former Rajput Regiment. This is being done at a time when the non-Muslim army is misbehaving in a shameless and atrocious manner. In fact it is our belief that more Muslims have been indiscriminately massacred by the Indian non-Muslim military than by the combined attacks of the Jats, the Ahirs, the Rajputs, the Hindus of U.P. and the armies of Bharatpur and Alwar. In particular it is the common belief in Gurgaon that the Sikh military has taken it upon themselves to wage war on behalf of the non-Muslims. Sikh army personnel have indiscriminately shot the Meos, and it is rumoured that some of their men have actually taken off their uniforms to re-inforce the mobs with their official weapons. It is the common practice for the soldiers to carry out searches for arms in the day in Hindu villages and to redistribute the confiscated arms at strategic places under cover of night, thus securing that the maximum force is deployed at the decisive place against the doomed Meos.

Similarly in one place some 600 Hindu rioters were arrested by the military at the spot, but 450 were released immediately, the remaining 150 having already passed to the custody of the police. There are at the moment lying in Palwal Civil Hospital 4 men who were forced to lie on their backs by the military and then crushed twice over under military trucks. It would be fruitless to pile illustrations because it is our belief that the savagery, brutality and partisanship of the military is well-known to the authorities. We understand that the D.C. of Gurgaon has represented again and again to the Central Government for mixed troops but he has been snubbed with the answer that the military does not recognise communalism. This is amusing when it is noticed that wherever disturbances take place, whether it is in Rawalpindi, in Attock, in Multan, in Amritsar or in Gurgaon, lack of communal considerations in the Army means the exclusive presence of non-Muslim troops.

It is our firm conviction that the worst offenders in the present Gurgaon disturbances have been the non-Muslim army, and that unless immediate steps are taken to introduce a mixed military personnel there is no hope for Muslims in Gurgaon. If it is not found possible to secure this, then we suggest that the military should be completely withdrawn, because the brave Meos would be able to fight their Hindu enemies with better chances of avoiding complete annihilation if they are not re-inforced by their military allies. It is also to be hoped that when mixed military is introduced in Gurgaon it will be done in

sufficient numbers to cope with the enormity [*sic*] of the problem. It is ridiculous that whilst it is impossible to see the road for army trucks in West Punjab, it is possible to travel almost right through the disturbed area in Gurgaon without coming across a uniform.

The Punjab Gov[ernmen]t true to its traditional contempt for Muslim interests, has ignored the repeated request of the Gurgaon administration for additional police. As already stated there are at present only 50 policemen in the entire tehsil of Palwal, and this may be taken as a sample for the whole district. In many ways the police is more effective than the army, particularly because it is mixed in its composition, and more disciplined in its response to the orders and demands of the civil administration. We must, therefore, urge upon you to make every effort in [*sic*] persuading the Punjab Government to place the largest number of additional police at the disposal of the most threatened and most devastated area in the Punjab. In this connection it is also necessary to secure that the additional police is drawn from constables whose homes are not in Gurgaon because in the present situation it is impossible to expect impartiality either from the Meo or the Jat and Ahir constables. At present out of the 480 or 500 constables in Gurgaon between 70 and 80 are Muslims.

Finally, we would like to impress upon you with all the force at our disposal, the wicked role that is being played by the Indian States of Bharatpur and Alwar. As you know the Mewat is a compact tract that covers adjoining areas of Gurgaon, U.P., Bharatpur and Alwar, and whilst there are some 2,50,000 Meos in Gurgaon, more than twice this number live in Alwar and Bharatpur. At present these two States have declared a war of extermination on the Muslims of Mewat. As recently as the night of the 10th, whole regiments of the Bharatpur military took part in an organised attack on Meo villages in Bharatpur State on the Gurgaon boundary, killing hundreds of people and sacking and burning 7 villages completely, whilst the Indian troops on the border looked on, only concerned to see that no Muslim escaped from Bharatpur to Gurgaon, or that no Gurgaon Meo should enter into Bharatpur to succour and defend his kith and kin.

We Muslims of India believe that we are one people. We cannot watch unmoved the pitiless massacre of our brothers merely because an artificial boundary divides Gurgaon from Bharatpur and Alwar. In the name of humanity we call upon you to appeal to the Viceroy of India in this matter and to see that the concepts of medieval barbarism are not allowed to reign unchecked in a tract almost within sight of the Viceregal Palace, and at a time when we stand at the very threshold of our freedom.

In the end we cannot but register surprise at the fact that whilst an equal number of deaths and smaller amount of destruction in Western

Punjab shook the whole of India from one end to the other, provoking the Governor of the Punjab to make almost daily visits to the affected areas and to mobilise the entire resources of a powerful Government to crush, intimidate and "teach a lesson" to the entire Muslim nation, and left him with no choice but to class the Muslims of the Punjab as a criminal element which had to be "pacified" according to the most up-to-date fascist technique, the happenings in Gurgaon have been dismissed with no more than a bureaucratic shrug and hardly any mention of them is made in the Press or on the Radio. It is of course a sacred convention of the Press in India and of the Directorate of the A.I.R. [All India Radio] to consider only such news as affects and promotes the interests of non-Muslims as worthy of note or comment, but it is not clear why in relation to Gurgaon a similar policy should be followed by the Muslim Press, because we feel that we owe it to the people of India to acquaint them with the full facts of the situation. We also hope that the particular prejudices and affections of the Punjab Governor are not shared by His Excellency the Viceroy of India who unlike Sir Evan Jenkins has a unique reputation to guard, and whose past conduct has raised lively expectations of justice and fair-play even in Muslim minds.

Although this letter to you has been written by me at the request of the party which visited Gurgaon yesterday, its contents have been approved by all the members of the party and contain our unanimous views.

Yours sincerely,
MUMTAZ MOHD. DAULTANA

The Hon'ble Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan
Gul-i-Rana, Hardinge Avenue
New Delhi

¹Liaquat forwarded a copy of the letter to Mountbatten on 17 June 1947 and its extracts were reproduced in *TP*, XI, Enclosure to No. 232, 452-4. Also see Appendix II.15.

²Minister for Education, Health and Local Self-Government, Sind, from 1945.

³Minister for Home and Legal Department, Sind, from 1946.

⁴Minister for Food and Agriculture, Sind, from 1945.

⁵Minister for Law and Order, Sind, from 1945-46.

⁶*Bodi* is a tuft of hair left hanging at the occipital portion of shaven head of a Hindu male.

⁷Store-room.

II.13

*S. E. Abbott to George Abell*¹

IMMEDIATE/CONFIDENTIAL

15 June 1947, 9 a.m.

No. 131-G.

Received: 15 June, 2.15 p.m.

Your telegram 1437-S.² Best available figures from 18th November to 15th May are 3280 killed and 1359 injured. Figures certainly below actuals as Rawalpindi District figures still uncertain and in Gurgaon many casualties.

¹TP, XI, No. 204, 397.²Abell, in his telegram of 14 June 1947, had requested figures of casualties in communal disturbances in the Punjab. Ibid., note 1, 397.

II.14

*Z. A. Ansari*¹ to *D. M. Malik*²

AFM 412/56

16 June 1947

Dear Sir,

I have the honour to say that the Committee have learnt with satisfaction that the *ad hoc* Committee, Delhi Provincial Muslim League is proceeding well and is doing good relief work in the Gurgaon District. It is hoped that it would continue its efforts with added enthusiasm at this critical juncture in the history of the Musalmans.

[Para. 2 omitted.]

Yours-in-Islam,
Z. A. ANSARI

¹Secretary, Committee of Action, All India Muslim League, Delhi.²Chairman, Delhi Provincial Muslim League Ad Hoc Committee, Delhi.

II.15

Liaquat Ali Khan to Louis Mountbatten¹

IOR, R/3/1/90

FINANCIAL MEMBER OF COUNCIL,
NEW DELHI,
17 June 1947

Dear Lord Mountbatten,

I enclose for your information a copy of a letter which I have received from Mian Mumtaz Mohammad Daultana, Member of the Punjab Legislative Assembly and a Member of the Council of Action of the All India Muslim League and until only recently the General Secretary of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League, giving a first-hand account of the present situation in the Gurgaon area. The letter which, as you will see, represents the observations, among others, of three Ministers and one ex-Minister of Sind and the Mayor of Lahore speaks for itself. It is hardly necessary for me to add that the stream of deputations and representations that I have been receiving, and continue to receive, in regard to the Gurgaon situation have all gone to confirm the existence of the appalling state of affairs disclosed in Mr. Daultana's letter. You will also doubtless have seen the recent intelligence reports issued by Armed Forces Headquarters containing accounts of large-scale burning and looting of Muslim villages not only by the Hindu population of the British area but also by State Forces of the neighbouring Indian States.

2. The Muslims of Gurgaon area feel helpless and unprotected against the full-scale war of extermination which is being waged against them by the armed hosts [*sic*] of Hindus with the active help of the neighbouring States and, I am sorry to say, without hindrance from the Indian troops detailed to the area by the Commander-in-Chief.

3. I have repeatedly requested you to post Muslim troops also to the area but without any success.² The situation is getting desperate and I must appeal to you once again in the name of justice and fair play that the handling of this grave situation should not be left entirely to the mercies of non-Muslim troops whose anti-Muslim activities have now broken all reasonable bounds. It would be a pity indeed if at this juncture when His Majesty's Government is anxious to ensure a smooth transfer of power and responsibility to the peoples of this country, they were to close their eyes to the large-scale attempt that is being made and has been going on for weeks within 20 miles of the capital of India to exterminate a whole

population of Muslims. May I hope that you will take more personal interest in this matter and see that something really effective is done to protect the lives and property of the Muslim population of the Gurgaon area?

Yours sincerely,
LIAQUAT ALI KHAN

¹Also see *TP*, XI, No. 232, 451.

²Appendix II.9 and 11.

II.16

Ghazanfar Ali Khan to H. L. Ismay¹

MEMBER OF COUNCIL, HEALTH,
6 KING EDWARD ROAD, NEW DELHI,
17 June 1947

Dear Lord Ismay,

I thank you for the inquiries you have made from the C.G.S.² The statement supplied by him shows the class composition of the troops operating in Gurgaon District. It lends point to the serious complaints which we have been receiving from there.

RAJ RIF is a regiment of mixed composition. It, however, so happened that only non-Muslim Companies of it were sent to Gurgaon. Now it transpires that the Muslim Company of the 3/15 Punjab has been left behind in Chaman so that only non-Muslim Companies of this mixed regiment will be operating in Gurgaon District. I do not wish to cast aspersions but somehow Muslim Companies always happen to be left behind in such cases. One Muslim Company of 3/15 Punjab will, it is said, join soon after July 1. I doubt if there will be any Muslims left to need protection in the disturbed area by that time.

You say that the C.G.S. has emphasised the difficulty of dealing with disturbances on a communal basis. The whole point of our complaint is that these disturbances are actually being dealt with on a communal basis, only non-Muslim troops being used and Muslim units of even mixed regiments being left out by a strange series of accidents. If Muslim troops cannot be made available in the near future, is it not possible to use some British troops?

From the reports reaching me at present it appears that the Muslim villagers have become quite desperate and almost hysterical, owing to attacks by the numerical[ly] superior and better armed mobs on the

one hand and the treatment which is being meted out to them by the authorities on the other. I fear clashes between these villagers and the troops out of sheer desperation, unless steps are taken immediately which may have a re-assuring effect on them.

I thank you once again for the interests you have taken in the affair.

Yours sincerely,
GHAZANFAR ALI

¹TP, XI, No. 235, 458.

²CGS promised to ask C-in-C if it was possible to detail any other Muslim troops to Gurgaon area but stressed the difficulty of dealing with communal disturbances. See TP, XI, No. 234, 456-7.

II.17

Louis Mountbatten to H. L. Ismay¹

Telegram, IOR, R/3/1/90

IMMEDIATE/SECRET

I-S. K.

KASHMIR,

18 June 1947, 5 p.m.

Received: 19 June, 9 a.m.

I gave my word to Liaquat that some Muslim troops would be sent at once to Gurgaon following your discussion with C.G.S. I am immeasurably shocked that my promise has not been honoured.² Please express my regret to Liaquat, whose letter of June 17th³ I have only just read, and ask Chief to do all in his power to send as many Muslim units to Gurgaon as soon as possible.⁴

¹Also see TP, XI, No. 254, 495.

²The non-Muslim Companies of 3/15 Punjab Regiment had been sent to Gurgaon but the Muslim Company was left behind at Chaman and was due in the disturbed area after 1 July 1947. See TP, XI, No. 234, 456-7.

³Appendix II.15.

⁴Ismay informed Mountbatten on 19 June that he had "ordered another battalion to Gurgaon area and that Army Commander has been instructed privately (repeat privately) to select [a] battalion containing as large a proportion of Muslims as possible." See TP, XI, No. 254, note 3, 495. Ismay also conveyed Mountbatten's regrets to Liaquat. See Appendix II. 18.

II.18

H. L. Ismay to Liaquat Ali Khan

IOR, R/3/1/90

19 June 1947

Dear Liaquat Ali Khan,

I have just had a telegram¹ from the Viceroy, asking me to express his deep regret to you, with reference to your letter to him of 17th June,² that there are no Muslim troops in the Gurgaon area. As I think you know, I informed His Excellency at the beginning of this month that some Muslim troops were on their way to Gurgaon, and it was not until Mr. Ghazanfar Ali Khan raised the matter³ with me last Friday that I found out from C.G.S.⁴ about the hitch that had occurred over the Muslim Company of the 3/15 Punjab Regiment.

The Viceroy has asked me to request the Commander-in-Chief to do all in his power to send Muslim troops to Gurgaon as soon as possible, and I am seeing him about it this evening.

Yours sincerely,
ISMAY

¹Appendix II.17.²Appendix II.15.³Appendix II.16.⁴Lieutenant-General Sir Arthur Francis Smith.

II.19

LEAGUE TO INITIATE PEACE MOVE IN THE PUNJAB?¹

Jinnah Anxious to Have Non-Muslims Live in Pakistan

When the Punjab Assembly meets in sections or as a whole to give its irrevocable verdict on partition, there will be no letting off steam either on its floor or outside its Chamber, no matter how much steam may have accumulated in men's minds since communal hostilities started in the first week of March.²

This is the agreed and unanimous decision of leaders of the three parties—Muslim League, Congress and Akalis—arrived at their two meetings in Lahore, one on Monday evening and another on Tuesday morning.

Accordingly, the aggrieved will be enjoined to avoid hard words inside and demonstrations outside the Assembly Chamber.

There was strong rumour on Tuesday that the Muslim League might initiate a peace move now that the political issue has been settled to their satisfaction. This originated in an editorial advice from Delhi.

Writing under the title "Stop This Violence," *Dawn*, Mr. Jinnah's only authoritative mouthpiece, says: "We would go so far as to say that if any Muslim still feels tempted to put his knife into a Hindu or a Sikh, he must realise that by doing so he will be stabbing Pakistan."

These words of wisdom may, some believe, have been inspired by Mr. Jinnah, because he likes non-Muslims to live in Pakistan which would otherwise become wholly Muslimstan.

According to a Congress leader, a genuine move on the part of the Muslim League to re-establish peace in its own area will be reciprocated.

¹*Civil & Military Gazette*, 18 June 1947.

²Tara Singh's inflammatory speech of 3 March 1947 and observance of anti-Pakistan Day fuelled communal riots and anti-Pakistan demonstrations in the Punjab. See *Civil & Military Gazette*, 4 March 1947.

II.20

*Jawaharlal Nehru to Louis Mountbatten*¹

IOR, R/3/1/91

PERSONAL

17 YORK ROAD, NEW DELHI,
22 June 1947

Dear Lord Mountbatten,

You have not returned from Kashmir yet and are due back tomorrow. I am, however, writing this to you rather late at night because I am distressed and the sending of this letter will perhaps give some relief to my mind.

2. I am writing about what is happening in Lahore and to some extent in Amritsar. Yesterday I went with Gandhiji to Hardwar and visited the numerous refugee camps there. There were, till yesterday, about 32,000 refugees there from the Frontier Province and the Punjab. Most of them were from the Frontier Province. Daily some 200 or so

fresh arrivals came there. Apart from these refugee camps in Hardwar, there are similar large camps at half a dozen other places, some in the U.P. and some in the Indian States like Patiala, Alwar, etc. The condition of many of these people is pitiable although many relief societies and local governments are trying to help them.

3. But this letter is mainly about the city of Lahore where fires are raging and consuming hundreds of houses. It is reported that 100 houses were burnt down last night and this morning. During the previous two days about 250 houses were set fire to and burnt. At this rate the city of Lahore will be just a heap of ashes in a few days' time. The human aspect of this is appalling to contemplate.

4. Amritsar is already a city of ruins, and Lahore is likely to be in a much worse state very soon. Lahore is, of course, a much larger city than Amritsar.

5. If you will forgive a personal touch, I should like to tell you that my mother came from Lahore and part of my childhood was spent there. The fate of Lahore, therefore, affects me perhaps more intimately than it might many other people who are not connected with that city.

6. Human beings have an amazing capacity to endure misfortune. They can bear calamity after calamity; but it is very difficult to have to bear something which can apparently be avoided. I do not know if it can be said that what is happening in Lahore is beyond human control. It is certainly beyond the control of those who ought to control it. I do not know who is to blame and I do not want to blame anybody for it. But the fact remains that horror succeeds horror and we cannot put a stop to it. Meanwhile vast numbers of human beings, men, women and children, live in the midst of this horror, often in streets and pavements, or run away in search of some peace and shelter elsewhere. It is curious that when tragedy affects an individual we feel the full force of it, but when that individual is multiplied a thousand-fold, our senses are dulled and we become insensitive.

7. Apart from newspaper reports, people have come from Lahore to see me today and they have given descriptions of what is happening there. Whether their accounts are correct or not, I cannot say. They tell me that repeatedly, when houses were set fire to, the residents of those houses rushed out into the streets and lanes and these people were fired at by the police for breach of the curfew order. Most of these fires occurred at the time of the curfew. I am told that the District Magistrate has ordered that people should keep open the doors of their houses and lanes so as to allow refugees from burning houses to enter

other houses, because if they remain in the streets during curfew hours, they will be fired at by the police.

8. This is a very strange state of affairs and few persons would like to be residents of Lahore at present. Surely something effective has to be done to stop this tragedy, if existing methods have failed and the police are incapable of controlling the situation. As I told you once, the insistent demand is either for the military to take charge, or for the withdrawal of the police and the military so that the people can look after themselves. You were surprised at this last demand and it is surprising enough. But it is passionately repeated. All manner of charges are made against the police of committing arson and of preventing people from putting out fires and firing at them when they try to do so. It is not possible for me to know the truth of these charges; but the fact remains that there is this strongly-felt feeling about the police and further that the situation continues to deteriorate. Are we to be passive spectators while a great city ceases to exist and hundreds of thousands of its inhabitants are reduced to becoming homeless wanderers, or else to die in their narrow lanes?

9. You gave an assurance even before June 3rd and subsequently that any kind of disorder will be put down with vigour.² I am afraid we are not honouring that assurance in some places at least, notably in Lahore and Amritsar. Gurgaon also is still more or less a battle-field, although similar and adjoining areas on the U.P. side are fully under control.

10. From all accounts that I have received, the Statement of June 3rd has had a sobering and calming effect in most places. Whether people like the decisions or not, they accept them and have a general feeling that a settlement has been arrived at. The old tension is gone or is much less. There is no more talk, as there used to be, of civil war and the like.

11. But this does not apply to Lahore, Amritsar and Gurgaon. Gurgaon is a wide area and already several hundred villages have been burnt down. The damage has been done and, I suppose, sooner or later the trouble there will end, though it is still continuing to some extent. Lahore is an even more serious matter, not only because it affects a very large number of persons and valuable property, but also because it is the nerve-centre of the Punjab. There appears to be a deliberate policy being pursued there of smoking out people. It is an astonishingly foolish policy from any point of view and can do no good to anybody. Nevertheless it has succeeded in a large measure, and if it is continued on this scale for another ten days or so, there will

be little left in the city of Lahore to save. If anything has got to be done, it must be done immediately.

12. There is one other matter I should like to refer to. This relates to numerous refugees in various places. I think there should be an organised and scientific approach to their problem. So far nothing of this kind has been done and they have been left largely to their own resources or to the charity of various institutions. It may be said that the Central Government is not directly concerned because most of these refugees are in the U.P. or in some State. I think, however, that it is only the Central Government that can view the problem as a whole and help in laying down uniform policies. It is not so much a question of money but of proper direction. The Central Government may have to find some money too. What I would like to suggest, however, is for us to appoint a competent Relief Officer with a few able assistants to collect full particulars about these refugees and to report how their problems can be tackled. He would naturally consult local authorities who are dealing with the problem now. Some kind of effort should be made to engage the refugees in productive work as far as possible. Their trades and professions should be noted down. This will at least give us the data for the formulation of any policy. Personally I feel that most of them should go back to their own homes. But where the homes have ceased to exist, something will have to be done for them even there. Many may not be able to go back because of changed political conditions. Perhaps the final decision in this matter will have to await some time. Meanwhile all this data can be collected and relief organised on a proper basis. Discarded military camps might be used for their residence.

12. Please forgive me for this long letter which you will get on your return from Kashmir. I tried to stop myself writing it, but the thought of Lahore burning away obsessed me and I could not restrain myself.³

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

¹Also see *TP*, XI, No. 300, 561-3.

²On 6 May 1947, after discussion on a scheme of insurance against civil commotion and riot risks, the Cabinet "agreed that if violence broke out in any part of the country in future it should be put down with a firm hand, and that His Excellency should take the necessary action to this end, consulting the Cabinet beforehand where time permitted." See *ibid.*, No. 60, note 10, 119. Also see *ibid.*, X, No. 354, para. 26, 686.

³On 23 June Abell noted on the file that "This is a long rigmarole about the Punjab," and suggested a draft reply, but on 27 June Brockman noted that "H. E. says this is now out of date in view of the discussion in Cabinet on 25/6." See *ibid.*, XI, No. 300, note 2, 563.

II.21

Louis Mountbatten to Evan Jenkins¹

Telegram

CONFIDENTIAL

24 June 1947, 1.10 pm

No. 1569-S

I talked with Jinnah last night² and he begged me to be utterly ruthless in suppressing trouble in Lahore and Amritsar. He said: "I don't care whether you shoot Moslems or not, it has got to be stopped."

2. Today Nehru came to see me and talked in the same strain. He has suggested that what is required is a fresh approach to the problem, which although somewhat unorthodox and without precedent, might have excellent psychological effect. He suggests:

- i. That martial law should be declared forthwith in Lahore, Amritsar and any other area you think fit;
- ii. That the whole operation should be handed over to the military, all police being withdrawn ostensibly for rest and recuperation;
- iii. That the troops should be empowered to be utterly ruthless and to shoot at sight.

3. I entirely agree with Indian leaders that something must be done, and, subject to your comments, I propose to raise it at Cabinet tomorrow morning and to issue announcement of what has been decided with their full backing.

4. Request your comments, in consultation with Military Commander.

¹TP, XI, No. 320, 594.

²Appendix IX.5.

APPENDIX III

REACTIONS TO 3 JUNE PLAN

III.1

*J. B. Kripalani to Louis Mountbatten**IOR, L/P&J/10/81¹*

6 JANTARMANTAR ROAD, NEW DELHI,
2 June 1947

Dear Lord Mountbatten,

The Congress Working Committee have considered the statement which H.M.G. propose to make tomorrow² and a copy of which you were good enough to give me this morning.

2. The proposals contained in this statement are of far-reaching importance and affect the whole future of India. These envisage the possibility of certain parts of India seceding from the rest.

3. As you know, the Congress has consistently upheld that the unity of India should be maintained. Ever since its inception, the Congress has worked towards the realisation of a free and United India. Any proposal, therefore, which might bring about separation of a part of India from the rest is painful to contemplate and, in the opinion of the Congress, is harmful to all the parties concerned. Such a proposal would normally have to be considered by the All-India Congress Committee. The Working Committee would make its recommendations to that Committee, but the final decision would rest with the All-India Congress Committee, or the full session of the Congress itself.

4. We have realised, however, that in the peculiar and abnormal situation of today it is not possible to delay matters and decisions have to be reached rapidly.

There has been far too much uncertainty in the country and this has led to instability and to violence on a large-scale. We have also appreciated that the negotiations that have been going on for some time between you and Indian leaders had of necessity to be secret.

5. My Committee considered the principles underlying the present proposals about a month ago and generally accepted them. This acceptance was conveyed to you in paragraph 12 of the letter dated 1st May 1947³ which Shri Jawaharlal Nehru wrote to you.

6. As we have stated on many occasions, we accepted in its entirety the Cabinet Mission's Statement of 16th May 1946⁴ as well as the subsequent interpretation thereof dated 6th December 1946.⁵ We have indeed been acting in accordance with it and the Constituent Assembly which was formed in terms of the Cabinet Mission's Plan has been functioning for nearly six months. We are still prepared to adhere to that Plan. In view, however, of subsequent events and the situation today, we are willing to accept as a variation of that Plan the proposals now being made.

7. I do not wish to enter into any detailed examination of the proposed Statement of H.M.G. It has been produced after considerable consultation and I am desired to say by my Committee that we are prepared to accept it and to recommend to the All-India Congress Committee to do likewise. We do so in the earnest hope that this will mean a settlement. We feel that the situation in India, political and economic, as well as communal, demands more than ever a peaceful approach to all our problems. These problems cannot be solved by methods of violence, and there can be no submission to such methods.

8. While we are willing to accept the proposals made by H.M.G., my Committee desire to emphasize that they are doing so in order to achieve a final settlement. This is dependent on the acceptance of the proposals by the Muslim League and a clear understanding that no further claims will be put forward. There has been enough misunderstanding in the past and in order to avoid this in the future it is necessary to have explicit statements in writing in regard to these proposals.

9. We believe as fully as ever in a United India. The unity we aim at is not that of compulsion but of friendship and co-operation. We earnestly trust that when present passions have subsided our problems will be viewed in their proper perspective and a willing union of all parts of India will result therefrom.

10. There are some matters, however, to which I should like to draw your attention. My Committee realise that the proposals being put forward may result in injury to the Sikhs unless great care is taken and their peculiar position in the Punjab is fully appreciated. We are aware that H.M.G. and you are anxious to protect all legitimate Sikh interests. The matter will have to be considered by the Boundary Commission provided for and we earnestly trust that all other factors, apart from population, will be taken fully into consideration. The Sikhs have played a vital role in developing a considerable part of the Punjab. They have been pioneers in the canal areas and have converted by their labours the desert into the richest part of the Punjab. It has been

made clear in the document that the notional partition is of a purely temporary character and the final boundaries will be determined by the Boundary Commission.

11. In the last sentence of paragraph 9 it is stated that "Until the report of the Boundary Commission has been put into effect, the provisional boundary as indicated in the Appendix will be used." It is not quite clear to what this refers and what the use will be. It is well-known that the notional division ignores other important factors and that the Sikhs are distressed by it. If any further use is made of this notional division for administrative or other purposes, this will inevitably affect the final division and will give rise to a great deal of apprehension in the minds of the Sikhs. We would, therefore, urge you not to apply that notional division for any administrative purpose during the interim period. This would be in keeping with the spirit of the document and with what you conveyed to us this morning.

12. In paragraph 11 of the Statement, reference is made to a referendum in the N.W.F. Province. There has been a growing demand in the Province for independence and subsequent decision as to their relation with the rest of India. The referendum should also provide for this.

13. In paragraph 20 of the Statement,⁶ which we are told is an addition to the original draft, the last sentence refers to the right of the Constituent Assemblies to decide in due course whether or not India or any part of it will remain within the British Commonwealth. It seems to us extremely undesirable and likely to lead to friction if the relations of Britain with the Indian Union and the seceding parts of it are on a differential basis. We should, therefore, like to make it clear that we cannot be consenting parties to any such development.

14. In view of the importance of the proposals and decisions being made, my Committee intend to convene a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee at an early date. They propose to recommend the acceptance generally of the Statement of H.M.G. as a settlement of our political and communal problems.

Yours sincerely,
J. B. KRIPALANI

¹TP, XI, No. 35, 66-8. This was circulated by Erskine Crum as Viceroy's Conference Paper, VCP 64, on 3 June 1947.

²No. 1.

³See TP, X, No. 267, 517-9.

⁴Appendix III.1, Vol. I, Part II, 32-42.

⁵Appendix III.2, *ibid.*, 43-4.

⁶No. 1.

III.2

Baldev Singh to Louis Mountbatten

IOR, L/P&J/10/81¹

SECRET

1 BHAGWAN DAS ROAD, NEW DELHI,

2 June 1947

Dear Lord Mountbatten,

I have discussed with Sikh leaders the Statement which H.M.G. propose to make tomorrow,² a copy of which you were good enough to give me at this morning's Conference.

The proposals in the Statement are of far-reaching character, envisaging the possibility of a division of India into two sovereign States in both of which the Sikhs will have vital stakes. As you know, we as a community have always stood for a United India and all we have desired is that our particular interests should be adequately safeguarded. The Plan now made implies that a substantial part of our community may go to the Muslim dominated area, where a sovereign State based ostensibly on Islamic principles is likely to be established as conceived by the spokesman of the Muslim League. The Sikhs have been unable to obtain any coherent and acceptable guarantee of their security in such a set-up and are therefore unable to contemplate being forced into it against their will. I have made this clear to you. Recent happenings in the Western Punjab have further proved that we can expect no security whatever under Muslim domination.

You will therefore appreciate the anxiety of my community and their demand that in the event of the division of India as contemplated, the Plan must be so devised as to ensure that Sikhs as a community are not subjected to irreparable injury.

I must say that judged by this simple test the Plan as it stands is far from satisfactory. My Sikh friends and I, however, do appreciate that the principle of the partition of the Punjab has been accepted and the anxiety you have expressed to help the community [*sic*]. There are certain matters in this connection which I consider it my duty to bring to your notice. These are:

- i. In para. 9, the last sentence of which reads: "Until the report of a Boundary Commission has been put into effect, the provisional boundaries indicated in the Appendix will be used."³ It is not clear what this refers to and in what respects this boundary is to be used. In this connection you will remember that in my previous letters,

I have insisted that nothing should be done to prejudice our case before the Boundary Commission. My fear was that the proposed notional division would prejudice the final partition of the Province. I now see it has been made clear that the notional division is purely a temporary arrangement. If, however, it is used for setting up of Interim Ministries it will embitter communal relations and prove highly injurious to us, as I have already explained. Such Interim Ministries functioning at the time when the Boundary Commission is also making its enquiries will make a fair examination of our case impossible. It is imperative therefore that till such time as the Boundary Commission has finished its work, no Interim Ministries in either part of the Punjab should be formed. If, however, it is considered expedient to form Interim Ministries, the Eastern Punjab should have in addition to the Divisions of Ambala and Jullundur, the three districts of Amritsar, Gurdaspur and Lahore in the Lahore Division.

- ii. The Plan suggests that the Boundary Commission will take "other factors" into consideration when making its enquiries. This is far too vague. It should be made clear that these other factors include exchange of population with property and the basis of land revenue paid by non-Muslims. Special note should also be taken of the religious and cultural institutions of the Sikhs and the historic role played by them in the Punjab.
- iii. As the Partition of the Province has been necessitated to meet the Sikh demand clear instructions should be given to the Boundary Commission to ensure that as large a percentage of Sikh population as possible is included in the Eastern Punjab.

I should like to bring to your notice that though assurances have been given to us that we shall have equal rights with the two other major communities for the safeguard of our communal rights and privileges, nothing tangible has so far been done to give effect to these assurances. Our community is now in danger of being riven in two. We have so far not been assured equal rights with others in either the existing or the proposed new Constituent Assembly. We request you to see that this is done.

You mentioned during the Conference that in the interests of India, the Cabinet Delegation Plan of May 16, 1946,⁴ was still the best solution. You know the conditions on which the Sikhs provisionally accepted the Plan and joined the Constituent Assembly. If the major parties now revert to this Plan, the Sikhs will be prepared to accept it only if they are given the same right in communal matters as has been accorded to the other two major communities.

Finally, my Sikh friends and I accept the principle of division as laid down in the Plan with the hope that in order to make it fully acceptable to my community, care will be taken to meet the views expressed in this letter when framing the terms of reference for the Boundary Commission.

Assuring you of my endeavour to help you in solving the difficult problems,

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
BALDEV SINGH

¹TP, XI, No. 36, 69-71. This was circulated by Erskine Crum as Viceroy's Conference Paper, VCP 65, on 3 June 1947.

²No. 1.

³Ibid.

⁴Appendix III.1, Vol. I, Part II, 32-42.

III.3

Circular by Liaquat Ali Khan

AFM 295/1

ALL INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE,
DARYAGUNJ, DELHI,
3 June 1947

An emergent meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League will be held at Delhi on Monday the 9th June, 1947, at 10.00 a.m. at the Imperial Hotel, Queensway, New Delhi, to consider the Statement of His Majesty's Government¹ regarding their constitutional plan for the transfer of power to Indian hands. Quaid-i-Azam Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah will preside.

LIAQUAT ALI KHAN
Honorary Secretary

¹No. 1.

III.4

Louis Mountbatten to Earl of Listowel

Telegram, R/3/1/150¹

MOST IMMEDIATE/SECRET

NEW DELHI,

3 June 1947, 10 a.m.

Received: 3 June, 10.50 a.m.

No. 1227-S. Jinnah saw me for an hour from 11 last night, and I had letters during the night from the Congress and the Sikhs. All three naturally emphasised points which they did not like, but their conclusions were generally favourable.

2. In a long letter from Kripalani the operative paragraph reads as follows:

[There follows the text of Appendix III.1, para. 7]

3. Baldev Singh finishes up:

[There follows the text of the penultimate para. of Appendix III.2]

4. Jinnah reiterated² that he would support me personally and promised to do his utmost to get the Plan accepted. He said his Working Committee were hopeful that the Plan would be accepted by the All India Muslim League Council, which meets next Monday, but constitutionally they could not reply now on behalf of the Council.

5. *Dominion Status*

Jinnah's delight was unconcealed. Congress included in their letter the following point, which I hope to resolve this morning:

[There follows the text of Appendix III.1, para. 13]

Repeated to Governors and Governor of Burma.

¹TP, XI, No. 38, 71-2.

²Annex. Also see Appendix X.1, paras. 18 and 19.

*Annex to No. III. 4**L/P&J/10/81¹**Jinnah's Reaction to 3 June Plan*EXTRACT FROM MINUTES OF VICEROY'S MEETING
WITH INDIAN LEADERSNEW DELHI,
3 June 1947

Mr. Jinnah had come to see him at 11 o'clock the previous night and stayed until midnight. They had had a long and frank talk, at which Lord Ismay had also been present; and Mr. Jinnah had explained, to his (The Viceroy's) satisfaction, the procedure which the Muslim League invariably adopted on occasions such as the present one—namely that the Working Committee would meet the All India Muslim League Council without any formal written resolution, but with the line which they intended to take clear in their minds. Mr. Jinnah had given him a personal assurance that he would do all in his power to persuade the All India Muslim League Council to accept the Plan as a settlement in its entirety. Mr. Jinnah had also undertaken to broadcast a personal appeal that the Plan should go forward peacefully. The All India Muslim League Council was being convened as a matter of urgency for Monday, 9th June,² and would be able to give its formal answer on Tuesday, 10th June.³

He hoped that all present at the meeting would agree with him that he had been right in making up his mind to accept this procedure. He had only done so after considerable thought and he trusted that everybody would have faith in him to see the matter through.

¹TP, XI, No. 39, 72-3.²See Appendix III.3.³See Annex to No. 41.

III.5

*Jawaharlal Nehru to Louis Mountbatten*IOR, R/3/1/156¹

SECRET

17 YORK ROAD, NEW DELHI,
10 June 1947

Dear Lord Mountbatten,

I have just seen the text of the Resolution of the All India Muslim

League.² I am afraid this Resolution is not at all satisfactory. It begins by saying that the Council "notes with satisfaction that the Cabinet Mission's Plan of May 16, 1946,³ will not be proceeded with and has been abandoned." It is true that this Plan has been modified to a large extent. But, as a matter of fact, we are still functioning in many ways in accordance with that Plan. Thus our Constituent Assembly has been meeting and will continue to meet under that Plan. The Muslim League members from certain Provinces are also now joining the Constituent Assembly. Thus it is incorrect to say that the Plan has been abandoned, and indeed the Muslim League is itself going to conform to it to some extent.

2. The second paragraph of the Council's Resolution is the most important one. It states that the Council approves of the division of India into two parts, and it proceeds to say that the Council cannot agree to the partition of Bengal and the Punjab or give its consent to such partition, though it has to consider H.M.G.'s Plan as a whole. Thus the Council has definitely rejected one of the basic provisions in the new Scheme.

3. In the third paragraph it is said that the Council accepts the fundamental principles of the Plan as a compromise. It is not clear what they consider the fundamental principles to be. They may consider the fundamental principle to be one of division of India and not of the division of Bengal and the Punjab. Whatever this may be, it is accepted as a compromise. Of course it is a compromise, but the point is whether it is accepted as a settlement or not. The reports of the speeches delivered at the Council meeting⁴ lead to the conclusion that this was looked upon as a step only to be utilised for enforcement of further claims.

4. The Council has given full authority to its President, Mr. Jinnah, to take all steps and decisions which may be necessary in connection with and relating to the Plan. The position thus is this: The Council itself has not accepted the Plan as a settlement but has given authority to the President to do so, if he so chooses. This is leaving matters where they were. The least that can be done now is for Mr. Jinnah to accept the Plan in its entirety as a settlement on behalf of the All India Muslim League. Unless this is done clearly and in writing, there is every likelihood of difficulties arising in the near future. We have had vague resolutions of the Muslim League in the past which were capable of more than one interpretation and many of our problems have been due to this fact. Very soon, as you know, the All-India Congress Committee will be meeting, and the fact that the Council of the Muslim League has not clearly accepted the Plan is sure to be pointed out and will affect people's decisions. I trust that before that happens, Mr. Jinnah will express his full agreement with H.M.G.'s Scheme as a settlement of our communal problems and that this will be done in writing. Unless this is

done the presumption will be that he does not wish to commit himself to the Plan and does not wish to treat it as a settlement.

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

¹TP, XI, No. 129, 242-3.

²Enclosure to Annex to No. 41.

³Appendix III.1, Vol. I, Part II, 32-42.

⁴See Enclosure to Appendix III.6.

III.6

Vallabhbhai Patel to Louis Mountbatten

IOR, R/3/1/156¹

TOP SECRET/IMMEDIATE

HOME MEMBER OF CABINET,
NEW DELHI,
10 June 1947

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

Perhaps you have already received a copy of the Resolution passed by the All India Muslim League Council.² In case you have not, I am sending a copy for your ready reference.

2. You will notice that the Resolution is contradictory and there is studied evasion of straightforward acceptance. At one place, it says it cannot agree to the partition of Bengal and the Punjab or give its consent to such partition. At another place, it says it accepts the fundamental principles of the Plan of June 3rd³ as a compromise. You have to judge the Resolution in the light of the speeches at the Council meeting. I have been able to obtain a copy of the proceedings through a source of the Intelligence Bureau. I am enclosing a copy of the same.⁴ From these proceedings, it is quite clear that the Pakistan of the statement of June 3rd would merely be a spring-board for action against Hindustan, and that there is no possibility of a settlement on this basis. The position is such as is bound to fill us with grave apprehension.

3. In these circumstances, unless Mr. Jinnah issues a clear statement accepting the Plan, there are bound to be difficulties at the A.I.C.C. meeting.

Yours sincerely,
VALLABHBHAI PATEL

¹TP, XI, No. 130, 244-9.

²Enclosure to Annex to No. 41.

³No. 1.

⁴Enclosure.

Enclosure to No. III.6

The Council of the All India Muslim League met on June 9th 1947, at the Imperial Hotel in New Delhi at 10.30 a.m. under the Presidentship of Mr. M. A. Jinnah. After the recitation of some portions of the *Qur'an* by Maulana Abdul Hamid of Badaun, U.P., Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan asked the permission of the House to pass a condolence on the deaths of Begum Mohd. [Muhammad] Ali,

,¹Mr. Ismail.

After this, Mr. Jinnah read out portions of H.M.G.'s Plan and said that the Plan was being placed before the house so that if the house wanted to accept it, it may do so otherwise not.² He added: "Those who want to have any points regarding this Plan explained, are permitted to put questions." Whereupon, the representatives from Orissa, the U.P., Bengal and Bombay questioned Mr. Jinnah regarding the powers of the proposed Boundary Commission and regarding the safeguarding of the rights of Muslims in Muslim minority provinces. In reply to these questions, Mr. Jinnah said that he could disclose nothing beyond his personal opinion that the safeguarding of the rights of Muslim minorities would depend upon the future relations between Hindustan and Pakistan.

The house requested Mr. Jinnah to permit the members, if any of them wanted to do so, to move a resolution regarding the acceptance or rejection of the Plan. Mr. Jinnah said that the question of moving resolutions and debating upon them did not arise at all. He added that the question before the house was whether it wanted to accept the Plan as a whole, and that if the house was agreeable, a unanimous resolution, embodying the acceptance of the Plan, could be accepted by the house. The house agreed to this.

SPEECHES

Prof. Abdul Rahim (Bengal): He strongly opposed the resolution and said that the Plan would ruin the Muslims of India, that as a result of which there could never be any lasting peace in the country, that Muslims would not benefit by it and that the proposed division of Bengal and the Punjab will always give rise to mutual quarrels between Hindus and Muslims. He added that the Eastern Bengal and the Western Punjab would be economically and industrially weak, and that the total income of Western Bengal is three times that of Eastern Bengal and went on to say that the Eastern Punjab contained the best districts in the Province. He exhorted the Muslims to continue to fight for their original conception of Pakistan and demanded that the Plan be totally rejected. He said that the truncated Pakistan, which was

being offered now, had been offered by the Congress leaders even four years back and that if the Muslims were willing to accept it now there was no sense in all the bloodshed which had taken place. He wound up his speech by a fervent appeal to the house to reject the Plan.

Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, Premier of Sind: He dilated upon the existing internecine quarrels in the country and said that Pakistan was being offered in such a truncated form to them that there was no life left in what they were getting and added that from the geographical point of view, the best and most prosperous portion of Pakistan had been taken away. He added: I have three main objects before me, on the basis of which I appeal to you to accept this Plan:

1. That because of international considerations, the Britishers are quitting India and that they are bound to hand over power to someone before leaving the country. It is clear that after the British had left, we could have battled with an armed and powerful nation and wrested Pakistan, because it is not possible for any power to keep ten million men subdued for any considerable time, but there could be no guarantee that even then you could have obtained the full recognition of your demand even after bloodshed on a much more extensive scale.
2. On a matter of principle you can get only those areas in which Muslims are in a majority. You may acquire these areas either today or tomorrow after a fight. Even in the original resolution demanding Pakistan, it had been laid down that the Muslim majority areas should be included in the proposed Muslim State.
- [3.] This is true that the Pakistan which is being offered to you today is weak but you must remember that now you have been acknowledged as a separate nation. Such a nation will be sovereign in its own country, and will solve its own problems. I wish to assure you on behalf of Sind that we have been working very hard to bring about numerous improvements in the province and vast constructive schemes are under consideration, as a result of which our province will soon become prosperous. I would also request that if any of you have any constructive ideas, you may let us know about them. We will rapidly industrialise our country and will provide a haven of refuge to Muslim traders and craftsmen who would choose to migrate into Sind from the Muslim minority provinces. We have removed the consideration of Sindhi or non-Sindhi from our province and we will see that Sind will soon progress far.

Zahir-ul-Hasan Lari (U.P.): The Plan which has been put before us is extremely disappointing. We should never accept it and if we accept it will be a major catastrophe. In our Bombay session, we had rejected³ the Cabinet Mission's proposal only because the Congress had opposed grouping and had not accepted it in the sense in which the Cabinet Mission intended it to be implemented. The Congress had thereby insisted that Assam should not be included in Pakistan and we never wanted that Assam should be separated from Pakistan. When we have once rejected the Cabinet Mission Plan on this basis, the question now arises whether today we will get Assam according to H.M.G.'s Plan or not. I want to tell the house that not only not we [*sic*] get Assam but also that large portions of the Punjab and Bengal have been divided and they will be lost of [*sic*] Pakistan, which will greatly weaken the proposed new State. In fact, the British Government have not accepted even one of our demands; they have all along tried to placate the Hindus. For instance, in the Gandhi-Jinnah talks,⁴ in Rajagopalacharia's formula,⁵ in Dr. Rajendra Prasad's book "Divided India"⁶ a division of the country has been proposed on the same lines which have now been embodied in H.M.G.'s proposal. The Pakistan which is being offered to us will be from every point of view so weak that we will find ourselves in serious difficulties.

My second objection is that if on ■ matter of principle it is correct that Bengal and the Punjab be divided, then the Muslims who opposed the Congress Government in Bombay Presidency and the U.P. should be similarly given a separate homeland, because they in numbers far exceed the Sikh community. We undertake to transfer population in such a way that we would establish our majority in all the districts which may be given to us in a divided U.P. The fact remains that the British Government has only tried to please the Congress. When we rejected the Cabinet Mission's proposal, it did not seem to affect the British Government, but as soon as the Congress demanded the division of Bengal and the Punjab, H.M.G.'s Government [*sic*] immediately brought out a proposal embodying their demands. This has happened in spite of the fact that some responsible Hindu leaders of Bengal have been agitating to retain the unity of Bengal. The Britishers have, however, chosen to disregard their agitation only because they are anxious to propitiate the Congress. The Muslim nation is being trifled with. If you were willing at last to accept this mutilated Pakistan, I put you the question why did you create so much agitation in the country; you could have arrived at a compromise with the Congress on the basis of what you are willing to accept now. The Britishers

has [sic] befooled you. What safeguards are there for the protection of the rights of Muslims in Muslim minority provinces. Should we now form two Muslim Leagues, one for Pakistan and the other for Hindustan. I declare that the Musalmans of Hindustan will establish a separate Muslim League and with the strength of the sacrifices on the basis of which they have helped you to get Pakistan, they will protect their rights themselves. I strongly oppose this Plan.

Ghulam Ali (Amritsar): I oppose the ideas put forward by my predecessor, Mr. Lari, who is apprehensive about the safeguarding of the rights of Muslim minorities. I can quote the example of our Prophet who entered into even more unequal agreements with the infidels. This was opposed by Muslims of that period but our Prophet had agreed to the compromise because on the basis of that agreement Muslims had been recognised as a nation. The Plan which is before us for consideration should be viewed in the same light. Though this Plan is defective and though it contains many features obnoxious to the Muslims, it is good in the sense that Muslims have been recognised as a nation and that they would get the opportunity to rule as a sovereign body over the country. Mr. Lari should not be so apprehensive; like him I also belong to a Muslim minority area and am a resident of Amritsar. In spite of this, I am not weak. The situation today is that if the Sikhs murder a few Muslims, we immediately take revenge and kill more Sikhs. I assure you that we have the best soldiers with us, we were only short of arms which has now been made good by the grant of Pakistan to us. I assure you that the Pakistan Government would always be ready to avenge wrongs of Muslims anywhere in India, and, if necessary, the Muslims will cross their frontiers to take revenge. We do not at all care for the portion of the Punjab which has been cut away from Pakistan; as soon as the British quit, that area will either be voluntarily evacuated or it will be completely destroyed. I assure you that we will take the full revenge for all the operations which are being perpetrated on Punjabi Muslims by Hindu States, give us only the opportunity to breathe in the atmosphere of freedom once. When we have proved ourselves irresistible, though we are in bondage, nothing would be able to stop us once we are free. I appeal to you to accept this Plan.

Mazhar Ismail (Madras): I belong to a Muslim minority province. We have undergone sacrifices for the achievement of Pakistan and if Quaid-i-Azam thinks it proper that we should accept the Plan, then we can have no objection to it. There is no communal quarrel in our province. The Moplahs of Madras are organising themselves and there is no cause for worry on account of the Muslims of Madras.

Pir Sahib Zakori Sharif (Frontier): I belong to the Frontier and I wish to speak to you on behalf of the Muslims of that province and on behalf of the Pir of Manki, who is sitting here. We are Pathans and are an intensely practical people. We do not know how to deliver long speeches like you do. We prefer to act. When I met Quaid-i-Azam after the League had been beaten in the elections by the Khan Brothers, he told me that he was ashamed of us. On hearing these words, I dared not show my face to Quaid-i-Azam and started working in the Frontier for all I was worth. In the beginning, the Khan Brothers wielded much influence in the Frontier and we considered the Congress as our organisation while we thought the Muslim League was a body consisting of the creatures of the British, but when we saw the atrocities which the Congress perpetrated on the Muslims, we were disillusioned and the spell which the Khan Brothers had cast over us was broken. Even today we hate Congressmen so intensely that the more propaganda they do in the N.W.F.P. the surer we shall be of our victory in the referendum. We have to make sure that in the referendum, the Muslims of N.W.F.P. side with the League. My brothers here told me that the Hindus would try to corrupt the Pathans and would buy votes. Perhaps my friends do not know the Pathans yet. The Britishers poured money into the N.W.F. and tried to corrupt the Pathans but the Pathans are still bitter enemies of the British. Let the Hindus spend their money; we would accept the money [and] yet we would vote for the League and we would be successful in the referendum. We know now what the Muslim League is and what the reality of the Congress is. The Muslim minorities should have no fears. The Pathans are true to their word and considered it a matter of pride to be able to sacrifice their life for the sake of their brothers. Today when Pakistan is being founded and when this session is being held in this room, I have come to make a promise to my brothers. I promise and declare that on the slightest hint from Quaid-i-Azam I would prepare an army of armed Pathans hundred thousand strong. They will be such brave soldiers that their names would be written in golden letters in the history of the world. I again assure the Muslim minorities that they should have no fears. It is premature to talk, but I have no doubt that the Pathan of the Frontier will translate into action whatever is in his heart now. We shall only need your moral support. We were prepared to shed our blood for the Congress, which was a foreign body; what would we not do to establish a Muslim kingdom [*sic*] and to establish the rule of our own race?

Maulvi Abdul Rahman (C.P.): On behalf of the Muslims I request you

to accept H.M.G.'s Plan. Even if the defects, which have been pointed out by the previous speaker, are embodied in the Plan we should have no fears on that account. After all, we will have more land than what they have in Afghanistan, Iran, Arabia, Iraq, Yaman [Yemen] and Palestine. We have more wealth than they have. We have industry and agriculture; therefore if those countries can be happy and free, I have no doubt that Pakistan would also be prosperous and free. I appeal that this Plan be accepted.

Abdul Hamid (Assam): I belong to a Muslim minority province and according to the new Plan I will be a resident of Hindustan; yet I support the Plan. If, according to this Plan, the majority of the Muslims become free, I prefer to remain as a slave. I urge that the Plan be accepted.

The meeting adjourned till 7.30 p.m.

The proceedings were resumed at 7.30 p.m. under the Presidentship of Mr. M. A. Jinnah and Mr. Jinnah, in the course of his speech, stated that various points of view in favour of and against the Plan had been put before the house. 16 speakers have yet been left out. If you want to decide the issue today, we will have to stop the debate; otherwise the session will have to continue tomorrow. I ask your opinion on this point. Upon this, the house gave a majority vote in favour of closing the debate. Following this, the proposal for the acceptance of the Plan was put to vote. Eight men, including Maulana Hasrat Mohani, voted against the acceptance of the Plan; while the remaining 460 voted for it. The Plan was accepted. Thereafter, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan read out a resolution and obtained the approval of the President. According to this resolution, the Plan was accepted under protest and Mr. Jinnah was authorised to take further necessary action.

In the end, Mr. Jinnah addressed the Muslim minority provinces and declared that it was only because of their sacrifices that Pakistan is being realised today. He said that the Muslim majority provinces had been oblivious of the issue. Now it is time that the provincial distinctions of Sindhi, Punjabi, etc., should be removed and the Muslims should pull their weight together. He said that his work had been completed, and that he had mainly to get a separate kingdom [sic] and separate army and a separate country for the Muslims of India. The secret of your progress lies in unity.

At this stage, some Khaksars who were said to be about 20 in numbers, attempted to enter the Imperial Hotel. The Police and the Muslim National Guards stopped them.

¹Left blank in the original.

²In his opening address to the AIML Council, Jinnah gave a resume of his negotiations with

Mountbatten, described the salient features of the Partition Plan, and the observations made by Nehru and Patel as also the overall Congress reaction. He expressed his satisfaction that the Cabinet Mission proposals had been abandoned. Noting that the Plan fell short of ML demands he called for the Councillors' views. Prominent amongst those who opposed the Plan was Hasrat Mohani. He took strong exception to the acceptance of a truncated Pakistan. Jinnah replied that he had not accepted the Plan and that it was for AIML Council to accept or reject it. However, there could be no modification in the Plan which had to be considered as a whole. See Ansar Nasri, *Pakistan Zindabad*, Islamabad, 1993, 101-26. Also see Sharifuddin Pirzada, *Foundations of Pakistan*, III, 428-31.

³Annex III to No. 386, Vol. I, Part I, 692-3.

⁴See TP, V, No. 30, 62-3.

⁵See TP, IV, No. 576, 1083-5.

⁶Refers to Rajendra Prasad, *India Divided*, Bombay, 1946.

III.7

*Louis Mountbatten to Earl of Listowel*¹

TOP SECRET/PERSONAL

12 June 1947

Dear Listowel,

Thank you so much for your letter of the 5th June² and for the good wishes and congratulations which you were kind enough to send me. I must say that everything has gone very well so far and, although we are not out of the wood yet, I have every hope that the good start we have made will be continued.

2. The All India Muslim League Council held their meeting on Monday the 9th June and I have referred to this in more detail in my weekly report attached.³ The All-India Congress Committee meeting takes place next Tuesday the 17th June and, although both Nehru and Patel have written⁴ to me about the Muslim League resolution,⁵ I feel I will be able to solve this difficulty by further personal negotiation.

3. We might have had a little trouble with Gandhi but, as I have described in my report, I think we can now count at least on some form of co-operation from him. Nehru and Patel of course also worked on him hard.

4. Gandhi also told me⁶ that there was a lot of loose talk going about that His Majesty's Government might have different agreements with Hindustan and Pakistan which would possibly tend to favour one over the other. He felt, therefore, it was important that an announcement should be made to the effect that it was His Majesty's Government's wish either to enter into tri-partite arrangements with both the Dominions, or to have similar bi-lateral agreements with each

of them; and that, in any event, there would be no question of differentiation. One solution might be for this to be referred to by the Prime Minister in the House.

[Paras. 5 to 15 omitted]

¹TP, XI, No. 161, 298-9.

²Ibid., No. 78, 145-7.

³Appendix X.2.

⁴Appendix III.5 and 6.

⁵Enclosure to Annex to No. 41.

⁶See TP, XI, Annex to No. 99, item 4, 182-4.

III.8

JINNAH BULLIED COUNCIL INTO ACCEPTANCE¹

Opposition Never Got a Chance, Says Bengal Leaguer

NEW DELHI, Thursday: "The acceptance of the British Plan by the All India Muslim League Council was due more to fear and helplessness rather than satisfaction and hope", declared Mr. Abul Hashim, Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League, in an interview yesterday. Mr. Hashim was expected to lead a strong opposition in the League Council meeting, but complained that he did not get a chance even to speak.

The League Council Members, he added, had a three-fold fear complex:

- i. The fear they had developed to oppose Mr. Jinnah.
- ii. Those who were from Pakistan areas were afraid that the new avenues opened by the proposed establishment of a separate State might be closed to them if they dared to oppose the League High Command.
- iii. Even those who favoured rejection held back because it was like a leap in the dark which might only lead to greater disaster.

Referring to the Suhrawardy-Sarat Bose Pact² for a united sovereign Bengal, Mr. Hashim, who was the moving spirit behind the agreement, said: "It was the design of the British Imperialists to divide the country. Bengal has not been given democratic freedom to choose her own independent status. Now the choice is limited to Hindustan or Pakistan and united Bengal, therefore, remains a very distant deal."

Discussing the prospects of a peaceful settlement of the Partition Plan, he said Lord Mountbatten had raised hopes in each party of securing additional territories through the Boundary Commissions

and the terms of reference were therefore left vague and wide. Mr. Hashim felt that the issues of dispute in regard to the boundaries "may well lead to trouble, particularly in Calcutta where arms were freely sold."

JOINT ELECTORATES?

In regard to the problem of minorities in both Hindustan and Pakistan, Mr. Hashim expressed the view that "indiscreet action against the minority in Pakistan would provide moral support for a large-scale reprisal by the Hindus against the Muslim minority in Hindustan. In order to build friendly relations between the two States and between the communities in each State, the system of separate electorates should be abolished and circumstances should be created to make the growth of communal organisations impossible," he said.

Asked about the economic consequences of the partition of Bengal, Mr. Hashim replied: "The Eastern Pakistan is mainly dependent on its world monopoly position in jute. It is probably the most densely populated area in the world. In addition, it is likely to get Sylhet District which would prove to be more a liability than an asset. At any time a synthetic substitute for jute might be discovered, thus leading to the ruin of jute cultivation just as the synthetic dyes killed indigo plantation."

"In these circumstances," he concluded, "Eastern Pakistan is likely to become a happy hunting ground for the consumer industry of America which might advance us loan."

Mr. Hashim left by air for Calcutta yesterday.—UPI.

¹*Indian News Chronicle*, 14 June 1947.

²See Annex to Enclosure 2 to No. 479, Vol. I, Part I, 872-3.

APPENDIX IV

SIND AND AFTERMATH OF 3 JUNE PLAN

IV. 1

*Cadambi Venkatachar to George Abell**IOR, MSS Eur F. 200/138**JODHPUR,
8 June 1947*

My dear Abell,

As desired by His Excellency the Viceroy I send a note on Umarkot explaining the case of the Jodhpur Government for the restoration of the district of Umarkot in Sind to the Jodhpur Government.

Yours sincerely,
[CADAMBI] VENKATACHAR
[Prime Minister,
Government of Jodhpur]

*Enclosure to No. IV. 1
A Note on Umarkot by C. S. Venkatachar*

*IOR, MSS Eur F. 200/138**8 June 1947*

The district of Thar Parkar in the province of Sind is divided into the following three sub-divisions:

1. Mirpurkhas
2. Nara
3. Thar

These three sub-divisions are again divided into the following 10 Talukas:

1. Mirpurkhas into
 - a. Mirpurkhas
 - b. Jamshabad
 - c. Digri
2. Nara into
 - a. Umarkot
 - b. Khipro
 - c. Samero or Pethro

3. Thar into
 - a. Mithi
 - b. Chhachera
 - c. Depla
 - d. Nagar Parkar

The district is in charge of a Collector and the sub-divisions are in charge of the Tehsildars and *talukas* are controlled by *Mukhtiarkars*. *Talukas* are sub-divided into *Tuks* and *Tuks* into *Tappas*.

The area of whole of Thar Parkar is about 13,000 sq[ua]re miles and that of Umarmkot 1,499 sq[ua]re miles. There are four *Tuks* or 16 *Tappas* in Umarmkot Taluka.

In 1941 Census year the Muslim and [n]on-Muslim population of the district was 48.6% and 51.4% respectively. The district was reconstituted in August 1945 by taking away the Sanghar Taluka from the Thar Parkar District and incorporating it into the Nawabshah District. The total population of the reconstituted district now is 5,40,977. In this population the non-Muslims are 2.8% more than the Muslims.

The Jodhpur Government had made in the past unsuccessful attempts for the restoration of the town and district of Umarmkot. The first representation was made by Major General Sir Partap Singhji and a second representation was made in 1928 by the present ruler of Jodhpur State.

The records of Jodhpur State are incomplete as regards the exact area and extent of *pargana* Umarmkot before its incorporation by the British Government in the district of Thar Parkar.

The Jodhpur State have been unsuccessful in getting a correct list of the villages included in the district of Umarmkot of historical times and they failed to elicit or obtain the exact information from the Government of India, also.

There has, however, been no vagueness and ambiguity with regard to the historical association of Umarmkot with the state of Jodhpur from very early times. The Sodha Rajputs who inhabited the tract round about Umarmkot are an allied clan of Rajputs. They have always recognised the supremacy of the Rathors and remained in alliance with Rathors upto the middle of the 18th century. It is on record that in the time of Moghul Emperor Shah Alam, Maharaj Ajit Singh of Jodhpur who revived his claim to Umarmkot and was granted the district in 1710 A. D. in part payment of his *Mansab* emoluments.

Subsequently the history of the tract shows that the Talpur Mirs of Sind tried to capture the fort of Umarmkot and finally in 1813 A. D. the Rulers of Sind taking advantage of the disturbed conditions in Jodhpur captured Umarmkot.

On the conclusion of Sind Wars the British Government fully recognised the claim of the Jodhpur State over Umarkot territory and "promised to restore it to the Maharaja".¹

This intention was not, however, fulfilled as the British Government thought it expedient to retain Umarkot District in their possession in view of the disturbed conditions which prevailed in Sind at that time and it was decided to retain the district of Umarkot on payment of compensation in the shape of a remission of tribute paid by the Jodhpur State to British Government.

In their representation to the Government of India, the Jodhpur Government relied on two points which they strongly urged in support of their claim for restoration. In 1818 the Jodhpur Government entered into Treaty Alliance with the East India Company. The *Vakil* on behalf of the Maharaja of Jodhpur raised the question of Umarkot with the Political Agent and the latter replied that if possession cannot be obtained by pacific means the British Government will have no objection for an expedition being sent by the Jodhpur Government. The other point on which stress was laid is the letter of the Maharaja of Jodhpur... in which the Maharaja wrote as follows:²

As long as Umarkot remained in the possession of the Government of India I may look upon it as belonging to myself, but whenever British Government may be pleased to grant it away let it be granted to me and not to other for Umarkot was mine and so let it be granted to me.

The Government of India assigned no reason for rejecting the representation of the Jodhpur Government in 1930. They merely stated that they had decided after mature consideration not to restore to Jodhpur the district of Umarkot, and the Government of India adhered to the previous decision communicated to Major General Sir Partap Singh[ji] that they were unable to accede to the request for restoration of Umarkot. Since then the matter has rested there.

[CADAMBI VENKATACHAR]

Prime Minister,

Government of Jodhpur

¹C.U. Aitchison, *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads*, Vol. III, 142.

²In the original, reference is given to Aitchison, No. LX I.

IV. 2

Jawaharlal Nehru to Louis Mountbatten¹

IOR, R/3/1/157

SECRET/PERSONAL

17 YORK ROAD, NEW DELHI,
12 June 1947

Dear Lord Mountbatten,

I enclose the Terms of Reference² we suggest for the Boundary Commissions in the Punjab and Bengal. You will notice that they are very simple and brief. Indeed they reproduce the language used in paragraph 9 of HMG's Statement of June 3, 1947³ without any addition thereto.

2. We gave a good deal of thought to this matter and tried to draft fuller terms of reference. We found that in doing so, the result achieved was not very satisfactory. There are all manner of factors which may have to be considered. If we try to make a list of them, it is either too short or too long. It is better, therefore, to leave the matter to the Boundary Commission itself. They will, no doubt, take into consideration all factors they consider relevant.

3. The work of these Boundary Commissions is meant to be done fairly rapidly. If we complicate the issues at this stage, their work will be prolonged and final decisions will be delayed. I imagine that if and when two States have been formed, those States will mutually consider modifications and variations of their frontiers so that a satisfactory arrangement might be arrived at. That is likely to be a fairly lengthy process involving the ascertainment of the wishes of the people concerned in any particular area affected. If all this work is entrusted to the Boundary Commissions, their work will be heavy and prolonged. Hence our desire to leave the issues as clear and simple as possible.

4. Two particular areas have been mentioned in the course of our conversations—The Thar Parkar District in Sind and some parts of Purnea District in Bihar. I do not know how Purnea District comes into the picture as it is predominantly non-Muslim and is part of a province which is not affected by any secession or partition. Probably it was mentioned because one sub-division of the District has a Muslim majority population. It would be laying down a novel principle if we proceeded in regard to other provinces on a basis of small areas less than a district. It would also produce confusion if a new province like

Bihar was affected by any such division of a small area. In any event no such division could take place without some kind of a referendum. All this would involve fresh complications and delay.⁴

5. So far as Thar Parkar is concerned, it is a district of Sind and can be dealt with as a unit. There also, presumably, it would be necessary to have a referendum such as in Sylhet. On further consideration, however, of this subject, we think that this question should also not be raised at this stage and in this manner. I have, therefore, not mentioned Thar Parkar or Purnea in the terms of reference of the Boundary Commissions.

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

¹TP, XI, No. 158, 292-3.

²Annex II to No. 312.

³No. 1.

⁴Mountbatten eventually decided that the scope of the two Boundary Commissions was limited to the final partition of the Punjab and Bengal; and demarcation of Muslim majority areas of Sylhet District and contiguous Muslim majority areas of adjoining districts in Assam, if Sylhet decides to join East Bengal. See TP, XI, No. 400, 738.

IV. 3

SIND LEAGUE COUNCIL TO MEET NEXT WEEK¹

KARACHI, June 12: The Resolution² of the Council of the All India Muslim League accepting the June 3 Plan³ will be explained by the provincial League leaders to the meeting of the Council of the Sind Provincial Muslim League next week. The meeting will discuss plans to prepare the people of Sind to receive power when it is transferred by the British.

Mr. Yusuf Abdullah Haroon, President of the Sind Provincial Muslim League, arrived in Karachi from New Delhi yesterday. The Premier, Mr. Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah and other Ministers who are still at New Delhi are said to be in discussion with the League leaders there regarding certain preliminaries for the establishment of Karachi as the centre for Pakistan Government. They are expected to return to Karachi to-morrow and will confer with the local League leaders in this connection.

It is learnt from League circles here to-day that in case Pakistan Centre was established in Karachi the Government will requisition certain buildings like the Karachi Municipal Corporation building and the Chief Court building for housing the Pakistan Government Secretariat

and other offices. The Muslim League Assembly Party will also meet shortly to discuss these preliminaries.—API.

¹*Morning News*, 14 June 1947.

²Enclosure to Annex to No. 41.

³No. 1.

IV. 4

KARACHI TO BE CAPITAL?¹

A Globe report from Karachi says: "Karachi will certainly be the capital of Pakistan and if this happens to be the case its name would immediately be changed to *Jinnahabad* providing a fitting memorial to Mr. Jinnah, who has successfully led the entire Muslim nation towards independence", said a prominent Muslim League leader in an exclusive interview with Globe.

He further said that the All India Muslim League were already considering the question of selecting Karachi as the venue for the session of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly.

Karachi, he said, enjoyed an importance which no other city in Pakistan is capable of having, being the nearest Indian seaport to Europe and also the best airport east of Suez. "The aerial gateway of India would be the gateway of Pakistan", he asserted.

On the question of the change of the name from Karachi to *Jinnahabad* he said that Karachi was the birthplace of Mr. Jinnah and if it were decided to make it the capital of Pakistan the change would be more than justified.—API & Globe.

¹*Morning News*, 14 June 1947.

IV. 5

KARACHI TO BE CENTRE OF PAKISTAN GOVERNMENT

Brisk Preparations Afoot¹

KARACHI, June 13: The Sind League leaders who attended the Muslim League Council meeting at Delhi returned to Karachi by air to-day. With their arrival there was increased activity in the capital of Sind which has been selected to be the centre for the Pakistan Government.

The Council of the Sind Provincial Muslim League will meet on

June 22 to discuss preliminaries. A meeting of the League Assembly Party has been also convened for June 24, at the Premier's² residence where the party members will be given directive to vote for the Government resolution—namely that the Sind Province will participate in the Pakistan Constituent Assembly—which will be moved by the Premier in the Sind Assembly on June 25.

The Assembly session is expected to be short as it is proposed to send NWFP a deputation of 25 League leaders from here including some Ministers in connection with the referendum to decide which of the two Dominions they would join. Mr. M. H. Gazdar³ is likely to lead the deputation to the Frontier Province.

The Sind Premier has set himself to the task of finding accommodation for Pakistan Government Secretariat and also accommodation for the Pakistan Constituent Assembly. Mr. M. A. Jinnah will also visit Sind shortly to see things for himself and help the provincial League leaders in setting preliminaries for establishing Pakistan Centre in Karachi.

The Reforms Minister, Pirzada Abdus Sattar said that the permanent capital of Pakistan will be however in North Punjab somewhere near Abbottabad. He said: "The establishment of ■ separate Constituent Assembly for Pakistan would mean the birth of ■ sovereign independent Muslim State."—API.

¹*Morning News*, 15 June 1947.

²Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah.

³MLA, Sind.

IV. 6

George Abell to Cadambi Venkatachar

IOR, MSS Eur F. 200/138

23 June 1947

No. 1453/2

Dear Venkatachar,

Thank you for your letter of 8 June¹ with which you enclosed for H.E.'s perusal a memorandum about Umarnkot.

The question of the return of Umarnkot was fully considered in 1930 and H.E. asks me to say that it is not possible between now and 15 August to reconsider the decision then taken.

It remains to be seen what are the terms of reference for the Boundary Commission, which will in any case have to deal with the Boundary between the two parts of the Punjab if there is partition, but, if the

terms of reference do not make it possible for the Boundary Commission to consider a claim to Umarkot, the matter will clearly have to be left over for negotiation at a later stage.

Yours sincerely,
G.E.B. ABELL

C. S. Venkatachar, Esq., OBE, ICS,
Prime Minister of Jodhpur,
Jodhpur

¹Appendix IV.1.

IV. 7

PREPARATIONS FOR ESTABLISHMENT OF KARACHI AS CAPITAL OF PAKISTAN STATE¹

KARACHI, June 23: As part of their arrangements for the establishment of the Pakistan capital in Karachi, the Provincial Government proposes to undertake legislation for freezing both movable and immovable properties.

Besides freezing building materials, other goods, including furniture, cycles and motor cars, essential for the new Pakistan Government, will be frozen and an ordinance is likely to be issued or a composite bill on these lines which will be brought before the Sind Assembly meeting on June 26.

Earlier during the day today, a deputation of merchants saw the Civil Supplies Minister,² as a result of which electrical dealers were allowed to open their shops and certain electrical goods were released for sale to the general public. The Government has a huge building programme and he has been entrusted to carry it out without much delay. The staff of the new Pakistan Government will begin arriving in Karachi by the middle of July and the railway authorities are providing the necessary rolling stock for the purpose.

Mr. Thouless, Chief Engineer of the Central Post and Telegraphs, who had been here for making telephone and other arrangements in connection with the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, returned to Delhi yesterday.

The Government proposes to requisition the Mules Mansions at Keamari, in which Naval Headquarters had been located during the war.—API.

¹*Morning News*, 25 June 1947.

²Mir Ghulam Ali Talpur.

APPENDIX V

NWFP'S RESPONSE TO 3 JUNE PLAN AND THE ISSUE OF
REFERENDUM

V.1

*Olaf Caroe to Louis Mountbatten¹**Telegram, IOR, R/3/1/151*

IMPORTANT/CONFIDENTIAL

31 May 1947, 5.45 p.m.

No. CA/99

Received: 31 May, 11.15 p.m.

Following background may be useful. Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Dr. Khan Sahib took with them by air to Delhi yesterday League leaders Abdul Qaiyum and Samin Jan who were released on parole for the purpose. Apparently this follows on the suggestion by the two League leaders to Jinnah that latter should permit² some kind of discussions between Abdul Ghaffar Khan and themselves in Delhi. Local indications are that negotiations have been proceeding in Peshawar possibly for coalition with Abdul Qaiyum [and] Samin Jan holding office. Both were at one time Congressmen.

2. Main body of League workers in Peshawar apparently distrust this development and yesterday sent three representatives by train to Delhi to contact Jinnah.

3. Genuine coalition is what I have been urging on Ministry for long time past and would go far to steady frontier if private armies at the same time were allowed to disappear. Matters may be complicated by introduction of Pathanistan³ issue into discussions arising from 2nd [3rd]⁴ June announcement.

¹TP, XI, No. 14, 28-9.²See No. 488, Vol. I, Part I, 900.³See Annex III and Annex to Annex III to No. 299.⁴No. 1.

V.2

*Olaf Caroe to Louis Mountbatten¹**Telegram, IOR, R/3/1/151*

IMPORTANT/CONFIDENTIAL

4 June 1947, 4.45 p.m.

No. CA/105

Received: 5 June, 4 a.m.

Your telegram 1223-S of 31st May para. No. 9.²

Premier is still absent but I have discussed with Qazi Attaullah³ and Mehr Chand [Khanna]⁴ position arising in this province as a result of announcement.⁵ As anticipated they have taken position suggested in my telegrams CA 92 of 27th May and 98 of 30th May.⁶ They say that Ministry will never accept issue as stated in para. No. 4 of announcement. They have decided against joining Hindustan and issue for them is between (a) independent Pathanistan and (b) joining new Constituent Assembly for Pakistan.

They add that release of Abdul Qaiyum and Samin Jan referred to in my telegram CA 99 of 31st May⁷ was result of negotiations with these League Leaders in hope that revised issue as Ministry wished it to stand should be put before Jinnah, in which case they would have agreed to coalition. They add that if referendum is on issue as stated in para. No. 4 of announcement Khudai Khidmatgar Party (it is significant that they no longer refer to it as Congress) will decline to take part in voting. They are preparing representation to be sent to Governor-General. They envisage separate Constituent Assembly for NWFP with a larger number of members which according to them would place province in stronger position to make good bargain with Pakistan.

2. I informed them that issue whether NWFP could stand alone had already been considered, with result that definite decision had been reached that it could not, and I saw no hope of revision. They referred to para. 21 of announcement, and asked me to (gr. om.) [?forward] views of Ministry, which I undertook to do.

3. I have no doubt that Premier, when he returns, will take same line, and it is unlikely that Governor-General will be able to secure cooperation of Ministry in putting referendum through. Qazi Attaullah also (gr. om.) that holding of referendum on present issue might lead to Ministry's resignation. I should expect them in any case to use private army to reduce as far as possible number of voters at poll.

4. Question of legality of referendum without legal cover was also raised. I said that point had already been examined by law officers⁸ and it had been decided that legality could not be challenged. Point

that referendum was dependent on Punjab decisions mentioned in para. 11 was also made and countered by my saying that this did not prevent activity going ahead without delay.

5. Ministry's representation will be forwarded as soon as received, but it seems that time should not be lost in public statement that issue (? gr. om.) (? is) that stated in para. 4 of statement.

6. Qazi Attaullah added that Ministry considered making point on receipt of Viceroy's letter 1446 (3) of 10th May,⁹ but did not do so. Fact that they did not take this opportunity is weak point in their case, for substantial issue was clearly stated in that letter.

⁷TP, XI, No. 65, 126-7.

⁸In this telegram Mountbatten asked Caroe to expedite arrangements for the referendum in NWFP. Ibid., No. 15, para. 12, 30.

⁹Revenue Minister, NWFP.

¹⁰Finance Minister, NWFP.

¹¹No. 1.

¹²In these telegrams "Caroe warned that there might be an attempt to interpret the terms of the announcement as allowing the NWFP the option to vote for a separate NWFP Constituent Assembly." See TP, XI, No. 65, note 3, 127.

¹³No. V.1.

¹⁴In an exchange of telegrams on 31 May, Caroe and Mountbatten discussed "arrangements for holding of the referendum," examining "its legal basis, and the question" of preparing fresh electoral rolls for the purpose. See TP, XI, No. 15, note 3, 31.

¹⁵Mountbatten informed Caroe that it was no longer necessary to impose Section 93 in NWFP or to have fresh elections there. He recommended to HMG to hold referendum on the issue of Pakistan and Hindustan. Ibid., No. 65, note 7, 127. Also see *ibid.*, X, No. 384, 739.

V.3

Olaf Caroe to Louis Mountbatten

Telegram, IOR, R/3/1/151¹

SECRET/IMMEDIATE

5 June 1947 (TOO-2200)

1531-S/No. CA/106

Received: 6 June (TOR-0600)

My telegram CA/105² para. No. 5.

2. My Chief Secretary³ and other officials have suggested that peaceful referendum would be far more likely if the three issues of Hindustan, Pakistan and Pathanistan could be put before electors. Apart from probability that alteration of this kind would secure ministerial cooperation it is argued that introduction of new issue might split vote on both sides.

3. I understand that Your Excellency in press interview yesterday⁴ said that you were willing to consider Pathanistan issue if all parties agreed. From my limited knowledge it seems to me impossible that League could agree and that introduction of third choice might upset

large measure of agreement already secured between the parties on all-India basis. Moreover reality of case is that Frontier could never stand alone.

4. Since however those in favour of Pathanistan will carry opposition to great lengths if issue stands as at present I think consideration here given should be fully weighed. I think too many advocates of Pathanistan are sincere and some of Jinnah's local supporters are not without sympathy for this idea. As matters stand I shall naturally give no encouragement to suggestions on these lines.

[CAROE]

¹Also see TP, XI, No. 83, 151-2.

²No. V.2.

³Dudley de la Fargue.

⁴At his Press Conference on 4 June, Mountbatten was asked if the Frontier people had the choice to vote for independence in the NWFP Referendum. He promised to accept it only if the ML and Congress High Commands agreed. See TP, XI, No. 83, note 2, 151.

V.4

Note by I. D. Scott

IOR, R/3/1/151

5 June 1947

The telegram below¹ from the Governor NWFP gives an account of his Ministry's reaction to HMG's announcement.² Dr. Khan Sahib was not present at the meeting, as he is in Delhi.

2. The NWFP Ministry apparently wish that the referendum should be held on the question of whether the province should join Pakistan or be independent.

3. This of course is not an option which is to be permitted, and this fact has been agreed with the leaders of the parties. Moreover, H.E. stated the position clearly in his press conference yesterday. It is necessary therefore that the NWFP Ministry should be at once disabused of this idea.

4. It is suggested that H.E. should see Dr. Khan Sahib at once.³ This was discussed in a Staff Meeting held by Lord Ismay this afternoon, and it was decided to make this recommendation to H.E.

Fix 7 p.m. ? (today, as he leaves tomorrow)

I. D. SCOTT

PSV

¹No. V.3.

²No. 1.

³No. V.5.

V.5

*Record of Interview between Louis Mountbatten
and Dr. Khan Sahib¹*

SECRET

5 June 1947, 6.30 p.m.

I showed Dr. Khan Sahib the telegram² which had arrived from Sir Olaf Caroe that afternoon, saying that he had seen two members of the N.W.F.P. Government who said that they refused to accept paragraph 4 of the announcement³ and would not in any circumstances co-operate in the referendum unless a third choice for an independent Pathanistan was included. I explained to Dr. Khan Sahib that this third choice had been excluded for all Provinces on the express request of Congress; and that I had asked Pandit Nehru how he suggested that a Province of three million people could stand out alone with a reasonable chance of success. I told him that Pandit Nehru had agreed that it could not and would have to join one or other of the new States after a while. I had asked Pandit Nehru why it should not do so now. He had seen my point.⁴

Dr. Khan Sahib said that I should take no notice of this telegram from the Governor. He said that he would go straight back to the N.W.F.P. and let me know what the true situation was. He seemed to grasp the reasons for my refusing to change paragraph 4 but he stated categorically that the N.W.F.P. would never join Pakistan. He said that he did not understand how Pakistan was going to be run. I pointed out to him that the fact that the Western Punjab would be between the N.W.F.P. and the rest of Hindustan in no way made it impossible for the N.W.F.P. to join Hindustan. A similar situation prevailed as between Western and Eastern Pakistan.

He told me that he considered it absolutely necessary that Sir Olaf Caroe should be replaced before the referendum took place. He felt that the appointment of a new Governor would make an immense difference to the way the referendum was carried out.

I recalled that Dr. Khan Sahib had previously told me that he would not trust I.C.S. officers to run the referendum. I informed him that I had arranged for 9 British officers of the Indian Army to be made available for this purpose. He appeared very pleased about this and said that he "preferred military people."

Finally, I asked him whether he would really co-operate in the running of the referendum. He replied quite sincerely "I will do my best."

(Note: Lt. Colonel Erskine Crum was in attendance during the latter half of this interview and dictated the record.)

¹TP, XI, No. 81, 150.

²No. V.2.

³No. 1.

⁴The issue of "third choice" in the Frontier Referendum came up for discussion between Mountbatten and Nehru on 5 June. The latter conceded that the Frontier could not stand on its own. See TP, XI, No. 91, para. 23 (a), 162.

V.6

Liaquat Ali Khan to Louis Mountbatten¹

IOR, R/3/1/170

IMMEDIATE/SECRET

FINANCIAL MEMBER OF COUNCIL,
NEW DELHI,
11 June 1947

Dear Lord Mountbatten,

Just as we were going to the Cabinet meeting this evening you informed me that the Governor of the N.W.F.P. was being asked to proceed on leave for two months and that General Lockhart was to be appointed to officiate in his place. These arrangements will, of course, cover the period of the forthcoming referendum in the N.W.F.P.

2. Since you mentioned this to me, I have given very careful thought to the matter. I feel that by sending away the permanent Governor of the N.W.F.P. during the next critical phase in the history of the Province you will be taking an extraordinary and dangerous step. As you are well aware, the present N.W.F.P. Ministers are notorious for their abuse of power, particularly in connection with elections. To remove a Governor who knows the Province and its people and to bring in one who has no experience of the Province or of any Civil Administration at all means nothing except that any little check which may otherwise be expected on abuse of power by the Ministers during the referendum will also disappear. The new Governor, being new to the job, will not even be able to detect, much less check, the misdeeds of his Ministers who will thus be left completely free to play havoc with the referendum. The election machinery will no doubt be in charge of a military official, but as everyone knows, undue influence during elections is not exercised only through the election machinery, but in a hundred and one other ways. And I need hardly mention that one of the principal

methods is the abuse of power and patronage by the Government in office. If the Congress alleges that the present Governor is anti-Congress—which as you know is absolutely without foundation—and you feel that a person with alleged anti-Congress views should not be Governor of the Province during the referendum, I trust you will agree that the repeated demand of the Muslim League for the removal of the N.W.F.P. Ministry has still greater force. As you will doubtless appreciate, there is a much greater likelihood of the Ministers abusing their powers than the Governor doing so, as he has nothing to do with the day-to-day administration of the Province. I am convinced that the step you propose, which will appear to the world as nothing short of complete surrender to the Congress, will mar all chance of a fair and free referendum unless you agree to remove the Ministry also at the same time. I would, therefore, strongly urge upon you not to take the dangerous step of removing the Governor alone. I suggest that it would be better if you could discuss this matter with Mr. Jinnah before taking any decision. I shall be glad to discuss it with you myself, should you so desire, after tomorrow morning's meeting.

Yours sincerely,
LIAQUAT ALI KHAN

'TP. XI, No. 143, 267-8.

V.7

M. K. Gandhi to Louis Mountbatten¹

IOR, R/3/1/151

NEW DELHI,
13 June 1947

Dear Friend,

Your two letters of 12th instant² were received last night for which I thank you. I have sent a letter to Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah of which a copy is enclosed herewith.³

The condition precedent to the Quaid-i-Azam accepting my suggestion is dangerous in its implication. My suggestion is simply what I conveyed to you in my letter of 11th instant.⁴ "Before proceeding with the referendum you should invite Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah to proceed to the Frontier Province to woo the Ministers including Badshah Khan and the Khudai Khidmatgars..." I have added, "Before he goes, no

doubt he should be assured a courteous hearing from them." The visit, therefore, if it takes place will take place for convincing and converting the Ministers and Badshah Khan and his Khudai Khidmatgars. It should in no sense be a propaganda tour. I hope both you and Her Excellency would have a quiet and cool week end in Simla.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

¹TP, XI, No. 176, 329-30.

²In one of the letters Mountbatten, reacting to Gandhi's comments, was sceptical about solving the questions of splitting up of the Departments of the Government of India and a complete division of India's assets and liabilities before the transfer of power. See *ibid.*, No. 155, 290. For the second letter, see No. 84.

³Enclosure 1 to No. 94.

⁴Gandhi in his letter suggested that Jinnah visit NWFP, before the referendum, to explain the Pakistan Scheme and that Congress or Constituent Assembly might do likewise in respect of Hindustan in case the Pathan, who Gandhi fancied knew his position in Hindustan, did not. He also commented on the need for a "homogeneous ministry." See TP, XI, No. 139, 261.

V.8

Earl of Listowel to Giles Squire¹

Telegram, L/P&S/12/1811

IMMEDIATE/CONFIDENTIAL

No. 51

INDIA OFFICE,

16 June 1947, 9.30 a.m.

Your telegram No. 47 of June 11th:² Afghan interest in future of North Western India.

2. The Afghan Minister called at the Foreign Office on June 11th to express his Government's views on that part of the declaration of June 3rd³ which concerned the North-West Frontier Province.

3. The Minister said that the Afghan Government were concerned at possible fate of the population of this Province if, in accordance with the present plan, a referendum took place and the choice were offered to them of associating themselves either with Pakistan or Hindustan. The Afghan Government considered that the population of the former Afghan territories annexed by Great Britain to India during the last century should have the opportunity of deciding whether they wished to rejoin Afghanistan or to form a separate State enjoying complete independence. The Afghan Government had hitherto acknowledged

the necessity of treating the question of the North-West Frontier Province in connexion with the question of partition in India. In view of recent developments however they considered that the moment was opportune for them to make official representations regarding the Province and to put forward proposals for its future in accordance with ethnological considerations.

4. The Afghan Minister was told that if he would submit a note setting out in detail his Government's proposals, they would be given due consideration by H.M.G.

Repeated to Government of India, External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations Dep[artmen]t.

TP, XI, No. 212, 415.

In this telegram, Squire informed Listowel of his interview with the Afghan Minister who had echoed the deep disappointment expressed by the Afghan media over the Pathans of NWFP having been denied the independence option. See *ibid.*, No. 140, 262-3.

No. 1.

V.9

J. B. Kripalani to Louis Mountbatten¹

IOR, R/3/1/151

IMMEDIATE/SECRET

6 JANTAR MANTAR ROAD,
NEW DELHI,
17 June 1947

Dear Lord Mountbatten,

As you know a position of peculiar difficulty has existed in the Frontier Province for a long time. We have drawn your attention to various aspects of the situation on several occasions. The provincial government has been unable to work with the Governor with the result that there is now a complete impasse in regard to many matters and the relations between the Ministers and the Governor are strained to an extreme degree.

It is in this context that we have to consider other developments. Whenever the question of the Frontier arose, we told you that it would be necessary to consult the Frontier Ministers and leaders before a final answer could be given on our behalf. The matter concerned them intimately and they were the best judges of the situation. They were very much averse to any issue being raised in the province which could be exploited as purely communal or Hindu-Muslim issue. This

would give a chance to the communally-minded persons to rouse popular passions. The best way to avoid this was to put forward the real issue. This was the creation of a free Pathan State which would later decide on its relations with the Indian Union or Pakistan.

In accordance with this strong sentiment I wrote to you in my letter dated June 2nd,² paragraph 12, that "the proposed referendum should provide for the people voting for independence and subsequent decision as to their relation with the rest of India." I understand that you have been unable to agree to this unless the Muslim League also agreed. This has added to our difficulties and we have been giving anxious thought to the matter.

We have accepted the Plan contained in the Statement of June 2 [sic for 3]³ and we propose to abide by it fully. We do not wish to do anything which can be said to go against that Plan. At the same time we cannot impose any course of action on the N.W.F. Province to which the leaders and people there are opposed. It is this difficulty which has faced us.

We have again conferred with Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Mr. Yahya Jan, Minister for Education for the N.W.F.P. The former has recently consulted his colleagues, and he has been given authority on their behalf to deal with the situation. He tells us that there is a strong and insistent demand that the Frontier people should be allowed to pronounce on the issue of independence. They are totally averse to taking part in a referendum which must turn purely on the communal issue.

The referendum must take its course, assuming that there is perfect peace restored in that unhappy province. But Badshah Khan contends that if the issue cannot be between Pathanistan and Pakistan, he would advise his followers to abstain from participating in the referendum. This, he holds, will ease the situation somewhat though the Province may be lost to the Congress, at least for the time being.

Various proposals had been put forward by you in regard to this referendum. This includes the avoidance of electioneering speeches and a clear statement of the issue by either side. Irrespective of agreement I can say that the Congress has no intention of sending any one from outside the province to influence voters there for this referendum. And we have advised Badshah Khan to avoid electioneering speeches in the province immediately after the date of referendum is published.

We are very anxious that whatever might be done in the Frontier Province, it should in no way be in opposition to the working out of

the Plan we have agreed to. We have impressed this upon our colleagues of the Frontier. On behalf of the Congress I hope to make a public statement explaining the Congress position in regard to the Province.

Yours sincerely,
J. B. KRIPALANI

¹TP, XI, No. 228, 440-1.

²Kripalani had stated: "There has been a growing demand in the Province for independence and subsequent decision as to their relation with the rest of India. The referendum should also provide for this." *Ibid.*, No. 35, 68.

³No. 1.

V.10

*Louis Mountbatten to Jawaharlal Nehru*¹

IOR, R/3/1/151

PERSONAL/PRIVATE

No. 1446/3

NEW DELHI,

17 June 1947

Dear Mr. Nehru,

I have received a letter from Mr. Kripalani dated the 17th June² about the Referendum for the North-West Frontier Province. One of his main points is contained in the first paragraph, which reads as follows:

The provincial government has been unable to work with the Governor with the result that there is now a complete impasse in regard to many matters and the relations between the Ministers and the Governor are strained to an extreme degree. It is in this context that we have to consider other developments.

In this connection I am sending you a copy of a letter I have received from Sir Olaf Caroe,³ together with a copy of my reply.⁴ I should like you to know that I only had to mention to him the difficulty you felt about the Referendum for him to have come forward with this generous suggestion on his part, thus making everything much easier. I hope you will agree that I could not do less than send him the reply of which a copy is enclosed.⁵

Mr. Kripalani's letter⁶ puts forward once more the suggestion of allowing the Frontier to vote for independence, and I am sending you a copy of the reply I have sent to him. I have not of course made the point in this reply that it was at your written request that the option

for Provinces to vote for independence was taken out;⁷ and that Mr. Jinnah (who was in favour of Bengal being allowed to vote for independence)⁸ is aware of the fact that I conceded this point to Congress. But in the circumstances you will see that both your position and my position would be completely untenable if either of us were to go back on this arrangement now. I hope, however, that the action of the Governor in offering to go on leave may help you in influencing Abdul Ghaffar Khan to accept the Referendum in the right spirit.

I know I do not need to ask you to use your influence to avoid the press saying that Caroe had been sacked, for it was on the basis of your promise of no further press attacks⁹ that I wrote to him.

Yours sincerely,
MOUNTBATTEN OF BURMA

PS. Since dictating the above Mr. Gandhi has been to see me to discuss this question of the Referendum.¹⁰ He told me that he felt that a satisfactory solution might be found if Mr. Jinnah and Abdul Ghaffar Khan could talk the matter over together.

With Mr. Gandhi's consent I invited Mr. Jinnah, who was due to come for an interview later, to come earlier and have a discussion with Mr. Gandhi. After an hour's talk we three agreed between us that we would meet again at 7.45 tonight with Abdul Ghaffar Khan to try and find an amicable solution.

I told Mr. Gandhi of the exchange of letters with Caroe, and he has urged me to send them to the newspapers for publication, a course which I shall of course follow.¹¹

M[OUNTBATTEN] OF B[URMA]

⁷TP, XI, No. 237, 459-60.

⁸No. V.9.

⁹Caroe had suggested that because of allegations of partiality made against him by Congress, he might be allowed to proceed on leave for the duration of the referendum in the Frontier. See TP, XI, Enclosure to No. 181, 334-5.

¹⁰Mountbatten agreed that Caroe might proceed on leave and informed him that Lockhart was being recommended as Acting Governor. Ibid., No. 227, 439-40.

¹¹Mountbatten had informed Nehru that Kripalani and his colleagues fully understood his point of view and of the HMG and it was not feasible to alter the terms of the Referendum as laid down in 3 June Plan. See TP, XI, No. 236, 459.

¹²No. V.9.

¹³In his letter of 11 May, Nehru had criticised Viceroy's draft proposals as presenting "a picture of fragmentation and conflict and disorder," and likely to "invite the Balkanisation of India." This led the Viceroy to discount the idea of HMG giving the Provinces an option for independence. See TP, X, No. 402, 756; and No. 429, 807. Also see No. 406, 766-71.

¹⁴In his interview with Mountbatten on 26 April, Jinnah had remarked about Bengal that "they had much better remain united and independent." See Appendix XIV. 20, Vol. I, Part II, 668. Liaquat had also expressed similar views in his talk with Mieville on 29 April. See

TP, X, No. 249, 479. Also in the Viceroy's Personal Report No. 5 dated 1 May, Mountbatten noted, "Suhrawardy is almost certain to be able to fix the first voting in favour of independence, since he has 33 out of 60 seats and Jinnah has given him permission not to join Pakistan." See *ibid.*, No. 276, para. 31, 539. On 2 May Mountbatten wrote to Burrows that he "explained to them [Jinnah and Liaquat] my idea of allowing the vote of independence to be taken first, and they both appeared to be in complete agreement that this was the best course for the future prosperity of Bengal." See *ibid.*, No. 280, 554-5.

*Mountbatten informed Caroe on 7 May that he had taken up the issue of "anti-Caroe press agitation" with Nehru, who had deplored the agitation and "said that he would do all he could to stop these attacks." *Ibid.*, No. 343, 663.

¹Appendix IX. 2.

²The correspondence was published on 19 June 1947. See TP, XI, No. 227, note 4, 440.

V.11

*Louis Mountbatten to Jawaharlal Nehru*¹

IOR, R/3/1/151

No. 1446/3

17 June 1947

Dear Mr. Nehru,

[2 paras. omitted]

I was very hopeful that we should make some progress at the meeting with Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah tonight, but have just heard that Badshah Khan cannot be found, so that the main object of the meeting cannot be achieved. But I have not given up hope.

There are so many problems pressing on me from all directions that I would complain of being over-worked to anybody but you; but I know that you are over-working a great deal more than me and I wish you wouldn't!

Yours very sincerely,
MOUNTBATTEN OF BURMA

PS. Since dictating the above Rajkumari has telephoned that Badshah Khan cannot be found. I considered it so important that the meeting should take place that I rang up Mr. Jinnah and obtained his concurrence to its taking place with Lord Ismay in the chair tomorrow. Rajkumari promised to get Mr. Gandhi to bring Badshah Khan to the meeting. I attach the greatest importance to this meeting and sincerely hope that all parties will attend it and arrive at a satisfactory settlement.²

¹TP, XI, No. 242, 473.

²See No. V.15.

V.12

QUAID-I-AZAM'S MESSAGE TO FRONTIER MUSLIMS¹

Vote for Pakistan in coming Referendum

D.I.KHAN, June 16: "It is the duty of every Muslim to vote for Pakistan and establish his own Government," said Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, in a message to the Frontier Muslims through Nawab Tank, Deputy Leader, Frontier Muslim League Assembly Party and Haji Mohammad Ramzan Khan, President, Dera Ismail Khan Muslim League, who returned yesterday, after attending the Muslim League Council meeting at New Delhi and Provincial Muslim League meeting at Peshawar.

The leaders added: "We were much impressed with the League Council meeting at Delhi, where we saw Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, who has full sympathies with all Muslims who have suffered during communal riots. He was informed of collective fines imposed on the villages and the mode of their realisation."

Quaid-i-Azam, in his reply, said: "Pakistan has been achieved by Allah's kindness. Your sacrifices have borne fruit. Wait for two months more and vote for Pakistan in the referendum. When you win the referendum, you will get rid of the Congress *Raj* and your own Government would be established. You would then rule according to your wishes."

¹*Pakistan Times*, 18 June 1947.

V.13

JINNAH'S ASSURANCE TO FRONTIER TRIBESMEN¹

We shall settle our affairs in a brotherly way

NEW DELHI, June 17: Expressing his thanks to the Muslims of the Tribal Areas for their numerous messages of good wishes and greetings, Mr. Jinnah assures them that the Muslim League has no desire to interfere with their freedom and that "we shall settle our affairs in a brotherly way."

Mr. Jinnah's statement said: "I have received thousands of letters and telegrams of congratulations, greetings and good wishes, from all over India and abroad. It is physically impossible for me to reply to each one of those who have sent me their messages and I am very

grateful to all of them for their sympathy, good wishes and greetings.

"Particularly, I thank our Muslim brethren of the Tribal Areas across the North-West Frontier Province for their messages of good wishes and greetings, which have come in large numbers, and I take this opportunity to assure them that we shall adjust and settle our affairs in a brotherly way. There is no desire on our part to interfere with their freedom. We shall be happy to meet them and enter into such arrangements with them as would be in the mutual interests of both, and the Muslims generally."—API.

¹*Pakistan Times*, 18 June 1947.

V.14

QUAID-I-AZAM APPOINTS FRONTIER COMMITTEE¹

Main task to arrange for Referendum

NEW DELHI, June 17: Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, has appointed a Frontier committee to supervise and control the Muslim League organisation in the Province and to make arrangements for the forthcoming referendum. The Committee which consists of four members will be guided by the League President himself.

The following is the full text of the statement:

I have appointed a committee consisting of Mr. I. I. Chundrigar, Mr. Ghazanfar Ali Khan, the Pir Sahib Manki Sharif and Syed Wajid Ali² to supervise and control the Muslim League organisation in the North-West Frontier and to make arrangements to face the referendum which is going to be held in the Frontier for the people to decide whether they would join the Pakistan Constituent Assembly or the Hindustan Constituent Assembly.

I am confident that the verdict of the Frontier will be in favour of joining the Pakistan Constituent Assembly wherein it will play a magnificent part which the people of Frontier are destined to play in the governance of Pakistan.

This committee will remain in close contact and touch with me from time to time and will be guided by me in making all the arrangements that will be necessary for our effectively participating in the referendum.—API.

¹*Pakistan Times*, 18 June 1947.

²See No. 44A, note 1 and No. 302, note 7.

V.15

*Eric Mieville to Louis Mountbatten¹**IOR, R/3/1/159*

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE, NEW DELHI,
18 June 1947

H. E.

Pug and I saw Gandhi, Jinnah and Badshah Khan in your room at 4.30 p.m. today. Jinnah started off by saying that he would be very pleased to see Badshah Khan at his house at any time that would be convenient. Gandhi then said that surely it would be a good plan to have a discussion here and now, to which Jinnah replied that that was not his understanding of the object of the meeting. He recalled that when you were talking to Gandhi and him² it was suggested that he, Jinnah, should write a note to Badshah Khan inviting him to his house but he had not seen fit to adopt this course. You had then suggested that all four should meet in your room and that he should then extend the invitation verbally. Gandhi replied that this was not his understanding of the case but Jinnah was insistent and after about a quarter of an hour's discussion during which Gandhi had suggested that he, Pug and myself should withdraw to another room so that Jinnah and Badshah Khan could talk alone—a proposal that Jinnah flatly turned down—it was agreed that Badshah Khan should call on Jinnah at 7.30 this evening.³ They all went away in the best of tempers!

After the meeting broke up, Pug saw Jinnah privately for a moment and asked him whether he would be prepared to authorise Suhrawardy to form a regional Ministry in Bengal as desired by the Governor.⁴ I am afraid that Jinnah's reply was an absolute negative, and I do not think that the subject is worth pursuing.⁵

E[RIC] M[IEVILLE]

¹*TP*, XI, No. 253, 494-5.²Appendix IX.2.³For the outcome of this meeting see No. 163 and Annex III to No. 299. Also see Appendix X.3.⁴See *TP*, XI, No. 240, 470-1.⁵Ismay reported Jinnah's refusal to Burrows. See *ibid.*, No. 253, note 4, 495.

V.16

*Olaf Caroe to Louis Mountbatten**Telegram, IOR, R/3/1/151*

CONFIDENTIAL/IMMEDIATE

21 June 1947 (TOO-1600)

1781-S/212-CB

(TOR-2000)

League demonstration over 5,000 strong Peshawar City 20th evening included 550 National Guards in uniforms.

About 200 rifles and guns, 1 tommy gun, 1 sten gun, numerous pistols, revolvers and other weapons seen. Shots fired in air at intervals to total of more than 2,000. Quarrel with very small part of Red Shirts led by latter [sic] being chased and fired at. No casualties. Congress flag torn up. After dispersal of demonstration 1 Leaguer stabbed alleged[ly] by Red Shirts. 30 Red Shirts in uniform demonstrated 21st morning and minor affray occurred with 1 Leaguer. Abdul Ghaffar Khan returned 20th and party meeting takes place Bannu 21st evening. Understood no agreement reached with Jinnah.

Addressed Viceroy, repeated Secy. of State, Governors of the Punjab, Sind and NWFP (Nathiagali).

V.17

*Olaf Caroe to Louis Mountbatten**Telegram, IOR, R/3/1/151*

CONFIDENTIAL/IMMEDIATE

22 June 1947 (TOO-2130)

59-S/222-CB

Received: 23 June 1947 (TOR-0530)

Intervention of Chief Minister on the spot 21st morning Peshawar City prevented Red Shirts from proposed attack on League office. No further incidents upto 1900 22nd. Abdul Ghaffar Khan addressed meeting of 1200 in village near Bannu 21st afternoon. In the evening Congress Party meeting took place and resolution published¹ 22nd confirming adherence to Pathanistan objective and refusing domination by any except Pathans. Public meeting taking place 22nd evening and which [sic] expected it will be announced that Congress will boycott Referendum on present issues though ready to contest on Pathanistan versus Pakistan issue. In Bannu 21st evening League held meeting of over 8000 of whom 60 armed with guns, rifles. Many shots fired in the air. Tension considerable and night curfew imposed.

Addressed Viceroy repeated Secretary of State, Governor Sind, Punjab and N.W.F.P. (Nathiagali).

¹See Annex II to No. 299.

V. 18

*Olaf Caroe to Louis Mountbatten**Telegram, IOR, R/3/1/151*

CONFIDENTIAL/IMMEDIATE

23 June 1947

No. 227-CB

Abdul Ghaffar Khan announced at largely attended public meeting Bannu 22nd evening Congress decision to boycott referendum. League wish referendum to proceed and their campaign continues actively. Still no marked tribal reaction to coming constitutional changes. Ipi preaches neutrality. Addressed Viceroy repeated S/S and Governors of Sind and Punjab.

V.19

*Extract from Record of Interview Between Louis
Mountbatten and Jawaharlal Nehru¹*

TOP SECRET

24 June 1947, 11 a.m.-12.30 p.m.

I showed him the article in the *Indian News Chronicle* of the 23rd June, in which he was reported to have made the following statements at Hardwar:

1. The Frontier Congress will, in all probability, decide to boycott the proposed referendum.
2. In the event of a one-sided referendum, the present Ministry will resign and fight elections afresh on the issue of Pakistan versus Free Pathanistan.
3. Whatever may be the immediate future of the Province, the freedom-loving Pathans will continue their struggle for an independent Pathan State.

I told him that Mr. Jinnah had last night protested to me about this, on the ground that statement No. 2 was a highly improper remark to make coming from a leader of Congress who had accepted that there should be no alternative for the N.W.F.P. except to join Hindustan or Pakistan.

Pandit Nehru defended himself by saying that he had made no statement to the Press, nor had he seen any pressmen. This statement appeared to have been extracted by a reporter from refugees with whom he had been in conversation, and did not represent either what he said or his views. I told him I would inform Mr. Jinnah accordingly.

¹TP, XI, No. 319, 591. Also included as Annex to No. 228.

V.20

*M. K. Gandhi to Louis Mountbatten*¹

IOR, R/3/1/151

NEW DELHI,
28/29 June 1947

Dear Friend,

I have to inflict another letter on you—this time about the Frontier referendum.

Badshah Khan writes to me to say that he is carrying out the plan I had discussed with you and he with Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah. The plan was to move for free Pathanistan framing its own local constitution and when the Pakistan and the Union Constitutions were out to decide either to belong to one state or the other. In this move he has failed. Therefore the referendum would go on without any interference by his followers, the latter abstaining from voting either way. He fully realises that in this case the Frontier would probably go to Pakistan.

He wants me also to draw your attention to the fact that Punjab Muslims, men and women, are being freely introduced in the Frontier Province to affect the referendum and that notable non-Frontier Muslims too have been sent to the Frontier Province for the same purpose. This increases the risk of bloodshed and worse.

He also says that the non-Muslim refugees numbering many thousand will have no chance, so far as he is aware, of taking part in the referendum and they are threatened with dire penalty should they dare to exercise the vote.

I see in today's papers that Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah contends that if the Pathans abstain from voting, the abstention will constitute a breach of the terms of the referendum. I do not see the force of the contention.

Many thanks for your telegram to the Resident in Kashmir.²

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

¹TP, XI, No 396, 732-3.

²Regarding Gandhi's visit to Kashmir. See *ibid.*, Enclosure to No. 386, 718-9 and No. 387, note 1, 719.

APPENDIX VI

BRITISH BALUCHISTAN'S RESPONSE TO 3 JUNE PLAN

VI.1

EXTRACT FROM MINUTES OF VICEROY'S STAFF MEETING HELD AT
THE VICEROY'S HOUSE, NEW DELHI, ON 2 JUNE 1947¹

PRESENT

Louis Mountbatten

H. L. Ismay
Eric Mieville
George Abell
V. P. Menon

R. V. Brockman
I. D. Scott
Walter Christie
Alan Campbell-Johnson

Geoffrey Prior²
Erskine Crum

BRITISH BALUCHISTAN

Sir Geoffrey Prior said that he had been considering different procedures whereby the people of British Baluchistan could make their choice whether to adhere to the existing Constituent Assembly or to join the new one. The object, as he understood it, was to devise a body which would make the decision and elect a representative to the Constituent Assembly; and that this body should be based on a more popular platform. He pointed out that the *Shahi Jirga* was to some extent hereditary, although a number of members owed their position in it to their leadership in their tribes. It might be possible to get a wider franchise starting at a level just above the village headmen. The result would be a body similar to the *Shahi Jirga* but without the hereditary members of the latter body.

Sir Geoffrey Prior went on to say that he considered that the issues at stake should be reduced to writing and sent round to the headmen of the sub-section[s]. They would then gather together in the agency headquarters and elect representatives for the *Jirga*—about ten representatives per agency. The *Jirga* would gather at Quetta.

[Last two paras. omitted]

¹TP, XI, No. 26, 51-2.

²Agent to the Governor-General, Baluchistan.

VI.2

*George Abell to V. P. Menon**IOR, R/3/1/155*

13 June 1947

1446/9

My dear V. P.,

I was present yesterday evening when Mr. Jinnah talked to H. E. about the matter of Baluchistan.

Mr. Jinnah is against repeating the procedure adopted last time of confining the voters to the members (other than the *Sardars* of Kalat) of the *Shahi Jirga*. Mr. Jinnah thinks that this electorate is too confine[d] and I gather Pandit Nehru agrees. Mr. Jinnah suggests one of the following three alternatives for the electorate:

1. Holders of ration cards (about 2,000);
2. All *Maliks* and *Mutibars* (about 500);
3. All members of district *Jirgas* (about 400).

H. E. thinks it should be possible to devise the method which will be acceptable both to the League and to the Congress, and is sure that both parties should be consulted.

Would you please keep in touch with Crichton,¹ who, I understand expects ■ reply shortly from Prior.

Yours sincerely,
G.E.B. ABELL

Rao Bahadur V. P. Menon

¹Officiating Secretary, External Affairs Department, April - August 1947.

VI.3

*V. P. Menon to George Abell¹**Telegram, IOR, R/3/155*

MOST IMMEDIATE/SECRET

NEW DELHI,

20 June 1947, 8 p.m.

No. 1504-S. Baluchistan referendum. Crichton and I today discussed with Nehru question of supporting referendum with special reference

to Prior's proposals. Nehru has now come round to view that time factor and other considerations preclude any attempt to increase representative character of body to decide the issue.² He has now agreed that decision may be taken at a meeting of members of *Shahi Jirga* (excluding *Sardars* nominated by Kalat State) and non-official members of Quetta Municipality and that meeting should be called for a date not later than June 30th. This is satisfactory.

2. Ismay is writing³ to Jinnah that alternatives mentioned by him⁴ have been carefully considered, but all of them involve a considerably long period, that His Excellency is convinced that if a decision is to be arrived at within short time left the reference will have to be made to same body as before and asking him to let Ismay know urgently if he agrees.

3. If Jinnah agrees, it is proposed to issue at once the requisite announcement under para. 21 of Statement.⁵

Please telegraph whether His Excellency agrees.⁶

¹TP, XI, No. 276, 535.

²Previously Mountbatten had suggested that the wishes of the people of Baluchistan might be ascertained through a Commission which should discuss the matter with *jirgas* of various tribes and report ■■■ their reactions. Nehru agreed and also suggested a referendum of the members of Quetta Municipality. See TP, XI, No. 9, 19.

³Ismay informed Jinnah of the considerable delay involved in changing the mode of reference for ascertaining the wishes of the people of Baluchistan and requested his immediate reply. See No. 173.

⁴For alternatives mentioned by Jinnah, ■■■ No. 173, note 2.

⁵No. 1.

⁶On 21 June Abell noted on this telegram: "P[and]t Nehru having made all this fuss about Baluchistan now recommends the ■■■ procedure as before. Had he not agitated, the announcement of the 3rd June would have been clear on the point. I fear Jinnah will not agree now—he was definitely against the *Shahi Jirga* last time the matter was discussed in my presence. He is likely to fear that the Congress have now nobbled the *Shahi Jirga*." See TP, XI, No. 276, note 5, 535.

APPENDIX VII

ADMINISTRATIVE ISSUES ARISING FROM PARTITION

Extract from Minutes of Viceroy's Sixteenth Miscellaneous Meeting
held at the Viceroy's House, New Delhi, on 5 June 1947¹

PRESENT

Louis Mountbatten

Jawaharlal Nehru

Vallabhbhai Patel

J. B. Kripalani

M. A. Jinnah

Liaquat Ali Khan

Abdur Rab Nishtar

Baldev Singh

H. L. Ismay

Eric Mieville

Erskine Crum

THE ADMINISTRATIVE CONSEQUENCES OF PARTITION

The Meeting had before them ■ paper² entitled "The Administrative Consequences of Partition", copies of which had been handed to the Indian Leaders at the meeting on Tuesday, 3rd June.³ His Excellency the Viceroy emphasized that this paper was only a basis for discussion.

MATTERS ON WHICH A DECISION WILL HAVE TO BE REACHED

Paragraph 2 of this paper gave a list of matters on which a decision by agreement or, if necessary, by arbitration, would have to be reached. His Excellency the Viceroy asked whether it was considered that these matters were correctly set out here. He pointed out that the list was not necessarily exclusive.

Pandit Nehru said that he did not understand the reference to a "division of the staff, organisations and records of Central Civil Departments". As he saw it, there was at present an Entity of India. Certain parts of India were being given the opportunity to secede from this Entity. The functions of the Government of India would continue. The seceding parts would have to build up their own Government.

Mr. Jinnah said that he and Pandit Nehru were starting off from completely different premises. It was not ■ question of secession, but of division.

Pandit Nehru said that he did not agree. It was a fundamental point that India, as such, would continue.

Concerning Pandit Nehru's misunderstanding of Paragraph 2, His Excellency the Viceroy explained that it would be necessary for those members of the staff of Central Civil Departments who lived in

Pakistan to transfer [*sic*] to the Pakistan Service. Similarly, British officials would have to be divided between the two States. Back files would have to be copied. It was to be presumed that many of the laws at present in existence for India as a whole would be left in force in Pakistan until they were replaced. Copies of files appertaining to such matters would obviously have to be made available to the Pakistan Government.

GOVERNMENT IN THE INTERIM PERIOD

Pandit Nehru asked how it was intended to carry on Government during the period from the decision on Partition, which would probably take place towards the end of June, until the two new Dominion Governments were set up—a period of say six weeks. When the Partition decision was reached, a vital change would have taken place. The two new States would already then come into existence in embryo. When this happened, the whole nature of the Government of India would change. Some arrangements would then have to be made immediately, as certain members of the Interim Government would be interested in one State and some in the other. There would be a complete division of interest. It would become very difficult to carry on as at present. Arrangements would have to be made so that neither side would feel that the other was interfering in their business. The question definitely arose as to how the processes of Government could be carried on from then onwards.

His Excellency the Viceroy said that this point had been stressed to him by the Congress Leaders before he had left for London.⁴ But now that the interim period before the transfer of power was to be so much shorter, the seriousness of the problem had diminished. He felt that this question should be considered separately at a later stage.

DECISIONS IN CONNECTION WITH THE PARTITION OF PROVINCES

Paragraph 3 of the paper before the meeting read "Similar decisions will be necessary as between parts of Provinces". Pandit Nehru gave his opinion that the problem of the division of Provincial subjects was part of the main central problem. He did not agree that the Governors of the Provinces concerned should be solely responsible.

THE PARTITION TRIBUNAL

Mr. Jinnah said that there were many things to do. He wanted to try to understand which was the first. They could not all be done at once.

His Excellency suggested that the first step should be to set up a Partition Committee. (It was subsequently provisionally decided to call this the "Partition Tribunal"; and it will be referred to as such in these Minutes). The Partition Tribunal would decide the order of priority with which to deal with the various other matters.

At first Mr. Jinnah took the line that no steps could be taken, not even with regard to setting up the Partition Tribunal, until the respective Constituent Assemblies were complete. Later, however, he agreed to the suggestion that the Partition Tribunal should be set up forthwith. He referred to the representatives appointed by either side to the Partition Tribunal as "quasi-arbitrators". He was, at first, in favour of only one member being nominated by each side, but later agreed to two; and that a third substitute should be nominated in case of sickness. Pandit Nehru also agreed with this. It was further agreed that the members of the Partition Tribunal should be the highest political leaders. Mr. Jinnah was violently opposed to [the proposal that] there should be a fifth member of the Tribunal in the shape of a minority representative.

Mr. Jinnah gave his view that the Partition Tribunal should be the supreme and final authority. It should not be responsible to the present Interim Government. He visualised that the present Government would continue to work only on a caretaker basis. Neither the present Executive nor the present Legislature could undertake any question of policy or planning.

His Excellency the Viceroy said that the question of to whom the Partition Tribunal should be responsible was a very interesting constitutional point. In his opinion, it could be resolved by saying that, in the first instance, it would be responsible to the Governor-General in Council, but that all its decisions should later be ratified by the two Governments after power had been transferred.

Pandit Nehru said that he disagreed that the functions of Government could be completely stopped during the interim period, as he had understood Mr. Jinnah to suggest. He further stated that he considered that the All-India Congress Committee and the All India Muslim League Council should ratify the appointment of the members of the Partition Tribunal and of the Umpire.

Mr. Jinnah suggested that the decisions reached by the Partition Tribunal should be signed by the members thereof, who would afterwards be bound to see that their respective Constituent Assemblies ratified them.

The Viceroy pointed out that the existing Constituent Assembly could immediately ratify agreements on behalf of Hindustan. Pandit Nehru agreed that the Hindustan Constituent Assembly might want to have a say in the matter. He asked what would happen to the Partition Tribunal after Dominion status had come into operation. The general feeling of the meeting was that the two new Governments would then have to decide whether to continue the previous system, or whether to change it.

THE UMPIRE

His Excellency the Viceroy stated that His Majesty's Government had declared themselves averse to him acting as Umpire⁵ empowered to give a final decision. He also was averse to this procedure. The Umpire would undoubtedly very soon become the subject of considerable odium. Without any disrespect to either party, he wished to point out that completely impartial decisions were very seldom welcomed by both sides. The Umpire should be somebody agreed to by both sides—somebody who was willing to give true and fair service. His Excellency suggested that a man experienced in judiciary affairs would be most suitable. With this suggestion there was general agreement. His Excellency said that he was prepared to enter the discussions if required by both sides, but not to give final decisions. All the Leaders at the meeting expressed their complete agreement that His Excellency should not be the Umpire. His Excellency asked them to send him a list of names in order of preference for those whom they suggested should be appointed to this position.

THE STEERING COMMITTEE

It was provisionally decided that the next highest Committee should be called the "Steering Committee".

Lord Ismay put forward the suggestion that this intermediate body, instead of being called "Steering Committee", should be a Joint Secretariat.

Mr. Jinnah expressed himself in favour of this suggestion. He thought that a highly efficient secretariat would be sufficient. There was not, in his opinion, any question of the intermediate body taking preliminary decisions. Eventually, however, he appeared to give his consent to the formation of a Steering Committee.

Pandit Nehru was opposed to the suggestion that a Joint Secretariat should take the place of the Steering Committee. He considered that the Partition Tribunal would be unable to cope with its task unless there was a whole-time intermediate Committee immediately subordinate to it to undertake all functions except the final decision.

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan suggested that the Steering Committee should consist of experts or officials.

Pandit Nehru said that he considered reference to "officials" or "non-officials" was confusing. He agreed, however, that the Steering Committee should be composed of experts. It was, he suggested, up to the two sides to nominate anybody they wished to serve on this Committee.

Lord Ismay suggested a further alternative—that the Steering Committee should consist of two political leaders as joint chairmen and, for

its members, the chairmen of the sub-committees. The general feeling of the meeting was opposed to this suggestion although it was considered that the chairmen of the sub-committees might well be *ex officio* members of the Steering Committee.

His Excellency the Viceroy said that he was inclined to agree with the Congress viewpoint that something more than a Joint Secretariat would be required. He felt that a Steering Committee of experts was the right solution.

He suggested that the Steering Committee might consist of three members from each side, including perhaps a minority representative from each.

The meeting agreed that the Viceroy should give an account of the decisions reached, in the form of a written paper, at the Cabinet Meeting the following day.⁶

RESIGNATION OF MEMBERS OF THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT

His Excellency the Viceroy asked whether both sides agreed that he should call, after the decision on Partition, for the resignation of the members of the Interim Government in order that the prospective leaders of the new Governments or Government might be free, without embarrassment, to select their colleagues. Mr. Jinnah emphasized that he did not consider himself responsible nor a party to anything which the Executive Council or the Governor-General in Council might decide.

THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

In answer to a question from His Excellency, Mr. Jinnah said that he agreed that the Muslim League representatives of the Provinces of Hindustan should take their places in the existing Constituent Assembly if Partition was decided.

THE BOUNDARY COMMISSIONS

His Excellency suggested that the Boundary Commissions should not, as was envisaged in the paper before the meeting, report through the Steering Committee and the Partition Tribunal to the Governor-General, but rather that it should report direct. This suggestion was generally accepted. His Excellency also suggested that one Sikh representative from either half of the Punjab should be appointed to the body which would set up terms of reference for the Western Boundary Commission. He said that he would confer with different parties in turn concerning these terms of reference, before convening a full meeting.

His Excellency the Viceroy added that the State of Bahawalpur would have to give evidence before the Western Boundary Commission, in connection with arrangements for water supplies for that State.⁷

It was agreed:

- i. That a Partition Tribunal should be set up forthwith; that it would consist of four members (with a reserve from either side in case of sickness); they would be chosen from among the highest political leaders; and that Pandit Nehru and Mr. Jinnah would forward the names of their choice to the Viceroy;
- ii. That, after the transfer of power, the two new Governments would consider whether to continue the Partition Tribunal procedure, or to introduce a new one;
- iii. That the Governor-General should not be the Umpire, but that a man experienced in judiciary affairs should be chosen for, this appointment; and that Pandit Nehru and Mr. Jinnah should send to the Viceroy a list of nominees for this post;
- iv. That a Steering Committee, consisting of experts, should be set up;
- v. That the Viceroy should inform the Cabinet the following day of the decisions reached at this meeting; and that the Viceroy's staff would prepare a paper for this purpose;
- vi. That the Boundary Commissions should report direct to the Governor-General; and that His Excellency should consult the different parties in turn before convening a full meeting to consider the terms of reference of the Boundary Commissions;
- vii. That a further meeting would be held at 10 a.m. on Saturday, 7th June, 1947.

¹TP, XI, No. 73, 137-42.

²No. 7. Also see *ibid.*, No. 28, 53-9.

³For minutes of the meeting, see *ibid.*, No. 39, 72-8.

⁴On 11 May 1947 Nehru had noted that owing to "... impending British withdrawal, the Coalition forming the Central Government must be a Cabinet with joint responsibility based upon full Dominion autonomy." *Ibid.*, X, No. 406, para. 21, 771. On 17 May he assured Mountbatten that after the Plan had been agreed to, "... no further apprehension should remain in the minds of the Muslim League about any abuse of power or authority against them." *Ibid.*, No. 471, 868. In his interview with Mountbatten on 17 May, Nehru also stressed that "... once the Announcement was made, the Interim Government should be treated by Convention as a Dominion Government." *Ibid.*, No. 472, 871.

⁵Probably refers to the Memorandum by the President of the Board of Trade, dated 27 May 1947, regarding the Interim Government in India which states: "There shall be appointed by each of the three Governments an arbitrator of high judicial standing and the arbitrators shall by agreement select an Umpire (not being the Viceroy) who shall together with the arbitrators form the arbitral Tribunal.... Decisions in the arbitral Tribunal shall be by majority vote provided that in the event of an equality of votes the Umpire shall have a second or casting vote." *Ibid.*, No. 545, para. (k), 999-1000.

⁶For minutes of the meeting see *ibid.*, XI, No. 95, 169-71.

⁷See No. 339.

APPENDIX VIII

LAPSE OF PARAMOUNTCY AND THE FUTURE OF STATES

CABINET MISSION'S MEMORANDUM ON STATES'
TREATIES AND PARAMOUNTCY¹

[Extract]

2. During the interim period, which must elapse before the coming into operation of a new constitutional structure under which British India will be independent or fully self-governing, paramountcy will remain in operation. But the British Government could not and will not in any circumstances transfer paramountcy to an Indian Government.

5. When a new fully self-governing or independent Government or Governments come into being in British India, His Majesty's Government's influence with these Governments will not be such as to enable them to carry out the obligations of paramountcy. Moreover, they cannot contemplate that British troops would be retained in India for this purpose. Thus, as a logical sequence and in view of the desire expressed to them on behalf of the Indian States, His Majesty's Government will cease to exercise the powers of paramountcy. This means that the rights of the States which flow from their relationship to the Crown will no longer exist and that all the rights surrendered by the States to the paramount power will return to the States. Political arrangements between the States on the one side and the British Crown and British India on the other will thus be brought to an end. The void will have to be filled either by the States entering into a federal relationship with the successor Government or Governments in British India, or failing this, entering into particular political arrangements with it or them.

STATEMENT BY BRITISH GOVERNMENT ON INDIAN POLICY²

[Extract]

12. In regard to the Indian States, as was explicitly stated by the Cabinet Mission, His Majesty's Government do not intend to hand over their powers and obligations under paramountcy to any Government of British India. It is not intended to bring paramountcy, as a system, to a conclusion earlier than the date of the final transfer of power, but it is contemplated that for the intervening period the relations of the Crown with individual States may be adjusted by agreement.

STATEMENT BY BRITISH GOVERNMENT ON INDIAN POLICY¹
THE STATES

[*Extract*]

18. His Majesty's Government wish to make it clear that the decisions announced above relate only to British India and that their policy towards Indian States contained in the Cabinet Mission Memorandum of 12th May 1946 remains unchanged.

¹Appendix X, Vol. I, Part II, 479-81.

²No. 1, Vol. I, Part I, 1-3.

³No. 1.

VIII.1

*Walter Monckton to H. L. Ismay*¹

GOVERNMENT GUEST HOUSE,
HYDERABAD,
9 June 1947

PRIVATE

My dear Pug,

I am worried about the way the States are being handled. There is considerable resentment among the Moslems here and, although the Hindus are in a great majority, there are more than $\frac{1}{2}$ million Moslems in the City and more than 2 million in the State—they have the dynasty, the administration, the Army and the tradition of 200 years' rule plus the treaties. I have tried in the accompanying note to summarise in an orderly and less vehement manner what they say and feel. I am bound to say I think there's a good deal in it and I should like to be sure that the points are considered even if they have to be rejected. Can you ensure this and also have the document treated as entirely confidential? The reason is that in my view our most important, immediate negotiations (however little we like it) *must*² be with Hindustan and H.E.H. genuinely intends them to be real and effective. They would be ruined in advance if this document were disclosed to Congress.

I think the main issues raised by the Note³ are short and could be discussed when I return to Delhi with Chhatari⁴ in the near future. I am desperately anxious to avoid a political conflict in all this with H.M.G. and above all with H. E. whom I want wholeheartedly to help. But if nothing can be done, I shall in a short time be compelled by

pressure here to raise the hypothetical question about relations with the British Government which H. E. indicated⁵ he would refer to H.M.G. and go back and pursue the matter in London. But I honestly *loathe* the idea of ventilating our grievance through political channels and I think reference home would inevitably lead to that.

It is being difficult to avoid a declaration of independence but I think we shall hold the folks here to an announcement very much on the lines I showed you about the C.A. *only*, and that probably on Wednesday.⁶ Jinnah and H. H. of Bhopal will be disappointed and annoyed.

I don't want to have to go to England because I think I am needed here—that may be a false sense of one's own importance, which is easily engendered. But I do believe I know my Nizam better than the others and he trusts me. And he will have to make up his mind quickly and often in the next 3 months.

Life's not being easy—for me anymore than for you!

Yours ever,
WALTER (MONCKTON)

⁵TP, XI, No. 112, 214-5.

⁶Underlined here and hereafter in the original.

⁷Enclosure.

⁸Lt.Col.Nawab Sir Muhammad Ahmed Said Khan, President, Executive Council of the Nizam of Hyderabad, 1941-6, 1947.

⁹On 3 June Mountbatten stated in his meeting with the States Negotiating Committee that no alteration had been made in the Cabinet Mission Memorandum of 12 May 1946 as a result of his negotiations with Indian leaders but he admitted that "the outcome of these negotiations could but have a certain effect on the position of the States". See Enclosure to No. 27. Answering a question at a Press Conference on 4 June, Mountbatten said: "States are free agents to enter either Constituent Assembly or make such other arrangements as they deem necessary". He further observed that the States could not enter the Commonwealth as Dominions and in case the question of their relations with the Commonwealth arose, the matter would have to be referred to HMG. See TP, XI, No. 60, 116.

¹⁰In a *Firman* issued on 12 June 1947, the Nizam of Hyderabad declared that he had "decided not to send representatives to either of the Constituent Assemblies". Enclosure to No. 109.

Enclosure to No. VIII.1

NOTE ON THE POSITION OF HYDERABAD¹

CONFIDENTIAL

7 June 1947

In the chorus of well-merited approval which H.M.G.'s present efforts in India are receiving, there is a danger that the way in which some of the major States, and in particular Hyderabad, are being treated, will be over-looked. Success in handling British India has been triumphant up to now and the triumph is quite certainly a personal triumph

for H.E. But this means that his personal views, interests and sympathies assume a first-class importance. Naturally, his main interest has been concentrated hitherto on British India.

He has on all subjects (including those principally affecting the States) been in full and constant consultation with Mr. Nehru and his associates. But until after his recent announcement of 3 June² he had not been in similar consultation with representatives of Hyderabad or indeed the other major States on the points in the announcement specially affecting their future. The States are regarded by the British Indian leaders whom he has mainly consulted, as an inconvenient and anachronistic heritage to be pressed or cajoled, whether they wish it or not, into the pattern which British India has chosen—a pattern which no one would regard as ideal for themselves, much less for any one else.

But the States cannot in fairness be so regarded. They represent more than $\frac{1}{4}$ of India in area and more than a fourth in population. They have a culture and tradition of their own. In many cases and in many ways their administration compares favourably with British India. It is interesting that in spite of grave shortages in, e.g. Mysore, the food famine in Bengal, with its appalling consequences, found no parallel in the Indian States. I have known many of the States long and Hyderabad in particular well for many years. I honestly believe that, *if fairly treated*,³ they have sounder hope of survival than the brittle political structure of the Congress party after they have attained independence. There is a real, personal loyalty to the Ruler even if of a different faith and even if sometimes he does not wholly deserve it. This is a point of stability which in part accounts for the fact that there has been less acute communal division so far in Indian, than in British India: though the poison is gradually seeping in from British India. How little bloodshed there has been in the States. Contrast the Punjab, Bihar and Bengal. It is perfectly true that it is high time that the people were more actively associated in Government, but there is a great deal of nonsense talked about this. In local administration, in Panchayats, in the villages the people are associated in administration now. It is ridiculous to assume that it is automatically wise and expedient to introduce into the States Western ideas of responsible government on the British model. What sort of democracy on these standards exists in British India? I suppose not more than 6 or 7 per cent. of the population is represented in the Legislature of Bengal.

Let me now consider the case of the Nizam of Hyderabad and Berar. Hyderabad has more inhabitants than any British Dominion, including Canada; in area it roughly approximates to France. It has been the

Faithful Ally of the British Government for more than a century. In the two World Wars the Nizam at critical moments proclaimed and proved his loyalty to the British, when Congress took a very different line.

He is now being told that he cannot have dominion status and that he can only have relations with the British through one or other of the proposed new Dominions. Moreover he is in effect being urged on geographical grounds to join Hindustan. No sort of opportunity for discussion was afforded to him before these decisions were taken and made public, though at no stage was any step taken without full prior discussion with Congress who (as everybody knows) are urging the Viceroy to press Hyderabad into Hindustan whether the Nizam wishes it or not.

The dynasty, a Muslim one with a predominantly Hindu population, would in my judgment commit suicide by joining Hindustan. Congress leaders have repeatedly said that the days of the Princes are numbered, though they are cynically postponing the day of execution. Some of them individually have told me in the recent past that there will soon be a day of reckoning for H.E.H.

The treaties, which entitle Hyderabad to call upon the British Crown for effective defence of the State and dynasty against external aggression and internal disorder, are indisputable. They were made more than a hundred years ago, but have been reaffirmed as "inviolable and inviolable" times without number during recent years. In 1942, Sir Stafford Cripps⁴ and in 1943 Lord Wavell⁵ each solemnly reaffirmed the sanctity of the treaties. Hyderabad was thus taught to rely upon British arms and the British word. Moreover, she was prevented, and still is, from raising an army adequate to protect herself in the event of the withdrawal of the British troops. She was equally prevented from making provision for the arms and equipment without which such an army is valueless. She has, moreover, been compelled to keep her industrial development within the limits prescribed by the Central Government.

Hyderabad is being told in common with the other Princes that Paramountcy will go with the British and will not be inherited by the successor Government or Governments. But, with the limited military resources to which she has been restricted and with access denied to H.M.G., and probably with large Indian Army contingents within her dominions against her will, Hyderabad is being left to her own resources. She is, in effect, driven to accept the fact that, though Paramountcy technically and *de jure* goes, all the rights of interference, direct or indirect, hitherto associated with Paramountcy will remain in the hands of one or the other of the new Dominion Governments.

You will have noticed how eager Congress are to make sure that they can (if they wish) get out of the British Commonwealth and, if

possible, drag Pakistan out with them. The policy of the Nizam has always been and still is to retain and increase the ties which bind him to the British. Can you be surprised if, in these circumstances, he cannot bring himself to trust in Hindustan for his future, for they have proved themselves no friends of his or ours? He asks: Am I really to be kicked out of the British family without discussion? Will you really just denounce the treaties, refuse me political and economic arrangements with H.M.G. and otherwise leave me to my fate?

I think this rather ■ shameful performance. How ready we are to appease our enemies at the expense of our friends. Is it because the latter have no nuisance value?

WALTER MONCKTON

¹TP, XI, Enclosure to No. 112, 215-7.

²No. 1.

³Underlined in the original.

⁴Cripps had committed HMG on 2 April 1942 to "provide for everything necessary to implement our treaty obligations to the non-adhering States". See TP, I, Enclosure to No. 527, 649.

⁵Refers to Secretary to Crown Representative's letter of 25 June 1943 to the Resident in Hyderabad. Linlithgow, not Wavell, was however, Crown Representative then. See *ibid.*, XI, No. 112, note 5, 217.

VIII.2

Walter Monckton to Louis Mountbatten¹

PRIVATE AND PERSONAL

H.E.H. THE NIZAM'S PALACE,
NEW DELHI,
14 June 1947

My dear Dickie,

In the hope that you will have time to see me on Tuesday, I am writing this letter to tell you how very troubled I am about the way in which my Hyderabad clients are being treated. I have made it plain to them that you told me that H.M.G. would not consider their entering the British Commonwealth of Nations as a Dominion. This came as a disappointment to the Nizam but your statement at the Press Conference went much further and certainly gave the impression that no relations with H.M.G., even on economic questions, would be possible, save through one of the two new Dominions. You will remember the passage:— "There can be no negotiations between H.M.G. and the States. We hand back Paramountcy and in the process we offer our services for enabling them to make the necessary contact with the

Government of India and with the respective Constituent Assemblies to come together and make their agreement. But we (meaning H.M.G.) are not actually going to enter into fresh negotiations. We will come out of all commitments".² I cannot believe that you really intended to bar Hyderabad from all access to H.M.G.³ If I am right in this, I wonder if you would consider making a *dementi* at the first convenient opportunity. Meantime, you can imagine that this statement, seized on, as it has been, by all the Hindu press, and never contradicted, has caused great indignation in Hyderabad. They point out to me that there was no prior consultation with them nor any opportunity for discussion before these decisions were announced publicly. They contrast this with what you said about British India, namely that you had made and announced no decision without full discussion with them beforehand. Moreover, your observations about geographical considerations⁴ appeared to the Nizam to mean that in your judgment he had no real choice: he must join the Hindustan Union. He feels that he will be kept in a very unsatisfactory state of suspense till the 15th August, or whatever date paramountcy ceases, and will then be abandoned to his own resources. He asks me what reason he has to trust the Congress. At one moment, their leaders say that they will not exercise pressure on the States to join the Constituent Assembly: at the next, they let it be known that they will do what they can to create disorder in States which elect not to join. At one moment, they profess readiness to permit the Princes to remain: at another and in private conversations, they say that the days of the Nizam are numbered.

He points out that even a casual survey of the Hindu papers shows the eagerness with which they wish to make sure that they can get out of the British Commonwealth as soon as they want to, and their anger when they learn that they cannot drag Pakistan out with them.

The policy of the Nizam has always been, and still is, to retain and increase the ties which bind him to the British. (I need not remind you how strictly the treaties, solemnly repeated by Cripps and Wavell⁵ oblige the British to protect the State and the dynasty against external aggression and internal disorder, not how the State has been prevented right up till now from raising forces or procuring equipment adequate even for the maintenance of internal order, because they have been taught and compelled to rely on British arms and the British word). Can you be surprised if the Nizam cannot bring himself to trust in Hindustan for his future? He asks: Am I really to be kicked out of the British family without discussion? Will you really just denounce the treaties, refuse me any political and economic arrangements with H.M.G. and then leave me to my fate? Have I any assurance, if do join

them, that if they walk out of the British Commonwealth they will not be able to drag me with them?

I have written all this to you, because H.E.H. is pressing me to return at once to England, since action is urgent and he understands you to have said that there is no more you can do to maintain for him a tie or even any direct access to H.M.G. I shall feel bound to go. That means that the one prospect I wanted to avoid cannot be avoided. I cannot give proper service to my clients (and I have never yet refused to give a hundred per cent. service) without making my own protest to members of the Cabinet and seeing to it, by my own speeches and writings, and through my old colleagues, that, before it is too late, the British public at least understand that, however justifiable may be the ultimate end, they have treated, and are treating, their old friends and allies shamefully. I shall hate doing this, because I came out here with a wholehearted wish to help you and I know this will have the opposite effect. Moreover, I shall hate it because I think, if I had been able to stay, I could have helped to some extent by my friendship with Jinnah and, above all, because H.E.H. will be making decisions almost day by day in my absence and I firmly believe that if I could stay with him I might still have been able to guide him into a course of friendly co-operation with the Hindustan Union as well as with Pakistan. But I cannot stand by silently and see him automatically cut off from H.M.G. or allow him to drift until August when we practically walk out and leave him to his fate. My present plan is to return to England between 23rd and 30th June and I suppose that, if once I go away, it is very improbable I shall come back again. For I only just manage to hold the Nizam when I see him daily. The extreme Muslims, the Ittihad-ul-Muslemin are attacking me in the Press and in private and will undermine me if I am away three weeks.

Sorry to be a nuisance, but I don't want to go behind your back.

Yours ever,
WALTER MONCKTON

¹TP, XI, No. 199, 386-8.

²This particular answer is not included in the report of the Press Conference in *ibid.*, No. 60, 115-22. This part of the answer was reported in the *Times of India*, 5 June 1947, p. 5, col. 2. *Ibid.*, note 1, 387.

³Also see Enclosure to No. VIII.1.

⁴"Mountbatten was reported to have said that the States were at liberty to send their representatives to either Constituent Assembly and continued: They were absolutely free to choose, but he supposed that geography would play a large part in their decisions." *Times of India*, 5 June 1947, p. 5, col. 3". TP, XI, No. 199, note 3, 387.

⁵See Enclosure to No. VIII.1, notes 4 and 5.

VIII.3

*Jawaharlal Nehru to Louis Mountbatten*¹

IOR, R/3/1/137

17 YORK ROAD,
NEW DELHI,
17 June 1947

Dear Lord Mountbatten,

You asked me to send you a note on Kashmir and I promised to do so. I now enclose this note.

I hope you will have a pleasant holiday in Kashmir and come back refreshed.

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU¹Also see TP, XI, No. 229, 442.*Enclosure to No. VIII.3*A NOTE ON KASHMIR¹NEW DELHI,
17 June 1947

The State consists of roughly three parts: Kashmir proper; Jammu; Ladakh, Baltistan, Skardu and Kargil. The last named are very sparsely populated and have a considerable number of Buddhists. Jammu is largely a continuation of the Punjab.

2. Kashmir proper is a very definite cultural and linguistic unit with a very long history behind it. In the past it has been a very great centre of Buddhist and Sanskrit learning. The people of Kashmir, Hindu or Muslim, have probably more in common than Hindus and Muslims elsewhere in India. Their language is Kashmiri; their dress, food and social customs are more or less alike. There is extreme poverty all over Kashmir except for some land-lords and State officials and merchants.

3. In Kashmir proper Muslims form 92% of the population. In the whole State Muslims are 77% and Hindus 21%, the others being chiefly Sikhs and Buddhists. The following are the population figures:

<i>Jammu</i>		
Muslims	1,208,675	61%
Hindus	772,760	39%
<i>Kashmir</i>		
Muslims	1,589,488	92%
Hindus	139,217	7.8%
Total Muslims in the State	3,101,247	77.11%
Total Hindus in the State	809,165	21%
Total Sikhs in the State	65,903	
Total Buddhists in the State	40,696	
Others	4,605	
Total population	4,021,616	

4. About fifteen years ago a popular movement arose in Kashmir State under the leadership of Sheikh Mohamad Abdullah, himself a Kashmiri educated at Aligarh University. This movement was very largely Muslim as the population itself was largely Muslim. It took shape in the Muslim Conference.² It was not, however, definitely communal. Sheikh Abdullah was arrested and imprisoned and later communal riots broke out in Kashmir. This was in the early thirties. This was followed by committees to inquire into political reforms that might be granted to the people. Certain reforms were granted and legislature was started.

5. Sheikh Abdullah, on coming out of prison, tried to give a definitely nationalist turn to the movement and changed the name of the Muslim Conference to the Kashmir National Conference.³ He had some trouble with communalists in his ranks and a few left him and the organization. But the movement continued to grow and spread especially to the masses who were principally Muslim. Many Hindu and Sikh young men were also attracted to the National Conference. Even those Hindus who did not join it were usually more or less friendly to it.

6. Of all the people's movements in the various States in India, the Kashmir National Conference was far the most widespread and popular. Sheikh Abdullah was amazingly popular among the masses and numerous songs and legends grew up about him. Certain reactionary Hindu and Muslim groups opposed him and his movement. These Muslim groups later allied themselves to the Muslim League, but they had little influence in the State. The Hindu groups represented a certain vested and middle-class element chiefly interested in the State service of which they had a dominant share.

7. The Maharaja is a Dogra Rajput and his army consists almost entirely of Dogra Rajputs. Kashmiris, whether Hindu or Muslim, are excluded from it. This was a common grievance among all Kashmiris.

8. The real background of the popular movement was economic.

The terrible poverty of the people was contrasted not only with the enormous riches of the few but also with the potential resources of Kashmir State. The land system was out of date and oppressive, as well as partial to certain dominant classes. It was with this background that the popular movement grew up under Sheikh Abdullah. It demanded political reforms and responsible government.

9. This movement allied itself to the All-India States people's movement as represented by the All-India States Peoples Conference. This Conference, though an independent body, has been working in line with the National Congress. Sheikh Abdullah became a Vice-President of the All-India body and last year, while he was in prison, he was elected President. He is still the President not only of the Kashmir National Conference but also of the All-India States Peoples Conference.

10. After the introduction of various reforms in Kashmir, Sheikh Abdullah and the Kashmir National Conference, though far from satisfied with the extent of the reforms, decided to cooperate with them. They contested the elections for the State Assembly and won a large number of seats. One of their number became a Minister. Members of their party delivered highly eulogistic speeches praising the Maharaja for what he had done and was doing, but at the same time demanding responsible government. Their objective was responsible government under the aegis of the Maharaja who would function as a kind of constitutional head. That also was the objective of the All-India States Peoples Conference in regard to all the States in India.

11. The policy of the Kashmir National Conference was thus one of cooperation with the State authorities and more specially with the Maharaja who was considered above conflict of parties. This attitude was, no doubt, partly governed by an expectation of favours to come. But there was certainly a fund of goodwill for the Maharaja and all criticism was directed to various Ministers. There was plenty of room for criticism, for the Kashmir administration for long years past has been amazingly static and unchanging. Nothing gets done there and any intelligent officer soon gets the feeling that he is wasting his talents and his energy because he can get nothing done.

12. This period of semi-cooperation with the Kashmir State authorities even survived the upheaval in India of August 1942.⁴ The Kashmir National Conference sympathised with this upheaval and demonstrated accordingly. But the then Prime Minister, Sir N. Gopalaswami Iyengar, refused to take any precipitate action, and the situation calmed down.

13. There was a rapid change in Prime Ministers. Within a few years there were four Prime Ministers: Meanwhile the Minister who represented the Kashmir National Conference complained more and more

that he had no responsible work to do and indeed that he could hardly approach the Maharaja himself. Mr. Kak was throughout the Minister in attendance on the Maharaja and ultimately in 1945 he became Prime Minister. The National Conference supported him in this on the ground that he was a Kashmiri. Almost immediately after Mr. Kak became Prime Minister, there was a change in the attitude adopted towards the National Conference. This Conference represented the most powerful organization in the State with a very big mass following. It had drawn into its ranks most of the idealistic youth in the State, Muslim, Hindu and Sikh, and it was especially popular among the peasantry. Evidently Mr. Kak thought that this was too strong to be encouraged or tolerated and he began to encourage communal organisations both of the Muslims and the Hindus.

14. Matters came to a crisis early in 1946 and the National Conference Minister resigned. Thus the period of cooperation between the National Conference and the State authorities ended and the situation became progressively more tense.

15. When the Cabinet Mission came in 1946, great expectations were roused all over India including the States. There was considerable irritation at the fact that no representatives of the States people were interviewed by the Cabinet Mission. When it was known that the Cabinet Mission would go to Kashmir for a few days, a telegram was sent on behalf of the Conference to them in which the slogan of "Quit Kashmir" was used and the Amritsar Treaty,⁵ according to which Kashmir was sold to the great grand-father of the present Ruler, was bitterly criticised. Subsequently the Quit Kashmir cry was explained to mean nothing more than responsible Government under the aegis of the Maharaja.

16. A big agitation began to grow up in Kashmir in support of the message sent to the Cabinet Mission. Within a few days, however, Sheikh Abdullah was invited by Nehru to Delhi to discuss the situation. Sheikh Abdullah thereupon stopped the agitation completely and said that nothing should be done till his return from Delhi. Four days later he started for Delhi and was arrested *en route*. At the same time large number of other arrests were made and the military practically took possession of the valley. It was clear, and indeed it was admitted by Mr. Kak, that he had long been making preparations to crush the National Conference. These preparations had nothing to do with the new phase of the agitation and had preceded it. The Quit Kashmir cry gave Mr. Kak a pretext for quick and widespread action.

17. This happened about 15 months ago and ever since then there has been a continuing conflict between the State authorities and the

National Conference. Sheikh Abdullah and many of his colleagues have been in prison, most of them sentenced, others in detention. There has been repression of an extreme type and the people generally have suffered very greatly, especially during the winter months when food and fuel were deliberately not distributed with fairness. The police and the military have fired at crowds and individuals repeatedly, killing many.

18. These events in Kashmir produced a powerful effect in other States in India and the All-India States Peoples Conference made Kashmir a test case. Probably to some extent some of the other Rulers also treated it in a like way from their point of view. It is widely believed with a great deal of justification that the Political Department gave its backing to this repressive policy of the State and encouraged it.

19. Over a year has elapsed since this began and the result is that Sheikh Abdullah is probably more popular than ever with the masses of Kashmir. The Muslim League there has no particular following. Latterly even the communal Sikh and Hindu organisations have demanded Sheikh Abdullah's release. It is said that the Dogra army also strongly disapproves of Mr. Kak's policy which has resulted in making the Maharaja completely ineffective and almost a prisoner in his palace. Corruption is rampant in the State and the whole administration is centered in a small clique controlled by the Prime Minister. Almost everybody else complains bitterly of this clique and says that nothing can be done in Kashmir till Mr. Kak ceases to be Prime Minister. Even the Maharaja has begun to realise this and wants to do something about it. But Mr. Kak has so frightened him and so isolated him that it is difficult for the Maharaja to take any step of his own volition.

20. Kashmir has become during this past year an All-India question of great importance. It was only because of other developments in India and a desire to avoid adding to the existing troubles that an effort was made to prevent this spreading.

21. Sheikh Abdullah's organization, the Kashmir National Conference, has demonstrated its hold on the masses and there is no doubt that Sheikh Abdullah himself is by far the most outstanding leader in Kashmir. Mr. Kak's efforts to build up a rival leadership have not produced much effect. It is true, however, that Sheikh Abdullah's long absence in prison has produced a certain confusion in people's minds as to what they should do. The National Conference has stood for and still stands for Kashmir joining the Constituent Assembly of India. From the Maharaja's point of view this is obviously desirable and preferable to joining the other Assembly. Mr. Kak, however, comes in

the way and it has been reported that he has told the Maharaja that the Viceroy favours Kashmir joining the Pakistan Assembly because of the geographical situation of the State. Mr. Kak has also tried to convince the Maharaja that as soon as he joins the Indian Union, there will be communal riots in the State and that possibly hostile people from the surrounding territory of Pakistan might enter Kashmir and give trouble. The Maharaja is timid and is in a fix. There is no doubt that if Mr. Kak remains in control, he will himself see to it that there are communal riots.

22. The situation in Kashmir cannot be effectively met without major changes leading to responsible government in the State with the Maharaja as the constitutional head. Indeed there is no other way out and if this course is not adopted, the Maharaja's position will become progressively more insecure. If, however, the Maharaja gives a lead in this direction by joining the Constituent Assembly of India and taking steps for reforms in the State, he would immediately put himself right with the people and gain the support of Sheikh Abdullah and the most powerful party in the State, which, though predominantly Muslim, includes many Hindus and Sikhs.

23. Before this can be done, the immediate steps that appear to be essential are the removal of Mr. Kak from the Prime Ministership, and the discharge of Sheikh Abdullah and his colleagues from prison. It has been said that there are other prisoners also who belong to the Muslim League. There is no reason why all such prisoners should not also be released. If any person misbehaves in future, action can be taken against him.

24. Mr. Kak's policy during the past year has caused tremendous injury to Kashmir and to the Maharaja. Unless this is completely reversed very soon, the Maharaja's difficulties will become insurmountable and the only solution then will be by way of violent upheaval. In this upheaval the sympathy of nationalist India will not be with the Maharaja. Mr. Kak has succeeded in antagonising every decent element in Kashmir and in India as a whole. He has hardly any friend anywhere.

25. It is interesting and important to note that Kashmir has kept out of communal troubles during a period when the rest of India has been full of them. This is a remarkable tribute to the policy of the National Conference and Sheikh Abdullah. During this period there is little doubt that Mr. Kak encouraged communal friction in order to weaken the political movement. Yet he did not succeed although the leaders of the popular movement were in prison. When Sheikh Abdullah comes out of prison, he will undoubtedly be able to control his people effectively and he will gladly cooperate with any real steps for the progress of Kashmir.

26. Sheikh Abdullah's wife, Begum Abdullah, has played a notable part during this past year in heartening the people of Kashmir and in giving relief to the vast numbers of sufferers there. Previously living mostly in *purdah*, she has come out and gone to her people.

27. What happens to Kashmir is, of course, of the first importance to India as a whole not only because of the past year's occurrences there, which have drawn attention to it, but also because of the great strategic importance of that frontier State. There is every element present there for rapid and peaceful progress in cooperation with India. Communalism has not vitiated the atmosphere as in other parts of India. The resources of the State are very great; but unhappily a wrong policy, carried through ruthlessly by a man without any scruple or long vision and with a great deal of personal ambition, has brought the State to the verge of ruin. There is almost complete unanimity today in Kashmir amongst all classes and sections of the people that Mr. Kak should go. Where he can go to, it is difficult to say because he has made himself unacceptable everywhere in India and more especially in Kashmir. But in any event he must be removed from his position of authority. The second immediate step that has to be taken is the release of Sheikh Abdullah as well as of other political prisoners. Obviously no conditions can be attached to this release. When Sheikh Abdullah is released, he will, no doubt, take counsel with his colleagues in Kashmir and outside before any fresh step is taken. The National Congress is deeply interested in this matter and but for the urgency of other work, Nehru would have been in Kashmir long ago. He still thinks of going there soon. Gandhiji also intends going there before long.

28. If any attempt is made to push Kashmir into the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, there is likely to be much trouble because the National Conference is not in favour of it and the Maharaja's position would also become very difficult. The normal and obvious course appears to be for Kashmir to join the Constituent Assembly of India. This will satisfy both the popular demand and the Maharaja's wishes. It is absurd to think that Pakistan would create trouble if this happens.

¹TP, XI, Enclosure to No. 229, 442-8.

²Kashmir Muslim Conference was formed in 1932.

³In 1939 Kashmir Muslim Conference was renamed as Kashmir National Conference.

⁴Refers to Quit India Movement started by Congress on 8 August 1942.

⁵According to the Treaty of 16 March 1846, Kashmir was sold to Gulab Singh, Ruler of Jammu, for a sum of Rs 75 lakh (about £500,000). See Alastair Lamb, *Kashmir, A Disputed Legacy (1846-1990)*, Islamabad, 1992, 8.

VIII.4

Jawaharlal Nehru to H. L. Ismay¹

[Extract]

19 June 1947

7. You will appreciate that it is of the highest importance to us that the States should fit in properly into the picture of India. It is bad enough that India has to be partitioned. It would be disastrous if this process went further and resulted in the "balkanisation" of the country. That would certainly lead to conflict till some suitable equilibrium was arrived at. We might well have to go back a hundred years when the East India Company was consolidating its power in India and emerging as the dominant authority.

¹TP, XI, No. 264, 510.

VIII.5

Louis Mountbatten to Earl of Listowel¹

L/P&S/13/1845

SRINAGAR,

20 June 1947

1446/18

Dear Listowel,

I enclose a copy of letter I have received from H.H. the Nawab of Bhopal, until recently the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes. He has asked me in the last paragraph of his letter if I will transmit a copy of the enclosed note² to the Prime Minister. I am therefore sending two copies of the note and the letter, one for you and one for you to pass to the Prime Minister. I obtained his agreement to sending also a copy of his covering letter.

I told the Nawab and his new Dewan, Sir Zafrullah Khan, at a recent interview³ that Congress would never have agreed to the Plan if there had been more than two dominions to be set up and had even refused to agree that Bengal should be allowed to have independence and dominion status.⁴ I pointed out that quite apart from any other consideration the Plan would not have been accepted by Congress on any other basis. I told him also that H.M.G. had given careful consideration to

the position of the States and that in fact the Memorandum of May 12th 1946⁵ had been expressly referred to again in the Statement of June 3rd,⁶ so that its acceptance by all parties would be publicly acknowledged.

There is no doubt, however, that some of the States feel very unhappy, particularly of course Hyderabad and Bhopal, who have Muslim rulers with Hindu-majority populations.

Yours sincerely,
MOUNTBATTEN OF BURMA

¹TP, XI, No. 273, 528.

²Not printed, *ibid.*

³See Appendix X.3, paras. 32-6.

⁴In the course of his note, the Nawab of Bhopal had argued that as, under the Mountbatten Plan, each section of British India was to be accorded "the choice to remain within the British Commonwealth... or to get out of it" the same choice should have been accorded to the States. See TP, XI, Enclosure to No. 273, note 3, 529.

⁵Appendix X, Vol. I, Part II, 479-81.

⁶No. 1.

Enclosure to No. VIII.5
*Nawab of Bhopal to Louis Mountbatten*¹

PERSONAL AND SECRET

QASR-I-SULTANI, BHOPAL,
14 June 1947

Your Excellency,

I enclose for your consideration a Note² which contains some of my reflections on what I have described as the Mountbatten Plan. I can pretend to no knowledge of the motives or considerations which may have impelled His Majesty's Government to leave the States in the unhappy position in which they find themselves under this Plan. I can only guess that they may have been actuated by the hope that they might thereby conciliate the present leaders of the Indian National Congress. If that was so, all that I wish to observe is that a very short passage of time will demonstrate only too clearly the futility of that hope. The Congress has so far in spite of occasional internal crises been able to maintain a united front *vis-a-vis* Britain inasmuch as all sections and groups inside it were actuated by an uncompromising hostility towards Britain. Of this you have had ample proof and experience as Supreme Commander of the S.E.A.C. How many times the burdens and anxieties of that very delicate and responsible position were multiplied by the open and secret activities of the Congress can

be adequately known to you alone. You are also aware of the part that the States played in that life and death struggle. They at least did far more to protect their country against foreign aggression and domination than the Congress can ever lay claim to.

Now that the Congress is about to climb into the seat of supreme power in Hindustan, it will find it impossible to maintain a united front. The right wing and the left wing will not continue to hold together even during a space of months after the complete transfer of supreme power into the hands of the Congress. All indications point to the early predominance of the left wing and though that wing prefers to describe itself at present as the socialist wing of Congress, its socialism is only a thin veneer covering a mass of rank communism, a reality which H.M.G. may not at present be prepared for obvious reasons to recognise, but which has not escaped the penetrating vision of Mr. Sumner Welles.³ By what degree of affection, devotion, and love for Britain a communist Hindustan will be inspired, I am not competent to assess. That task I leave to statesmen possessed of the far sighted vision and experience of the British Prime Minister and his colleagues and advisers.

In the accompanying note I have preferred to confine myself to the broad question of H.M.G.'s policy towards the States. I have not touched upon the concrete difficulties that have been created by the Congress in the way of the States taking part in the shaping of the future constitution of Hindustan. I have no doubt that you have studied with care the decisions already made by the Constituent Assembly on matters comprised within the Objectives Resolution,⁴ the list of Fundamental Rights and the list of Union Subjects. It seems to me that decisions and resolutions of that type leave very little incentive for the States to cast in their lot with Hindustan.

I have been privileged to enjoy your friendship for over 25 years now, and for this reason I have frankly given my views in the note, and written to you without reserve, in the confident hope that what I have said will not be misunderstood by you and will be read in the spirit in which it has been written. I shall be much obliged if your Excellency will kindly arrange to transmit a copy of the enclosed note to the Prime Minister for his information.

Yours very sincerely,
HAMIDULLAH

¹TP, XI, Enclosure to No. 273, 528-9.

²Not printed.

³US Under-Secretary of State, 1937-43.

⁴On 13 December 1946, Nehru moved a resolution on a "declaration of objectives" in the Constituent Assembly, declaring firm resolve "to proclaim India as an independent sovereign republic". See Annex II to No. 420, Vol. I, Part I, 754-5.

VIII.6

JINNAH'S VIEW ABOUT PARAMOUNTCY SUPPORTED¹

"The masterly exposition of the term Paramountcy, and its bearing on the status of the Princes, by Mr. Jinnah, allots to the States their rightful position," says Malik Mohammad Din, the former Constitutional Adviser to Patiala State, in a statement to the Press.

Malik Mohammad Din says: "To warn the Princes of certain consequences if they refused to join this or that Government of the future, would not appear to be very politic.

"The India of today may be a geographical unit, and also, perhaps, a political unit under the aegis of the British, but the India of tomorrow is to be a sharply divided [into] two. To coerce a State to join the Hindustan or Pakistan Government of tomorrow would be to sow the seeds of unhealthy rivalry between the two Governments.

"In a word, the States' problem needs very careful handling lest the situation aggravates beyond redemption."—API.

¹*Pakistan Times*, 22 June 1947.

VIII.7

*Jawaharlal Nehru to Louis Mountbatten*¹

IOR, R/3/1/144

17 YORK ROAD, NEW DELHI,
22 June 1947

Dear Lord Mountbatten,

Your attention must have been drawn to the various statements made by Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar or on his behalf regarding Travancore.² He has declared that Travancore will be independent on the lapse of paramountcy on the 15th August. This raises vital issues and any perseverance on his part in this attitude and declaration will inevitably bring Travancore into conflict with the Government of India.

2. He has nominated a representative of Travancore for Delhi. Normally we would welcome any representative from any State and deal with him directly in order to facilitate business of common concern.

But after the declarations made by Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, any recognition of his Envoy here becomes undesirable and objectionable.

3. In today's paper it is stated on behalf of the Travancore Government that "as a result of personal discussions and correspondence between Mr. Jinnah and the Dewan of Travancore,³ the Dominion of Pakistan, on its establishment, has agreed to receive a representative of Travancore and to establish relationship with the State which will be of mutual advantage"; further that in pursuance of this decision the Travancore Government have nominated a certain person "as representative of Travancore State in the Dominion of Pakistan and he will take charge of his duties from the date on which paramountcy lapses and Travancore becomes independent".

4. This statement is extraordinary in many respects. There is no Dominion of Pakistan in existence and I am not aware of Envoys being sent to a non-existent State. Normally two existing States confer together and come to an agreement about exchange of representatives. Apart from this, I take it that till paramountcy lapses, it is still functioning and any statements affecting paramountcy are to be made only with the consent of the Political Department. I do not know if the various statements that Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar has issued have been referred to the Political Department and if that Department's sanction or concurrence has been obtained. If they have not been so referred, then I think it is not only a breach of decorum but also of the rules at present governing the relationship of the States with the Paramount Power.

5. The Dominion Government of India will, no doubt, deal with this matter. But meanwhile such statements are mischievous and harmful and I think that Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar should be informed accordingly.⁴

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

¹Also see *TP*, XI, No. 295, 556-7.

²The Dewan explained in his press conferences and statements that the decision of the Maharaja to declare the independence of the State after the lapse of paramountcy will be for the purpose of entering into mutually beneficial treaties with any future Government or Governments of India. *Ibid.*, No. 226, 438-9.

³See Nos. 144, 155 and 161.

⁴Abell referred this letter to Corfield. Mountbatten also sought Menon's advice in the matter. "On 1 July, Mountbatten replied to Pandit Nehru that he had taken note of the views expressed in this letter about Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar's statements and would like to discuss the matter when he and Pandit Nehru next met." See *TP*, XI, No. 295, note 2, 557.

VIII.8

*Jawaharlal Nehru to H. L. Ismay*¹

17 YORK ROAD, NEW DELHI,
22 June 1947

Dear Lord Ismay,

I received your letter of the 21st June² last night on my return from Hardwar.

Thank you for sending me the draft memorandum on the constitutional functions of the proposed States Department of the Central Government.

2. There is only one thing I would like to suggest. The memorandum deals with the whole complex of administrative and economic arrangements. I do not know if this includes certain political arrangements also and relations. You will remember that in the Cabinet Mission's memorandum of 12th May 1946³ it was stated that "the void will have to be filled either by the States entering into a federal relationship with the Successor Government or Governments in British India or, failing this, entering into particular political arrangements with it or them".

3. Perhaps this matter can be brought out in the "Stand-Still" agreement.

4. I am sorry for the slight delay in sending you our suggestions for the "Stand-Still" agreement. I wanted to consult some lawyers and constitutional experts in regard to this. I hope to send it to you before long.

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU⁴

¹TP, XI, No. 297, 559.

²Ismay had sent a memorandum on constitutional functions of the proposed States Department which Mountbatten suggested to discuss at the next meeting of the Indian Cabinet. See *ibid.*, No. 288, 548-50.

³Appendix X, Vol. I, Part II, 479-81.

⁴Ismay informed Nehru on 23 June that "he had already, in anticipation of the Viceroy's wishes, sent the draft memorandum to the Cabinet Secretariat for circulation and consideration at the next meeting of the Cabinet, and agreeing that the points raised in para. 2 of Pandit Nehru's letter could well be considered when the Standstill Agreement was under discussion". TP, XI, No. 297, note 3, 559.

VIII.9

*Stafford Cripps to Rajagopalachari*¹

IOR, R/3/1/137

AIR MAIL

BOARD OF TRADE, MILLBANK, S.W.1.

23 June 1947

My dear Rajaji,

I have carefully studied your letter of 8th June² about the States. I am afraid I cannot go with you on the historical and constitutional argument: I feel no doubt that our Cabinet Mission Statement of May 1946³ was, and remains, right, and that the relations of the Crown with the States, though before 1935 conducted *through the agency*⁴ of the Governor-General in Council, have always been constitutionally quite distinct from the *executive government* of British India. When the Crown ceases to be the paramount power in India as a whole, the executive government of British India will pass to British Indian hands, but the Crown's existing relations with the States must necessarily lapse.

But, the constitutional issue apart, I quite recognise and appreciate the practical issues which so disturb you. You rightly say that these relations comprise a large number of important matters which directly concern British India. The Cabinet Mission recognised this and suggested the "standstill" arrangements in the Memorandum. Of course, at that time we envisaged a longer period in which such an arrangement could be made. Now things are moving much faster and both we and the Viceroy are alive to the need for some speedy settlement between the States and British India on the lines of a "standstill" agreement. This is a matter which must be settled at your end and I understand the Viceroy has been discussing it with the Committee of Leaders. You may be sure that we shall do anything we can here to help and support him. It is a case for co-operation and goodwill on the administrative level in the first instance—like so much of the business now before you all in India—and cannot be settled on a legalistic basis; I feel sure that in practice means will be found to avoid undue administrative confusion.

R. STAFFORD CRIPPS

¹Also see TP, XI, No. 303, 565-6.²In his letter Rajagopalachari had contended that paramountcy would not end with the transfer of power but that it would devolve on the Successor Governments. See *ibid.*, No. 107, 196-8.³No. III.1, Vol. I, Part II, 32-42.⁴Underlined here and hereafter in the original.

VIII.10

*Record of Interview between Louis Mountbatten and Jawaharlal
Nehru¹*
[Extract]

TOP SECRET

24 June 1947, 11 a.m.-12.30 p.m.

5. Finally, we talked about Kashmir. I told him I had arranged with the Maharajah to have a long talk with him on the last day (Sunday)—first an hour or so alone with him after luncheon, and then an hour or so with him and his Prime Minister after dinner. Unfortunately His Highness had been indisposed and had had to take to his bed, and so the conversation could not take place.

Pandit Nehru said that that was an old trick, which the Maharajah had played on him when he was going to meet him in Kashmir—he had on that occasion also had “a tummy ache”.

I remarked that I did not think the colic was feigned, and that in any case I had managed to have a certain amount of conversation both with the Maharajah and Mr. Kak, the Prime Minister,² though not together. The advice I had given to both of them independently was:

a. That Kashmir should not decide about joining any constituent assembly until the Pakistan Constituent Assembly had been set up and the situation before them was a bit clearer.

b. That meanwhile they should make no statement about independence or about their intentions.

c. That they should go ahead and enter into “standstill” and other agreements with both new States.

d. That eventually they should send representatives to one Constituent Assembly and join one of the two States, at least for defence, communications and external affairs.

e. That so far as possible they should consult the will of the people and do what the majority thought was best for their State.

I said that I got the impression that the Maharajah and the Prime Minister had separately agreed that this was sound advice; but both had stated that on account of the balance of population and the geographical position in which they found themselves, any premature decision might have a very serious effect on their internal stability.

Pandit Nehru agreed that my advice was sound and unexceptionable.

6. He then asked me what luck I had had about Sheikh Abdullah. I told him that my wife had had an invitation from Begum Sheikh Abdullah to have tea with her at her house, and that she had enclosed

a letter from Pandit Nehru urging acceptance. I told him that this letter only arrived on Friday evening and that Sunday was being devoted to an expedition away from Srinagar; and the only spare time on Saturday had been taken up for visits to two hospitals which had not been included in the programme. The only way therefore that the Begum could have been seen, would have been to invite her up to the Palace. This the Maharajah asked me not to do since he said she was indulging in political propaganda against him and it would be too awkward if she came. Her Excellency had therefore written to the Begum and explained her inability to accept her invitation.

Pandit Nehru said he was sorry that I had been unable to solve the problem of Kashmir, for the problem would not be solved until Sheikh Abdullah was released from prison and the rights of the people were restored. He, Nehru, felt himself called upon to devote himself to this end, and he thought he would soon have to go to Kashmir to take up the cudgels on behalf of his friend and for the freedom of the people.

I replied that both H.H. and the Prime Minister had particularly asked that no Congress or League leaders should come and visit Kashmir until their decision had been announced, since it would gravely add to their troubles if they were to be subjected to political propaganda before a decision had been reached. As this did not appear to deter Pandit Nehru, I then pointed out that he really must look to his duty to the Indian people as a whole. There were four hundred millions in India and only four millions in Kashmir. He would soon be the Prime Minister of an Indian Government, ruling at least two hundred and fifty million; and I would consider it highly reprehensible of him to desert his most important duties at the Centre to interest himself on behalf of four millions who might very well be going to join Pakistan and have nothing more to do with him. In fact I called upon him as a matter of duty not to go running off to Kashmir until his new Government was firmly in the saddle and could spare his services.

He reluctantly agreed that I was right, and took my advice in very good part.

M[OUNTBATTEN] OF B[URMA]

¹TP, XI, No. 319, 592-3.

²Mountbatten told Kak that "the only protection for Kashmir after the 15th August was to join one or other of the Constituent Assemblies". Ibid., No. 294, 556.

VIII.11

Louis Mountbatten to Maharaja of Kashmir¹

IOR, R/3/1/94

27 [28] June 1947

My dear Maharajah Sahib,

As you know, I had promised Mr. Nehru and Mr. Gandhi that I would take up the question of Sheikh Abdullah with you.² I had to inform them, however, that owing to your having colic on the very day that we had arranged for a discussion on this matter, it had not been discussed.

I told them³ that I had had discussions both with you and your Prime Minister about the future of Kashmir; and that I thought I had succeeded in convincing both you and your Prime Minister that it was essential not to make any statement about independence, since your freedom of choice on the lapse of paramountcy remained constitutionally the same. I told them that I understood that you were willing to enter into agreements with both the new Dominion Governments and that you were seriously considering the question of linking yourself up from the military point of view with one or the other new Dominion, and might consider sending representatives to that Constituent Assembly provided that this did not involve you in a closer association than you desired.

I further went on to say that you were most anxious not to have any political leaders coming up at this time, since any form of propaganda speeches at this moment might well rouse communal feelings and provoke bloodshed which you have been so successful in avoiding up to now.

Mr. Nehru was very upset, and said he felt he must go up to Kashmir himself at once. I told him that I did not feel that his services could be spared from the Centre with only seven weeks remaining in which to fix up the details of partition and the transfer of power; and he promised to think it over.

Mr. Gandhi then came to see me and said that Mr. Nehru had agreed not to go provided he, Mr. Gandhi, went in his place. Mr. Gandhi, however, offered not to go and to let Mr. Nehru go if I would prefer that.

I told him that provided he would give me the necessary assurances not to indulge in propaganda, I would put the case to you personally; and I dictated an official letter to you in his presence yesterday, which

I now enclose. I have also sent a copy of the official letter to Gandhi.

May I suggest that you should send an answer direct to Mr. Gandhi, and that if you do decide to accede to his visit you should stress that you do so under the conditions mentioned in my letter.

I need not remind you that I have not the power to stop either of these two coming up to visit you, and so you will have to make up your mind which of the two you would sooner have. I sincerely hope for all our sakes that, if you do accept a visit from one of them, you will be able to so arrange matters that there is no clash. I am sure that you and your Prime Minister, with your great tact and knowledge of the situation, will be able to handle this matter. My attention has been drawn to Your Highness' letter of the 11th July 1946 to Nehru, as a result of which I understand that the latter paid a second visit to Kashmir last year without any untoward incident.

Yours sincerely,
MOUNTBATTEN OF BURMA

¹ Also see TP, XI, No. 386, 717-8.

² Sheikh Abdullah was arrested during the Quit Kashmir Movement launched by him in 1946 and was released on 29 September 1947.

³ Also see No. VIII.10.

Enclosure to No. VIII.11

Louis Mountbatten to Maharaja of Kashmir¹

26 June 1947

My dear Maharajah Sahib,

I am writing to tell Your Highness that I have had a talk with both Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Nehru, who are both still anxious to visit Kashmir. I pointed out to them that any visit from a big Congress leader in which speeches were made could not fail to cause the League to send speakers of the order of Mr. Jinnah to counter their propaganda. This would in effect produce the electioneering atmosphere which you so rightly wish to avoid, since, as you pointed out to me, there has been no bloodshed up to date and only violent political speeches could now bring about this bloodshed.

Mr. Gandhi tells me that Pandit Nehru is prepared to forgo his visit if he (Mr. Gandhi) goes instead.

I am therefore writing this at Mr. Gandhi's request (and dictating it in his presence) to suggest that you should agree to his visit in the near future and make things as easy as possible for him.

He has given me his firm assurance that he will make no political speeches or carry out any form of propaganda. The object of his visit would be to see Madame Abdullah; and, if you granted permission (but only if you did grant him permission), he would like to see Sheikh Abdullah. He would like to meet the people in a general way, but has no desire to address them or to collect large crowds.

May I suggest that Your Highness or your Prime Minister should communicate direct with him to save time.

I am sending Mr. Gandhi a copy of this letter.²

Yours sincerely,
MOUNTBATTEN OF BURMA

¹TP, XI, Enclosure to No. 386, 718-9.

²Mountbatten sent a letter to Gandhi on 27 June. In the letter he remarked: "I enjoyed our interview so much; it is always most refreshing hearing your point of view and obtaining the benefit of your advice". Ibid., note 4, 719.

VIII.12

Louis Mountbatten to Conrad Corfield¹

IOR, R/3/1/137

592/89

30 June 1947

Dear Conrad,

The Raja of Bilaspur came to see me on Saturday to consult me about the future of the Punjab States. He told me that with the exception of Patiala all the other Punjab States were proposing to act together in the manner that would best safeguard their future. I suggested that they would be well advised to continue to act together as a unit. I pointed out that the new States Department (which His Highness said he warmly welcomed) would be acting on behalf of both dominion Governments and that on the 25th July Standstill Agreements would be negotiated between each State and one or both of the new Dominion Governments.

His Highness asked what the machinery would be to get each State to sign the agreements. I told him that you were organising this² and presumed an accredited representative would have to come from every State or group of States, which would probably fill the whole Chamber of Princes! I hoped they would then elect a small committee to represent them.

I pointed out that Standstill Agreements affecting railways, posts, telegraphs, etc., would not in themselves cover every interest of the States, and that commercial agreements particularly as to irrigation and so forth might also be necessary.

I also told His Highness that I was quite certain that the Punjab States must make up their minds to send representatives to one of the two Constituent Assemblies when they met in mid-July, since by so doing they would indicate their willingness to enter into military relations with the particular Dominion Government they had chosen, and ensure the goodwill of that Government. I gave it to him as my strong view that no State would be well advised to hold out for the complete independence, to which the Cabinet Mission Statement of 12th May³ entitled them, even though this had been accepted by all parties in their statements of 3rd June.⁴ His Highness quite agreed.

I suggested that he might prepare a paper for consideration at the next meeting of the Punjab States, setting out fully the following considerations as to which of the two Constituent Assemblies they should join:

- a. Geographical situation.
- b. Composition of the population of the States.
- c. The wishes of the people of the States.
- d. The direction in which their principal commercial interests lay.
- e. The terms likely to be offered by the respective Dominion Governments to the States adjoining them.

His Highness asked me how any State or group of States could elect to join a Dominion Government with whose areas they were not contiguous. I replied that whereas legally they could do so this would only be feasible by negotiating transit agreements with the other Dominion. For this reason he might well find that the geographical situation was the overriding factor to be considered.

His Highness asked advice on what the position would be if for geographical considerations States had to join a Dominion Government with whom they would not be in close commercial relations. I pointed out that this was a matter which would have to be negotiated on 25th July, since I could not now answer for the future Dominion Governments whether they would agree either to give transit facilities to State whose commerce naturally flowed from a Dominion whose borders they did not touch, or alternatively whether a Dominion with whom they were in commercial relations would agree to continue those relations if they joined the other Dominion.

Finally I told His Highness that I had made it a point of principal not to advise any State which of the two Dominions they should join.

I should be grateful if you would discuss this letter with V. P. Menon and through him try and sound the views of the future Union of India and Pakistan representatives in the States Department.

I should like you to keep in touch with the Raja of Bilaspur on this matter so as to facilitate his discussions with his fellow rulers.

Yours sincerely,
MOUNTBATTEN OF BURMA⁵

¹Also see *TP*, XI, No. 418, 764-5.

²The Crown Representative had desired that when discussions on the Standstill arrangements took place "accredited representatives of all States should be present i.e. representatives empowered to sign any agreement which may be reached as a result of discussion and negotiations". *Ibid.*, No. 287, 546.

³Appendix X, Vol. I, Part II, 479-481.

⁴No. 1.

⁵In his reply on 2 July, Corfield informed Mountbatten that "progress in setting up the States Department had been slow, adding that that Department would 'need every day' between now and the end of the month to prepare for the discussions then to be held with States representatives". See *TP*, XI, No. 418, note 4, 765.

APPENDIX IX

VICEROY'S INTERVIEWS WITH JINNAH AND OTHER LEADERS

IX.1

RECORD OF INTERVIEW BETWEEN LOUIS MOUNTBATTEN,
M. A. JINNAH, LIAQUAT ALI KHAN AND ABDUR RAB NISHTAR¹

7 June 1947, 11.45 a.m.

The Dewan of Bahawalpur² was present for the latter half of this interview. Lord Ismay and Sir Eric Mievill were also present. Lt. Col. Erskine Crum was in attendance and dictated the record.

This interview lasted two hours.

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan suggested that the Chairman of the Arbitral Tribunal should be a member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, preferably without previous experience of India. I said that I would consult the Congress Leaders about this,³ and put up the suggestion to H.M.G.

Mr. Jinnah suggested that the Chairmen of the Boundary Commissions should be people with experience of the broad principles whereby boundaries were demarcated. I agreed to this, and said that I would suggest to the Congress Leaders that all three members of each Boundary Commission should be provided by U.N.O. Representatives of Congress, the Muslim League and other interested parties would be in attendance on the Commissions as expert assessors—probably three from each side of each partitioned Province. I asked Mr. Jinnah to suggest the paragraph in the terms of reference of the Western Boundary Commission which would refer to the Sikhs.⁴

I put forward the suggestion that H.M.G. and the two new Dominions should enter into tripartite agreements. Mr. Jinnah objected to the word "tripartite"; he preferred the expression "identical bilateral agreements."

I asked Mr. Jinnah to show me the terms of the resolution which he intended to put before the All India Muslim League Council at its meeting on 9th June.⁵ He replied that this resolution would probably be short, and contain the following points:

- a. We accept the plan as the only possible solution.
- b. We can never agree to an united India.
- c. We do not agree to the partition of the Punjab and Bengal, but we have to take the plan⁶ as a whole into account when considering this.

The Dewan of Bahawalpur then entered and gave an account of the difficulties which that State would face as a result of the partition of the Punjab.

These difficulties were in connection with water supply and irrigation. I asked Sir Eric Mieville to keep in touch with him. He also suggested that there should be a time limit of, perhaps, five years for the continuation of present agreements with the States.

Mr. Jinnah was strongly of the opinion that existing contractual agreements with the States would be legally binding on the successor authorities. I said that I would take this point up with Congress and ask for a ruling from the Secretary of State.

¹TP, XI, No. 101, 190-1.

²Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani.

³Nehru opposed this suggestion. See TP, XI, No. 157, 291.

⁴For the draft terms of reference as proposed by the ML, see Annex I to No. 312.

⁵Enclosure to Annex to No. 41.

⁶No. 1.

IX.2

RECORD OF INTERVIEW BETWEEN LOUIS MOUNTBATTEN, M. K. GANDHI AND M. A. JINNAH¹

17 June 1947, 10 a.m.-12 noon

I saw Mr. Gandhi from 10 to 11 a.m. The main topic of the discussion was the referendum. He still wanted Mr. Jinnah to go and see the NWFP Government leaders, to woo them as suggested in the statement he had prepared with Lord Ismay.²

He was most dissatisfied at Mr. Jinnah's stipulation about no Congress interference; and he still wanted me to urge Mr. Jinnah to go, as their correspondence had come to a full stop.

I asked him whether he would agree to see Mr. Jinnah right away, and on obtaining his agreement, sent a telephone message to Mr. Jinnah asking if he would come earlier than his original time, to see Mr. Gandhi. Mr. Jinnah came at 11 a.m. and joined the meeting until 12 noon.

Both these great men spoke in such low voices that they could not hear each other, so I had to move their chairs close together. After a good deal of mutual recrimination about their correspondence,³ I finally solved the problem by suggesting that since Abdul Ghaffar Khan had been invested with plenary authority by the Frontier Ministry,⁴ Mr. Jinnah should take advantage of his presence in Delhi to meet him here.

Both leaders seemed to think this a good idea, but Mr. Gandhi said that Abdul Ghaffar Khan was most mistrustful of Mr. Jinnah and would not come unless he received a written invitation. Mr. Jinnah said he had frequently extended verbal invitations, and that if Abdul Ghaffar Khan was not prepared to accept these, he certainly had no intention of sending him a written invitation.

After this wrangle had gone on for some time, I solved the difficulty by offering to invite all concerned to meet me at 7.45 the same evening. Both accepted and honour was satisfied.

(Unfortunately, Abdul Ghaffar Khan had had an engagement 100 miles outside Delhi, and although he was due back between 6 p.m. and 7 p.m., he did not get back in time for the meeting. I personally telephoned Mr. Jinnah and Raj Kumari Amrit Kaur, Mr. Gandhi's Secretary, and got them to agree to a meeting with Abdul Ghaffar Khan at the Viceroy's House the following day, under the chairmanship of Lord Ismay.)

Before Mr. Jinnah's arrival, I mentioned to Mr. Gandhi that I believed a question was likely to be asked in the House⁵ concerning the position of those Indian States who declared their independence. I informed him that on being asked this question in my Press Conference,⁶ I had replied to the effect that States would not be allowed Dominion status and that the question of separate negotiations with States was a hypothetical question which had not yet arisen.

If I received such a request, I would refer it to HMG. I pointed out that Hyderabad had a Trade Commissioner in London, and I was sure that HMG could not be expected to cut off trade relations with Hyderabad.

Mr. Gandhi begged me on no account to make any statement in Delhi, and, if possible, to make no statement about this question until he returned. Since he wished to continue the discussion with me and I was unable to do so, I invited him to see Lord Ismay and arrange for an immediate meeting.

¹TP, XI, No. 230, 448-9.

²Gandhi suggested that Mountbatten try and persuade Jinnah to put his case for Pakistan to the Frontier leaders and people persuasively in order to woo the Province into Pakistan with a view to avoiding the Referendum and the attendant danger of bloodshed. See *ibid.*, Annex to No. 99, 182-4.

³See Nos. 94 and 99.

⁴The Congress had insisted that NWFP should be given the choice "of a free Pathan State which would later decide on its relations with the Indian Union or Pakistan". Abdul Ghaffar Khan also demanded that the "Frontier people should be allowed to pronounce on the issue of independence". See TP, XI, No. 228, 440-1.

⁵Also see *ibid.*, No. 216, item 3, 420-1.

⁶Refers to Mountbatten's Press Conference held at New Delhi on 4 June regarding the announcement of 3 June Plan. See *ibid.*, No. 60, 115-22.

IX.3

H. L. Ismay to Louis Mountbatten¹

H. E.

20 June 1947

I had a long talk with Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan. The following is a summary of the principal topics:

1. GURGAON

I reiterated the Viceroy's regrets about the hitch over the despatch of Muslim troops to Gurgaon.² I added that the Commander-in-Chief had ordered an additional battalion to that area, and that the CGS had instructed the Army Commander concerned privately that this battalion should contain as large a proportion as possible of Muslims.

2. KARACHI

I said that I had consulted the Commander-in-Chief who had stated that there would be great difficulty in making Muslim engineers available in the immediate future for helping with arrangements for accommodating the Pakistan Government in Karachi. Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan said that he was not, at this stage, thinking in terms of engineers. What he wanted was the services of a senior military officer with 'Q[uartermaster]' experience to make plans for the accommodation of the Pakistan Government in Karachi and for the move of the Government to that place. I promised to write again to the Commander-in-Chief explaining that my first approach had been under a misapprehension.

A copy of my letter is at Annex 'A'.³

3. CONTROLLER OF CURRENCY

I referred to a letter that I had just received from Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan in which he asked me to help him to find a Controller of Currency for the Pakistan Government (Annex 'B'); and I undertook to write to Lord Catto⁴ at once, with a copy to Mr. Holland-Martin⁵ (see Annex 'C').⁶

4. ARBITRAL TRIBUNAL

I reminded Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan that there had been a difference of opinion between the two parties on this matter, and that it had been agreed⁷ that he and Sardar Patel should consult together and let us have an agreed recommendation. Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan said that he would get in touch with Sardar Patel at the first opportunity.

I took the opportunity of dropping a hint—without of course mentioning names—that if they were to decide to ask for an independent

British Chairman, we had got a possible candidate in mind who would be quite first class. This was with reference to the Secretary of State's telegram about Sir Cyril Radcliffe.⁸

5. BOUNDARY COMMISSIONS

I said that we had received the nominations of Congress for both Boundary Commissions two or three days ago,⁹ and asked him to expedite the Muslim nominations. Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan said that he would do his best. He added that the Chairman (who was to be nominated by the Boundary Commissioners themselves) should not be an arbitrator, but, so to speak, a business manager. He anticipated that agreement would not be reached by the Boundary Commissions, and therefore that two sets of recommendations would be submitted to the Governor-General who would pass them to the Partition Council. It was not beyond the bounds of possibility that the Partition Council would be able to come to an adjustment among themselves; but if they failed to do so, reference would have to be made to the Arbitral Tribunal.

6. GOVERNOR-GENERAL AND GOVERNORS

I told Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan that we had already received certain proposals for the draft Bill, and that the Bill itself might reach us on Monday or Tuesday next. Meanwhile HMG had asked us to consult the Indian leaders on the following points:

- a. Was there to be a common Governor-General to start with; and
- b. What was to be the procedure for appointing Governors.

As regards (a), I reminded him of the conversation that Sir Eric Mieville and I had with him some days ago, but he said that he had not yet had an opportunity of talking it over with Mr. Jinnah. I impressed upon him the urgency of this matter, and emphasised how impossible it would be to get any sort of continuity or any sort of orderly partition if each Dominion had a separate Governor-General. He said that he would consult Mr. Jinnah at the first opportunity.

As regards (b), I said that the alternatives were broadly as follows:

- a. Governors could be appointed by the Provinces themselves, presumably after reference to The King; or
- b. The Governors could be appointed by the Governor-General on the recommendation of the Dominion Governments concerned.

I said that (b) seemed far the better procedure, but did not think it right, or perhaps tactful, to let him know that Congress favoured this course. Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan said that he would discuss this point with Mr. Jinnah at the first opportunity.

7. GOVERNOR GENERAL'S BODYGUARD

I said that the composition of the Governor-General's Bodyguard was such that it could be divided between India and Pakistan without much difficulty. Did Pakistan want a Governor-General's Bodyguard? Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan replied 'Certainly'. I told him that since the Bodyguard was a unit of the Army, he ought to take this up with the Army Reconstruction Committee.

8. PARTITION OF THE ARMY

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan expressed grave doubts about the speed at which the Army was to be partitioned. I emphasised over again that unless there was to be chaos, the whole Army must be under a single central administration. Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan said that he had no objection to this, provided that by 15th August Pakistan had its own Army (which would, of course, be subject to adjustment later, and which might, in the first instance, consist of, say, 70% Muslims and 30% Hindus), under its own Commander-in-Chief, who should be nominated at an early date. The movement of Muslim majority units to Pakistan and the movement of units which were either exclusively Hindu or had a majority of Hindus to Hindustan should be started at once and conducted as a war measure with the greatest possible dispatch. He concluded by stating most emphatically that he and Mr. Jinnah were resolved that they would not take over the reins of Government in Pakistan unless they had an Army on the spot, and under their control, of the kind that he had mentioned.

Note: I feel that Y. E. should have a talk with the Commander-in-Chief at the first opportunity and impress upon him that whatever the military position, political considerations demand that these movements should be put through as a matter of the greatest urgency.

9. BRITISH TROOPS IN INDIA

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan said that it would help to steady matters if British troops were to remain in India while the Indian Army was under process of transition. I said that it had already been agreed that HMG should be asked their intentions about the withdrawal of British troops: and I added that it would be very difficult for them to allow them to remain unless both Dominions specifically asked for this.

ISMAY

¹TP, XI, No. 275, 532-5.

²In his telegram to Ismay, Mountbatten expressed his shock that his promise to Liaquat that some Muslim troops would be sent to Gurgaon had not been honoured. He asked Ismay to express his regret to Liaquat and to ask the Commander-in-Chief to do all in his power to send as many Muslim units to Gurgaon as possible. See Appendix II.17 and 18.

³Omitted. With his letter of 20 June 1947, Ismay sent to Auchinleck a copy of Liaquat's letter of 17 June. Ismay added that Mountbatten desired that all possible help be given for setting up the Pakistan Government Headquarters at Karachi. *Ibid.*, No. 275, note 2, 533.

⁴Governor, Bank of England, 1944-49.

⁵Director, Bank of England.

⁶In his letter of 19 June, Liaquat requested the services of an expert to advise on currency, exchange, etc., and added that the expert would later organise the Reserve Bank of Pakistan. Ismay forwarded the request to Lord Catto on 20 June, and also wrote to Holland-Martin, whom he thought Lord Catto would consult in the matter. See *TP*, XI, No. 275, note 3, 533.

⁷See *TP*, XI, No. 175, item 3, 328-9. Also ■ Appendix IX.1, note 3.

⁸Listowel informed Mountbatten that Radcliffe might undertake the chairmanship of the Arbitral Tribunal on the conditions mentioned in Jowitt's letter to Listowel of 13 June, viz. free travel and accommodation and living allowances, besides salary. See *TP*, XI, No. 224, note 2, 437.

⁹Nehru had suggested Justice Mehr Chand Mahajan and Justice Teja Singh for the Punjab Boundary Commission. Justice C.C. Biswas and Justice Bijan Kumar Mukherji were proposed for the Bengal Boundary Commission. See *TP*, XI, No. 207, 401. Also see No. 164.

IX.4

RECORD OF INTERVIEW BETWEEN LOUIS MOUNTBATTEN AND R. C. KAK¹

IOR, R/3/1/137

22 June 1947

H. E. said that he believed there might have been some misunderstanding about the advice he had given to H. H. the Maharaja in discussion with him.²

2. He had told H. H. that, in his opinion, Kashmir would find it very difficult to protect themselves against the pressure of the Congress unless at the right moment they joined one or other of the two Constituent Assemblies.

3. It was not for him to suggest which Constituent Assembly they should join, but clearly Kashmir should work this out for themselves on the basis of the best advantage to the ruler and his people, and in consideration of the factors of geography and the probable attitude of the Congress and the Muslim League respectively to Kashmir.

4. If Kashmir joined the Pakistan Constituent Assembly presumably Mr. Jinnah would protect them against pressure from the Congress.

5. If they joined the Hindustan [Constituent] Assembly it would be inevitable that they should be treated with consideration by Hindustan.

6. But if they joined neither Assembly they would be in a very difficult position.

7. Pandit Kak replied that he was grateful for what H. E. had said. H.H.'s decision was that at present he could not commit himself. Clearly he must see what the set-up was to be in Pakistan, and until that was clear he would have to maintain his present non-committal position. H.H. realised the various factors involved, but in any case was not now in any way alarmed by Pandit Nehru or disturbed by his threats.

8. H.E. pointed out that Pandit Nehru felt very strongly about Kashmir, and it would be extremely difficult for him (H. E.) to do anything to help to protect Kashmir after the 15th August, when Pandit Nehru would become Prime Minister of Hindu India, and H. E., even if he remained, would become only a constitutional Governor-General. The only protection for Kashmir after the 15th August was to join one or other of the Constituent Assemblies.

¹TP, XI, No. 294, 555-6.

²Mountbatten in his separate discussions with the Maharaja and Prime Minister Kak suggested as follows:

- "a. That Kashmir should not decide about joining any constituent assembly until the Pakistan Constituent Assembly had been set up and the situation before them was a bit clearer.
- b. That meanwhile they should make no statement about independence or about their intentions.
- c. That they should go ahead and enter into 'standstill' and other agreements with both new States.
- d. That eventually they should send representatives to one Constituent Assembly and join one of the two States, at least for defence, communications and external affairs.
- e. That so far as possible they should consult the will of the people and do what the majority thought was best for their State." See TP, XI, No. 319, 592.

IX.5

RECORD OF INTERVIEW BETWEEN LOUIS MOUNTBATTEN AND M. A. JINNAH¹

SECRET

23 June 1947, 7 p.m.

Sir Eric Mievill was also present.

The Viceroy started the conversation by saying that, whereas he was not raising the matter on personal grounds, he must ask Mr. Jinnah to give his earnest and early consideration as to whom he would wish as the first Governor-General of Pakistan² and also the names of those who he would want as Governors of the Pakistan Provinces. The Viceroy, while stressing the advantages to be derived from having during the partition period a common Governor-General for both Dominions, made it abundantly clear that he was not asking for the appointment himself and that it was an entirely free choice of

the two Dominions concerned. The Viceroy further explained that an early decision was required because it affected a clause in the Bill that was shortly to be laid before Parliament. Mr. Jinnah replied by saying that he trusted he would be allowed to see the Bill and to comment on it. The Viceroy said that he had had a great tussle with H.M.G. who had taken the line that it was entirely contrary to Parliamentary procedure for a Bill to be shown to anyone outside the Government before presentation. However, he had fought hard and won and was glad to say that Mr. Jinnah would be given an opportunity of seeing the Bill, although the Viceroy could not allow him to take a copy away. Referring back to the question of the Governor-General, Mr. Jinnah then said that whatever decision he reached would not be taken on the grounds of not wanting the Viceroy, in whom he had implicit trust and confidence, but the rule of his life was that he must always consider the interests of his people. At various times of his career he had had to pass over those nearest and dearest to him. He finished by saying that in two or three days time he would be ready to convey his decision to the Viceroy.

2. BOUNDARY COMMISSIONS³

Mr. Jinnah said that he accepted the terms of reference that had been put up by the Congress Party⁴ and that he would have names of his nominees for both Boundary Commissions ready for submission to the Viceroy within the next day or two. He then said that he felt it would be impossible for both parties to agree upon the two Chairmen and he therefore suggested that a distinguished member of the Bar from England might come out as an independent Chairman for both Commissions and that his decision should be final. He should, in fact, act as an Umpire. It was suggested that in view of the fact that the Arbitral Tribunal in Mr. Jinnah's opinion would not be functioning seriously for some time to come, whoever was appointed Chairman of that Tribunal (and the composition of the Tribunal has not yet been agreed to by Congress) might come out from England in the near future and act as Chairman of the two Boundary Commissions before taking over his duties with the Tribunal. He did not anticipate that the work of the Boundary Commission would last very long. The Viceroy told Mr. Jinnah, in confidence, that the man who had been suggested as Chairman of the Arbitral Tribunal was Sir Cyril Radcliffe. Mr. Jinnah while saying that he would like a day or two to consider whether he thought Sir Cyril to be a suitable Chairman, knew of him and of the high reputation which he held at the Bar.

3. BENGAL

Mr. Jinnah started by hotly contesting the right of the Governor to go into Section 93. The Viceroy said that he had two alternative suggestions to offer, namely (a) Coalition Government and (b) Regional Ministries. To neither of these did Mr. Jinnah agree. The Viceroy then proposed that the existing Government in Bengal should remain in power but that a shadow Cabinet should be formed in West Bengal which should be invested with a right of veto over all decisions taken by the Government affecting West Bengal. To this Mr. Jinnah agreed. The Viceroy added that he had a similar plan in mind for the interim period at the Centre. Mr. Jinnah did not demur.

4. BRITISH BALUCHISTAN

The Viceroy explained that we had gone carefully into the three suggestions put up by Mr. Jinnah⁵ for obtaining a more representative vote in British Baluchistan than that which had hitherto prevailed, but all these suggestions involved considerable delay and he therefore asked Mr. Jinnah whether he would not reconsider his decision. Mr. Jinnah said that he really did not feel strongly in the matter and would leave it in the Viceroy's hands.

5. SIR EVAN JENKINS

Mr. Jinnah said that he thought Sir Evan was adopting a weak attitude and that he must show a firm hand. He should, for example, make a statement that he was determined to put down the present troubles and that there would be no more latitude shown. The Viceroy agreed that it might be useful if Sir Evan were to make some such statement on those grounds.

6. DIVISION OF THE ARMY⁶

Mr. Jinnah returned to the charge that he must have a Pakistan army ready by August 15th and that there must be an operational Commander-in-Chief in Pakistan by that date who would take his orders from the Pakistan Government. The Viceroy agreed with this, but added that for administrative matters both armies should continue to be under Field Marshal Auchinleck. Mr. Jinnah saw the point but said that the Muslims no longer had faith in Field Marshal Auchinleck and they would much prefer to see someone else in his place. The Viceroy disagreed with this view entirely and said there was no more reliable or respected officer in India than Field Marshal Auchinleck.

7. CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

Mr. Jinnah asked the Viceroy whether he thought that the first meeting of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly should be held in Karachi or in

Delhi. The Viceroy expressed the view that in his opinion Delhi would be the more convenient place. Mr. Jinnah then said that the first meeting would be held somewhere about the middle of July and he wondered whether the Congress would be agreeable to the meeting taking place in the Legislative Assembly Chamber.⁷

¹TP, XI, No. 311, 580-3. For conclusions, see Enclosure to No. 227.

²At the Viceroy's Staff Meeting earlier the same day, it was pointed out that according to the Draft Bill, India Office had assumed that Mountbatten would be asked by both the Dominions to become common Governor-General. But Mountbatten was not sure how to tackle Jinnah on the issue. See TP, XI, No. 308, item 5, 574-5.

³Mountbatten was of the view that in case no agreement could be reached on the choice of the Chairmen of the Boundary Commissions, the President of the International Court of Justice could be asked to select the Chairmen. See *ibid.*, No. 262, para. 5, 507.

⁴The Congress hoped that the Boundary Commission would take all relevant factors into consideration. It was agreed that each Boundary Commission would have an independent Chairman and four other members of whom two would be nominated by the Congress and two by the ML. *Ibid.*, Nos. 158, 292-3, and 175, item 2, 327-8.

⁵See No. 206. Jinnah's suggestion that a more representative body than the *Shahi Jirga* be required to decide on the future of Baluchistan was considered at the Viceroy's Staff Meeting on 23 June. As it was considered likely to delay the passage of the Indian Independence Bill, and as Nehru also agreed that the decision might be taken by the *Shahi Jirga*, it was decided that Mountbatten would discuss the matter with Jinnah the same evening and point out to him that the Viceroy was empowered to take a decision and was under no compulsion to obtain the Party leaders' agreement. *Ibid.*, No. 308, item 1, 573.

⁶Appendix IX.3, para. 8.

⁷See No. 255, note 1.

IX. 6

BERNARD MONTGOMERY¹ TO FRANK SIMPSON²
THROUGH VICEROY AND INDIA OFFICE

Telegram, IOR, R/3/1/82³

MOST IMMEDIATE/TOP SECRET

NEW DELHI,
24 June 1947, 7 p.m. [sic]
Received: 24 June, 6 p.m.

No. 1560-S. PEPPER 74. Please pass following to War Office personal for VCIQS from CIGS.

1. In continuation of PEPPER 73.⁴ I had a talk with Jinnah at 1830 hrs. last night.

2. Jinnah was agreeable that the withdrawal of British troops should begin on 15th August but he was most anxious that the withdrawal should not be conducted too quickly as he considered that troubles might possibly arise.

3. I told Jinnah that I would do everything I could to help him and that the withdrawal would be spread over a period of months so that it would not finish till February 1948. He accepted this and said that would suit him very well.

4. Jinnah then said that he would definitely require British Officers to serve in the Pakistan Army. I told him that it was beyond my powers to grant this and that he must submit an application through Governmental channels stating clearly the terms of service and so on that he proposed to offer. I said that he should do this without delay and before the majority of the present British Officers of the Indian Army began to go off to other occupations or appointments. He said he was quite clear on this matter and would do as I suggested.

5. The question will arise as to the status of the British troops in India after 15th August [19]47. My own view is that the British Government should become financially responsible for the pay and administration of these troops from that date. We should leave Whistler⁵ with a suitable H.Q. to command them his status being changed from that of adviser to the present C-in-C to one of a Command. The British Government should lay down clear-cut rules as to the employment of the British troops in the event of widespread disturbance threatening British life and property. In general the British troops would be regarded as lodgers in the Dominions of Pakistan and Hindustan until such time as they can be withdrawn in accordance with the programme given in para. 3 of PEPPER 73. You should immediately begin an examination of these problems and get Governmental instructions issued about them as soon as possible.

6. I have given copies of PEPPER 73 and 74 to the Viceroy and have no objection to you giving them to Scoones⁶ if you wish.

7. Ack[nowledge].

¹Chief of the Imperial General Staff.

²Vice-Chief of the Imperial General Staff.

³Also TP, XI, No. 329, 607-8.

⁴In PEPPER 73, the interview with Nehru regarding the withdrawal of British troops from India was reported, where Nehru had agreed to the withdrawal starting on 15 August 1947 and ending by 28 February 1948. See *ibid.*, No. 315, 586-7.

⁵General Officer Commanding British troops in India, 1947-48.

⁶Principal Staff Officer to the Secretary of State for India, 1947.

IX.7

H. L. Ismay to Louis Mountbatten¹

29 June 1947

H. E.

I had two hours talk with Mr. Jinnah yesterday. Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan was also present. The following were the main topics of discussion:

1. INTERIM GOVERNMENT

Mr. Jinnah said that he had consulted legal opinion who had confirmed the illegality of your proposed action. I reminded him that you had agreed to get the opinion of Law Officers at home and that he (Mr. Jinnah) had undertaken to present his case. He accepted this and said that he would let you have his presentation by Sunday evening, the 29th.²

Continuing, he said that he had only raised this question of illegality in order to let you out of your undertaking to Congress: and that whatever the Law Officers said, he could not in honour take any part in the Interim Government as now proposed. His representatives would be merely spies and watchdogs. I brought out all the old arguments—only 48 days to go—Pakistan's interests would be fully safeguarded and he would thus have the substance, even if he had to let the shadow go—and so forth. But I failed to move him; while Liaquat Ali Khan intervened to say that he himself could not possibly play second fiddle in the Financial Department after having had Ministerial charge of it for so long.

At the end of our discussion on this point, I was not absolutely convinced that, when it came to the point, Jinnah would refuse to play.

2. BOUNDARY COMMISSIONS

Mr. Jinnah said that he had now sent in his proposed amendments to the terms of reference suggested by Congress.³ His amendments⁴ were designed to bring the terms more in line with the announcement of 3rd June.⁵

I told him that we were all under the firm impression that the League had already agreed to the Congress draft and that it was probably too late to take his suggestions into account. It would be a tragedy, I said, if we were to delay the business of the Boundary Commissions by having any further wrangles over the terms of reference. I added that I would report to you at once, and you have already written him a long letter⁶ on the subject.

3. PURNEA

He asked what was happening about Purnea and reminded me that in one of his many letters to you on the subject of the announcement

he had said that there must also be a referendum in Purnea, which should be given a chance of joining Eastern Bengal.⁷

I said I was not fully in the picture, but if I remembered aright, Congress had also demanded a fat slice of Sind. If the question of Purnea were reopened, this demand would also be pressed. Was it not better to leave [it] well alone? Mr. Jinnah was inclined to think otherwise and I undertook to report our conversation to you.

4. REFERENDUM IN THE N.W.F.P.

Mr. Jinnah said that he agreed to the proposed poster provided that the Pakistan areas in the map of India were painted green instead of blue. I said that I would look into this at once.

In point of fact, the Governor of the N.W.F.P. has today reported that this change has already been made and agreed to by his Ministry.

5. SIR GEORGE CUNNINGHAM

Mr. Jinnah said that he was very anxious to have Sir George Cunningham⁸ as Governor of the N.W.F.P. and that he would give him any terms within reason. I expressed considerable doubt as to whether Sir George would be prepared to make this immense sacrifice, but undertook to get in touch with him at once. I have today telegraphed Sir Archibald Carter.⁹

6. SIR ARCHIBALD ROWLANDS

Mr. Jinnah asked how the question of Sir Archibald Rowlands¹⁰ was proceeding.¹¹ He wanted him very badly as Financial Adviser and general administrator. I said that we had not been handling this question. (I believe that it was conveyed to England by Sir Walter Monckton.) I would, however, find out the position. I pointed out that, in any case, there could be no question of getting Rowlands, who is an officer serving the British Government, before the transfer of power on 15th August. Mr. Jinnah entirely accepted this argument.

ISMAY

⁷TP, XI, No. 399, 736-8.

⁸See No. 311.

⁹See Annex II to No. 312.

¹⁰See Annex I to No. 312.

¹¹No. 1.

¹²No. 312.

¹³See No. 437, Vol. I, Part I, 780 and Appendix XIV. 27, Vol. I, Part II, 680.

¹⁴Governor, NWFP, 1937-46 and 1947-48.

¹⁵Permanent Under-Secretary of State for India, 1947.

¹⁶Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Supply, 1946-47.

¹⁷Mountbatten was agreeable to Rowlands being made available to Pakistan after the transfer of power so that his previous experience as Finance Member in India was not used for arguing Pakistan's case for division of assets. See TP, XI, No. 168, 315.

APPENDIX X

VICEROY'S PERSONAL REPORTS

X.1

Louis Mountbatten to Earl of Listowel¹

IOR, L/PO/6/123

PERSONAL/TOP SECRET

5 June 1947

I got back from London late on the night of Friday the 30th May, but decided I would not see any leader, formally, before the meeting on Monday. It was essential, however, to find out the latest position about Bengal, so I arranged for Mieville to see Suhrawardy and bring him into me (so that the interview would not appear in the Court Circular).² I was distressed to learn from Suhrawardy that Kiran Shankar Roy had been unable to persuade the Congress High Command to allow Bengal to vote for independence. Suhrawardy pleaded for Calcutta to be allowed to be a free city during the period of partition, since he felt that in this period communal bitterness would thus be relaxed and sufficient confidence might be re-established for the Congress eventually to decide to leave it a free city. Otherwise he feared that nothing he could do would prevent riots and great damage in the City before partition. I sent V. P. Menon to see Patel to obtain his agreement to six months joint control of Calcutta. Patel's reply was very firm: "Not even for six hours!"

2. On Saturday evening I attended a cocktail party given by the new Chinese Ambassador,³ which gave me an opportunity of meeting all the political leaders socially. They were not slow to attack. Nehru insisted that the Congress representation at the meetings should include Kripalani, and he said that if I would not increase the numbers he would himself stand down in favour of Kripalani.⁴ I then tackled Jinnah and Liaquat, who were most averse from [*sic*] allowing Kripalani in. Finally, however, all-round agreement was reached that Kripalani should be added to the Congress team and Nishtar to the League.

3. Jinnah tackled me on the need for a referendum on the question of Bengal or at least Calcutta, to give the Scheduled Castes the chance of expressing their dissatisfaction with Caste Hindus. I refused to be drawn.

4. My wife bought a series of small presents in London for the womenfolk of all the leaders which were despatched on Saturday and received the most enthusiastic letters back on Sunday.⁵

5. Very bad riots were in full swing once more in the Gurgaon District of the Punjab, not far from Delhi. I sent an aeroplane for the Governor, Jenkins; met him at Palam airfield; and motored with him to the riot areas.⁶ The trouble appears to have been started by the Hindus this time, who, four days after a Peace Committee meeting, which was reported to have passed off very satisfactorily, attacked a Meo village. (The Meos are the aborigines of this district and Muslims by religion). Naturally, this led to reprisals by the Meos and fighting was at that time in full swing up and down a 50 mile front; with only three companies of Sikhs and one of Gurkhas to try and quell it. I visited the Battalion and two Company Headquarters, and talked to a young officer who with half a dozen men had dispersed an armed crowd of 5,000.

6. A new feature of the fighting has been the increase in the use of fire arms and home-made trench mortars, and direct unprovoked attacks on soldiers.

7. The District Commissioner reported to me that the Home Member, Patel, and the Defence Member, Baldev Singh, had visited the battlefield two days previously and had invited the District Commissioner to stamp out this lawlessness ruthlessly. The District Commissioner took them to a village which at that time was ablaze and the two Members found that it was the Hindu community which was busy setting the village on fire.

8. However, each community appears to have destroyed almost an equal number of the other's villages, the total now exceeding sixty. I could not help feeling that this renewed outbreak of violence, on the eve of the meeting with the leaders, might influence them to accept the plan which was about to be laid before them.

9. We went round the Baptist Mission hospital at Palwal, where there were a lot of horribly wounded and mutilated casualties from the fighting. The hospital was not equipped for such an additional influx and my wife, who had accompanied us, arranged to have all their shortages and supplies made good as soon as possible.

[Para. 10 omitted]

11. The Nawab of Bhopal, after I had explained the plan to him said "Once more His Majesty's Government have left the Princes in the lurch, because we could have joined the weak Centre envisaged by the Cabinet Mission scheme, but now there will be a tight Centre, whichever

Dominion we join, which will utterly destroy us." I tried to impress on him that the only certain destruction of the Princes' personal position would be if they tried to stand out as independent areas; but nothing I could say could shake him from his intentions to do so.

12. On Monday at 10 o'clock the first meeting⁷ of the Indian leaders took place in my study, with the following present:

Congress:	Nehru, Patel, Kripalani
League:	Jinnah, Liaquat, Nishtar
Sikhs:	Baldev

The eight of us sat round a small table, while Ismay, Mieville and my Conference Secretary sat immediately behind me. The atmosphere was tense and I got the feeling that the less the leaders talked the less the chance of friction and perhaps the ultimate breakdown of the meeting. After a tense beginning the atmosphere became generally friendly and distinctly hopeful; particularly when I reported on the most helpful attitude of His Majesty's Government and the Opposition.

13. I asked the leaders to let me have their replies before midnight. Kripalani and Baldev promised me letters and Jinnah said he would come in person at 11 p.m. after they had seen their Working Committees. I kept back Jinnah after the meeting on Monday morning, both to counter-balance the fact that I was seeing Gandhi separately (he never comes with the Congress leaders), and to impress on him that there could not be any question of a "No" from the League.

14. Since Gandhi returned to Delhi on the 24th May, he has been carrying out an intense propaganda against the new plan, and although I have always been led to understand he was the man who got Congress to turn down the Cabinet Mission plan⁸ a year ago he was now busy trying to force the Cabinet Mission plan on the country. He may be a saint but he seems also to be a disciple of Trotsky. I gather that the meetings of the Congress Working Committee have been most acrimonious in consequence, and I believe the leaders were quite apprehensive of my seeing Gandhi on Monday. I certainly was. Judge then of my astonished delight on finding him enter the room with his finger to his lips to indicate that it was his day of silence!⁹

15. I spent 45 minutes explaining to him why the Cabinet Mission plan could not be enforced against the will of any community, and generally trying to break down his resistance to the new plan. He scribbled me a few notes on the back of used envelopes, of a friendly nature, but once more called on me to remove Caroe from the N.W.F.P., a request which has now been renewed by both Nehru¹⁰ and Khan Sahib¹¹ (the Premier of the N.W.F.P.).

[Paras. 16-17 omitted]

18. At 11 o'clock that night Jinnah came round.¹² He spent half an hour conveying the protest of his Working Committee against the partition of the Provinces and saying that if His Majesty's Government were really going to insist on this scandalous move, then his Working Committee hoped most strongly that they would at least do justice to the Scheduled Castes in Bengal by insisting on a proper referendum. I reminded him that I had explained at great length at the meeting that morning the Governor's reasons against a referendum and that I did not in any case intend to accept any amendment of the printed plan unless it was agreed to by all parties.

19. I then asked him straight out whether his Working Committee were going to accept the plan. He replied that they were "hopeful." I then asked him whether he intended to accept it himself, to which he replied that he would support me personally and undertook to use his very best endeavours to get the All India Muslim League Council to accept it. He had called an urgent meeting next Monday for this purpose. I finally asked him whether he felt I would be justified in advising the Prime Minister to go ahead and make the announcement, to which he replied very firmly "Yes". Ismay, who was present, and I both felt that this was as much of an acceptance as we should ever get out of him until his Council met.

20. Shortly after Jinnah left, the letter came on behalf of the Congress Working Committee from Kripalani.¹³ It was quite a long letter, a copy of which has been sent home. Although it contained various objections and reservations it was a firm acceptance on behalf of the whole Congress Working Committee; subject of course to general ratification by the All India Congress Committee in about a fortnight's time.

21. Baldev Singh's letter¹⁴ was only received on Tuesday morning and also contained reservations about instructions to the Boundary Commission on behalf of the Sikhs, though it accepted the plan in other respects.

22. I called an early morning meeting¹⁵ of my Staff to discuss the two main objections raised by Congress, and I despatched V. P. Menon to see Patel,¹⁶ and invited Nehru to come at 9.30 a.m. to see me before the meeting.

23. The line I took about these two points with Nehru was as follows:

a. The Congress request to allow the N.W.F.P. referendum to include a third choice—for independence—could not be accepted unless

the Muslim League leaders agreed to it, which Nehru admitted was out of the question. I further pointed out that it was at Nehru's own request that I had removed the choice of independence in the case of Bengal and other provinces to avoid "Balkanisation". I expressed surprise that he should have been a party to such a manoeuvre, the more so since he admitted that this Province could not stand on its own, and would eventually have to join up with one side or the other in any case.

b. The last sentence of the new paragraph 20 produced a strong reaction. This reads as follows:

This will be without prejudice to the right of the Indian Constituent Assemblies to decide in due course whether or not the part of India in respect of which they have authority will remain within the British Commonwealth.

It may be remembered that this was the sentence which I thought in London might give trouble and which I had favoured omitting.¹⁷ Nehru began by saying he did not doubt my sincerity or that of His Majesty's Government, but that this sentence drew attention to the fact that Pakistan would be allowed to remain within the Commonwealth even if Hindustan wished to withdraw. I pointed out that what the sentence really drew attention to was the fact that either side could withdraw whenever they liked. Nehru replied "But everybody knows that, why did you have to draw public attention to the fact that one side could stay in if the other side withdraws?"

I replied that this was done from motives of honesty. He argued that His Majesty's Government could not be a party to allowing Pakistan to remain in the Empire if Hindustan wished eventually to withdraw. I pointed out that His Majesty's Government did not run the Commonwealth; that all the States in it were free and equal partners; and that the only method open to him for getting Pakistan out would be either by persuading them to withdraw at the same time as Hindustan, or raising the matter at a Commonwealth conference and getting the other Dominions to agree to this course. Finally I told him that I had no intention of raising such a controversial matter which would only infuriate Mr. Jinnah. We then went into the meeting.¹⁸

24. Once more at this second meeting I was afraid to let the leaders speak and so I spoke for each of them in turn, pointing out that as we had all expected all three parties had grave objections to the various points in the plan, and that I was gratified to find that they had aired them to me. Since, however, I knew enough of the situation to realise that not one of the suggestions would be accepted by either of the

other parties I did not propose to raise them at this meeting, and asked all the leaders to signify their consent, which they did.

25. The very moment I felt that I had got enough agreement on which to go ahead I announced this decision and then threw on the table copies of a lengthy paper prepared by my staff entitled "The Administrative Consequences of Partition"¹⁹. The severe shock that this gave to everyone present would have been amusing if it was not rather tragic. I arranged to call another meeting on Thursday to consider it, and then broke up the meeting as quickly as I could.

26. On Tuesday afternoon I saw Giani Kartar Singh. He surprised me by saying that when the bitterness had died down he would be prepared to see Mr. Jinnah and make the best terms he could for the Sikhs, who would come into Pakistan. Needless to say I much encouraged this. He also promised that the Sikh community would not fight so long as the British were present. While expressing my gratification at this, I pointed out that they would be hit just as hard by the Indian armed forces after the transfer of power as before, and I hoped the Sikhs would not be so foolish as to commit virtual suicide.

27. At 4 o'clock on Tuesday afternoon²⁰ I saw the fourteen members of the States Negotiating Committee and gave them the printed plan, and explained it. It was surprisingly well received considering the difficulty pointed out by the Chancellor, His Highness of Bhopal. In general the Committee agreed that the next two months must be utilised for negotiating temporary agreements on a stand-still basis to allow time for proper agreements to be entered into in due course.

28. The three leaders had promised to broadcast that evening after me, asking that the plan should be accepted as peaceably as possible by their followers. At 7 o'clock I met them at the All-India Radio studio, and we made our broadcasts.²¹ The faces of the Muslim Leaguers when Nehru talked about allowing parts of India to secede from the Union were matched only by the expressions of dismay on the faces of the Congress members present when Jinnah made a violent electioneering speech about the N.W.F.P. However, I succeeded in jollying them out of their gloom.

29. At ten o'clock on Wednesday morning I held a press conference in the Constituent Assembly Hall, attended by upwards of 200 pressmen.²² For two and a quarter hours I was under violent cross-fire on every conceivable subject, but mostly about the Sikhs, about the States, and about Pakistan being allowed to retain dominion status. I luckily knew my subject pretty well, having been immersed in it for two months, and feel I was able to answer all the questions to most people's

satisfaction. At all events the follow up in all sections of today's press has been more favourable than the most sanguine of us could have hoped for.

30. Suhrawardy came to see me again after the announcement. For a Muslim leader living in West Bengal he showed surprising courage and determination to build a worthwhile Eastern Pakistan. He was already full of plans, the principal one being to mortgage the whole of the jute crops of Bengal to acquire the necessary machinery, power plants, etc., to put Eastern Bengal on its feet. He said he had already had a number of interesting offers from American businessmen, but had been disappointed that no British interests had come forward. I arranged for Mieville to put him in touch with Shone²³ since I pointed out that I was not here to look after British interests myself.

31. This morning²⁴ I held my third meeting with the leaders to discuss the paper on the administrative consequences of partition. We made very slow progress as each side appeared to be anxious to make political speeches. Jinnah was at pains to explain that both States would be independent and equal in every way. Nehru pointed out that the whole basis of approach must be different; India was continuing in every way the same, and the fact that dissident Provinces were to be allowed to secede must not interrupt the work of the Government of India or its foreign policy. Feeling was very tense.

32. Both sides were still very anxious to obtain my services as arbitrator in all matters of dispute in working out the partition. But I pointed out that since both sides were already approaching the problem from such widely divergent points of view it was clear that I should have to give a decision which one side or the other side would dislike practically every day, and however much they now professed to believe in my impartiality, such a procedure could not fail to undermine their confidence in me within a very short time. I therefore felt I should not be of much use to them in this capacity and I am glad to say they agreed to try and find a mutually acceptable High Court Judge to fulfil this role.

33. This afternoon I received a telegram²⁵ from Caroe saying that in the absence of the Premier he had seen two members of the Government who said they refused to accept paragraph 4 of the announcement and would not in any circumstances co-operate in the referendum. I immediately sent for Khan Sahib²⁶ and told him that I could not possibly accept his attitude and he promised to fly back to the Frontier to-morrow and get their people to accept paragraph 4 and help with the referendum.

34. A number of people whom I have met since the announcement have all told me they believe the communal tension to have been greatly relieved by this announcement and that a new feeling of hope and expectancy was abroad, at all events throughout Delhi. I am under no illusion that to retain this spirit will require the most careful handling of the situation; for the smallest high level incident could upset it again.

M[OUNTBATTEN] OF B[URMA]

¹TP, XI, No. 91, 158-65.

²Burrows had conveyed to Mountbatten on 28 May 1947 that Suhrawardy proposed to have an interview with him. Ibid., X, No. 554, 1023.

³Also see Nos. 46 and 54.

⁴Nehru insisted that Kripalani should be invited to the Round Table Conference even if Jinnah had objected to it. See TP, XI, No., 411-2.

⁵See Nos. 512 and 513, Vol. I, Part I, 972-3.

⁶See Appendix II.10.

⁷See Annex I to No. 1. Also see TP, XI, No. 23, 39-47.

⁸Appendix III.1, Vol. I, Part II, 32-42.

⁹For the record of interview between Mountbatten and Gandhi, see TP, XI, No. 24, 48.

¹⁰Nehru had drawn Mountbatten's attention to the impasse between the Khan Sahib Ministry and Caroe and suggested a change of Governor. Ibid., No. 61, 122-3.

¹¹During his interview with Mountbatten, Dr Khan Sahib had insisted on Caroe's removal prior to the holding of referendum in NWFP. Ibid., No. 81, 150.

¹²See Appendix III.4.

¹³See Appendix III.1.

¹⁴See Appendix III.2.

¹⁵"There appears to be no record of this meeting among the Minutes of the Viceroy's Staff Meetings in the Mountbatten Papers." See TP, XI, No. 91, note 14, 163.

¹⁶Mountbatten sent Menon to impress upon Patel that HMG could never be expected to agree to the Congress desire of giving an assurance that Pakistan would be expelled from the Commonwealth if the rest of India wished to secede. Ibid., No. 53, 104-6.

¹⁷"The relevant India and Burma Committee Minute (Vol. X, No. 553, Minute 3) does not record Lord Mountbatten's view on this point, but cf. Vol. X, No. 494, Minute 2, 918." Ibid., No. 91, note 16, 163.

¹⁸For details of the Meeting of the Viceroy with the Indian leaders, see *ibid.*, No. 39, 72-8.

¹⁹See Enclosure to No. 7.

²⁰For minutes of the Meeting of the Viceroy with Members of the States Negotiating Committee, held on 3 June 1947, see Enclosure to No. 27.

²¹Nos. 2 to 5.

²²For the opening remarks by Mountbatten and the proceedings of the press conference held in the Council House, New Delhi on 4 June, see TP, XI, Nos. 59 and 60, 110-5 and 115-22.

²³Sir Terence Allen Shone, British High Commissioner in India from November 1946.

²⁴For the minutes of this meeting see *ibid.*, No. 73, 137-42. Also see No. 32.

²⁵Appendix V.2.

²⁶Appendix V.5.

X.2

Louis Mountbatten to Earl of Listowel¹

IOR, L/PO/6/123

TOP SECRET/PERSONAL

12 June 1947

I have spent most of the past week in consultation with the Indian leaders about the administrative consequences of partition. Meanwhile press reactions in this country to His Majesty's Government's announcement of the 3rd June² continue to be favourable and the absence of any serious outbreaks in the country is most satisfactory.

2. I received information³ towards the end of last week that Gandhi was in a very unhappy and emotional mood and some of the Congress leaders feared he might denounce the plan and its acceptance at his next prayer meeting. I therefore asked him to come and see me before this prayer meeting; he was indeed in a very upset mood and began by affirming how unhappy he was at my spoiling his life's work.

[Paras. 3-5 omitted]

6. Generally speaking His Majesty's Government's statement has eased the tension throughout the country and the real fear of communal war on a large scale has disappeared. The situation in the Gurgaon area is however still unsatisfactory; nor did any of us expect the announcement of the 3rd June to have any appreciable effect on this particular situation. It is clear that there are still not enough troops in the area to control the situation and the District Commissioner has asked for more.⁴ The Commander-in-Chief has agreed to a further increase bringing the force up to one brigade. Lahore and Amritsar also remain rather unsettled, although the disturbances are on a much smaller scale than before the announcement. Calcutta is, I am glad to say, remarkably quiet. I refer to Burrows' report on Bengal later on.

[Para. 7 omitted]

8. The All India Muslim League Council held a meeting in camera on Monday the 9th June.⁵ I thought it very wise of them to hold it in camera, but this did not prevent Vallabhbhai Patel from sending me the transcript of shorthand notes on the proceedings,⁶ presumably taken by a Congress spy! I attach a copy of the resolution,⁷ which was passed. I had asked Jinnah to show me the draft resolution before it was put to the meeting, but he said that the resolution would be formulated as a result of the meeting and he did not know what it would be.

9. Although I did not expect the resolution to be very differently

worded, it caused a howl of indignation among the Congress Press, and violent letters⁸ of protest from Nehru and Patel, who expressed fears that they would not be able to manage the All India Congress Committee in view of the failure of the League to make a definite announcement that they accepted the plan as a settlement.

10. After a meeting this morning of the Committee of the Cabinet which I have set up to make the necessary administrative preparations for the Partition Council, I kept back Liaquat Ali Khan and Patel to thrash this matter out.⁹ Patel said quite categorically that unless Mr. Jinnah would give a firm acceptance in writing before the All India Congress Committee met, he could not guarantee what would occur at that meeting, since their draft resolution was an acceptance of the plan "in view of the acceptance of the plan by the Muslim League Council." Liaquat countered by pointing out that when the League accepted the Cabinet Mission plan, Congress had defeated them by putting such reservations on their acceptance that the League had had to pull out, and they did not intend to be outmanoeuvred again in this way.

11. I finally suggested as a compromise that Jinnah should write me a letter saying that he was authorised by the All India Muslim League Council to accept the plan as a compromise settlement subject to the All India Congress Committee accepting it in a similar spirit. Liaquat Ali Khan went off to try and persuade Jinnah to sign such a letter, but was not very hopeful since he said Mr. Jinnah did not like signing letters of this sort. I told him that if Mr. Jinnah refused to sign he was to send him to see me. Jinnah came at 6 o'clock tonight and categorically refused to sign until after Congress. Once more I had to take the onus upon myself and so I wrote a letter¹⁰ to the President of the Congress (a copy of which I attach)¹¹ which I hope will do the trick.

12. I had a very difficult Cabinet meeting last week in fact I have never attended a worse meeting at any time anywhere. The trouble arose over my proposal that there should be a sort of moratorium on high grade appointments and policy decisions until the two future Governments had been sorted out. I suggested that any urgent appointments or action should be submitted to the Cabinet as a whole. (The Muslim League have been making some bad appointments in their departments the major part of which will be inherited soon by Congress, and the latter are naturally sore about this). Both sides accepted my suggestion with every sign of pleasure, with the proviso from the Muslim Leaguers that matters thus placed before the Cabinet would not be decided by a majority vote since that would put Congress

in control over the appointments and high level policy of every department. I suggested that the way out of this difficulty would be for both parties to authorise me to decide whether an appointment or a policy decision was likely to be prejudicial to one or other of the two new Governments' and, if so, to rule that the matter should not be decided by majority vote. This was accepted by both sides.

13. Nehru then announced that he had a number of diplomatic appointments which were awaiting confirmation and that whereas he did not mind placing them before the Cabinet, he trusted I would rule that they did not concern Pakistan. Liaquat objected and hinted that Pakistan would not wish to have an Ambassador appointed to Russia. As Nehru's own sister, Mrs. Pandit has been proposed for this appointment, this remark was particularly tactless, though Liaquat afterwards assured me that he had no idea that Mrs. Pandit had been nominated. Anyway, there was a tremendous scene when Nehru announced that he would not tolerate interference by the League in the affairs of the Government, and that he would insist on matters like this being put to the majority vote and would see that the League was outvoted every time. When Liaquat replied equally violently, Nehru then said that if the Government were to be turned over to the League he himself would forthwith resign from the Government. Pandemonium then broke loose and everyone talked at once.

14. I had to call the principal offenders to order by name, and I then said "Gentlemen, what hopes have we of getting a peaceable partition if the very first discussion leads to such a disgraceful scene as this? This matter will be deferred for the present, and when it is brought up I will give a ruling. In the meanwhile I want to know that you back me in this matter." I then looked round at each of them. I was still faced with two or three sulky faces, and I then said "I am not going on with the next item until I see a row of smiling faces in front of me." This had the desired effect: everybody laughed and the tension was broken. I have only reported this incident at such length to show the electric atmosphere in which we are still working and the appalling difficulty with which all of us are going to be faced during the 64 days that remain until partition is achieved on the 15th August. The very speed at which we will all have to work will, however, be our best safeguard against such trouble.

15. I might add that the Cabinet started this meeting under obviously strained feelings, since those Members who had not been in on my discussions with the leaders over the administrative consequences

of partition had apparently resented being left out of it. I took the responsibility on myself for doing this, and explained that though they might be the legal Government of India to-day, they had to face the fact that within the next two or three weeks we should probably find on the vote of the Provinces that partition was certain. I therefore had to deal over questions affecting partition so far as possible with the leaders who were likely to be responsible for selecting the two new separate Governments. This explanation, I am glad to say, was well received; but they did insist that the committees and machinery for doing the partition should be set up by a Committee of the present Cabinet until partition was legally certain, and this was agreed to.¹²

16. I had an equally difficult meeting with the leaders the next day.¹³ Jinnah said that he could not agree that this matter had been handled correctly in the Executive Council (as he insisted on referring to the Cabinet). His point was that the authority really responsible for making all the arrangements was His Majesty's Government or the Governor-General in his discretion, and not the Interim Government. This, of course, led to an acrimonious discussion between Jinnah and Nehru. I eventually got Jinnah to agree to the proposal I had put to the Cabinet that a Committee should be set up consisting of two representatives of Congress and two representatives of the Muslim League, all of whom should be members of the Interim Government, but that it should not be referred to as a Cabinet Committee. I also offered to act as Chairman, and with this course of action there was general agreement.

17. The representatives of this Committee have been selected by the leaders as Sardar Patel and Rajendra Prasad for the Congress, Liaquat Ali Khan and Abdur Rab Nishtar for the League. The duty of this Committee will be to make an examination of the steps to be taken to set up the machinery, including the formation of sub-committees, for carrying out partition, and that this should be a fact-finding body, whose duty it would be to make proposals and not to reach final decisions.

18. The first meeting of this Committee took place this morning,¹⁴ when it was agreed that a Steering Committee should be set up consisting of the Cabinet Secretary (H. M. Patel) and the Financial Adviser in the Military Finance Department (Mohamed Ali) probably the two most experienced and able Indian officials in the country. This Steering Committee and the expert sub-committees will consist of officials only, and both Patel and Mohamed Ali are optimistic that the principles of partition and a great deal of the actual separation can be effected before the 15th August.

19. It was also decided¹⁵ that as soon as a decision on partition is known (i.e. immediately any one Province has declared in favour of joining a new and separate Constituent Assembly), a Partition Council should be set up to take over from this Committee; that it shall consist of two of the top ranking leaders of Congress and two of the Muslim League, whether they are in the Interim Government or not; and that I shall be Chairman with no arbitral functions.

20. I was again asked by both sides to act as Arbitrator, but I pointed out how soon their confidence in me would be shaken in the present atmosphere. They therefore agreed¹⁶ that an Arbitral Tribunal should be set up at the same time as the Partition Council. It will consist of three members, all men of great judicial experience and the composition of it will be settled by the Partition Committee. It was agreed that Sardar Baldev Singh will consult the other Sikh leaders about the composition of the Arbitral Tribunal and will inform the Partition Committee of their views. The services of the Arbitral Tribunal will be offered to the Provinces which are to be partitioned.

21. A decision has not yet been reached about the composition of the Boundary Commission, for which two suggestions have been put forward.¹⁷

These are:

- a. That each Commission should consist of three persons obtained through U.N.O., *plus* three expert assessors from each side of each partition Province.
- b. That each Commission should consist of an independent Chairman and four other persons, of whom two should be nominated by Congress and two by the Muslim League.

22. Nehru pointed out that suggestion (a) above would involve considerable delay. The U.N.O. Headquarters would probably have to communicate with each Member Government, and a long time would elapse before a choice could be made. Furthermore, it is possible that the ultimate choice might not be a very suitable one.

23. With regard to the second proposal, it has been suggested that the four persons nominated, two each by the Congress and the Muslim League, should be of high judicial standing. Possibly these four might elect their own Chairman for each Commission. If there was any difficulty about this, the two parties could perhaps themselves suggest names for the appointments of Chairmen. I hope to take a decision on this matter at my meeting with the leaders on Friday the 13th June.

24. I have already described the feeling in last week's Cabinet meeting. I must now add that the Cabinet [meeting] held yesterday evening

had promised to be an equally stormy one; for Liaquat had kindly warned ■ that he was going to oppose the proposal to set up a corporation in which private companies and the Government would co-operate to exploit the forests of the Andaman Islands. His grounds for opposing this were that the Andamans were part of the over-all assets of India, still to be divided between Pakistan and the rest of India. I knew that this would bring matters to a head again, besides broaching an issue about the future of these islands as far as His Majesty's Government are concerned. I was therefore most gratified when Mr. Bhabha, the Parsee businessman, criticised the proposal as ■ most unbusinesslike proposition. I thereupon referred the paper back to the Agricultural Department to work out a more business-like proposal in consultation with Mr. Bhabha. This saved a crisis and we got through ■ big agenda in the record time of 45 minutes.

25. It is, however, becoming increasingly clear to me that any attempt by His Majesty's Government to claim the Andaman Islands as colonies, to be treated in the same way as Aden, will cause an absolute flare-up throughout the length and breadth of India, and will probably call forth violent opposition from Pakistan as well as from the rest of India. My own position would be permanently undermined if I were to act on behalf of His Majesty's Government in this matter; it will therefore have to be left to the High Commissioner or some other authority. But I believe that the only reasonable solution would be to suggest some form of joint control or a leasing of the naval and air bases under a treaty. Yet another alternative might be to refer the case of these islands to U.N.O. or some form of arbitration. The one thing I am quite certain about is that any high-handed action by His Majesty's Government about these islands at this moment will destroy all the good feeling which now exists between the two countries, and that we must be careful to avoid dealing with any items appropriate for a treaty in ■ piecemeal way.

26. In the last week I have sent Abell to Lahore and Calcutta to discuss with the Governors the action to be taken about the partition of the Provinces.

27. Jenkins in the Punjab is very anxious to get ■ Coalition Government but has not been able to take the matter far because the Muslim League leaders are in Delhi. What he would like is ■ "divisible" Coalition Government consisting of members who could, when the time comes, fall into two Groups and form, perhaps with certain additions, the Ministries of the two new Provinces. For the partition work he will adopt the general outline of procedure suggested by me for the Centre and he has already got some expert committees working.¹⁸

What he lacks at present is the Partition Committee comprising representative leaders who can commit the two new Governments, but he will try to secure this very soon. Meanwhile, the officials are getting ahead with preparing material and there is of course a great deal of work to do at the official level before much can be settled between the parties.

28. The Muslim League have objected that the officials are predominantly non-Muslim and Jenkins, who appointed them on what he took to be their merits and chose the men most qualified for the work, will have now to modify his arrangements in consultation with the parties.¹⁹ Unfortunately he could not consult Mamdot, the Punjab leader of the League, as he was away from Lahore. But as he was in Delhi I have spoken to him myself and he will go back to Lahore and start discussions with the Governor. Jenkins took rather a stiff line about this and wanted to refuse to alter his arrangements, but clearly this is impossible and we shall have to secure the co-operation of both parties.

29. Burrows is much fitter than he was and is very gratified by the reception of the announcement. He says the week before the announcement was appalling, with everyone in a great state of nerves expecting large scale riots. The indications, however, that the parties had accepted the plan, and especially the broadcast by Jinnah²⁰ did a world of good and now he thinks that he should be able to get through without a major disaster in Calcutta. Bengal, owing to having a Ministry with the leaders absent in Delhi, has been less quick than the Punjab in getting started on the partition work, but they will now go ahead. Burrows, like Jenkins, will try to get a Coalition Ministry, and though he is not sure of success in this he realises that it is essential that there must be at least a Partition Committee representing the prospective Governments and he hopes to persuade the leaders that one must be set up.

30. Both Governors expect a certain amount of difficulty over the Boundary Commission. Unless the terms of reference are drawn widely they will not satisfy the Sikhs in the Punjab. The Muslim League, who would like wide terms of reference in Bengal in order to be able to stake a claim to Calcutta, want narrow terms of reference for the Punjab in order to resist claims of the Sikhs which are based on property and historical associations rather than on populations.

31. Jenkins is doubtful whether many British officials will stay on in the Punjab, even temporarily. They have been disgusted by recent events and most of them doubt whether they have much to contribute.

Burrows is slightly more optimistic about Bengal and if the Muslim League appeal to British officials to stay on temporarily (in addition to those who want to stay on permanently) I shall of course do my best to get the men. The present indications, however, are that the Congress do not really want men on a temporary basis and are certainly not prepared to appeal to them to stay. The matter of the Services is urgent and I hope to get firm decisions by the parties very soon.

32. Jenkins is not prepared to stay on in the Punjab because he considers that he must make it clear during the difficult weeks ahead that he has no personal axe to grind at all and is not interested in any offer of a Governorship from either party. Similarly, Burrows is sure that it would be unsuitable and undignified for him to stay on as Governor of half the Province. I respect both men for their attitude and I think they are right. I have written to Jinnah²¹ and Nehru reminding them of the importance of preparing at once a list of men suitable for such high appointments. A Governor cannot be got into position in five minutes.

33. It is with great regret that I have arranged for the Governor of the North West Frontier Province, Olaf Caroe, to go on leave during the period of the referendum, and asked for authority to appoint Lieutenant General Sir Rob Lockhart temporarily in his place. The situation in the Frontier is such that I do not feel it would be fair to Caroe to leave him there during the referendum. For although I am convinced of his essential integrity and highmindedness, his Government have accused him so openly of intriguing to get the Muslim League into power that his position would be intolerable during the referendum. Neither Ismay nor I feel his nerves are in a fit state to stay under such conditions.

M[OUNTBATTEN] OF B[URMA]

¹TP, XI, No. 162, 301-8.

²No. 1.

³V. K. Krishna Menon informed Mountbatten on 4 June that Gandhi was very disturbed and had asked to speak to Mountbatten about "certain matters". See TP, XI, No. 58, 109.

⁴Commissioner, Ambala reported from Gurgaon that strength of troops was inadequate to deal with armed bands roaming about the district. Ibid., No. 137, 260. Also see *ibid.*, No. 162, note 2, 301.

⁵See Appendix III.3.

⁶Enclosure to Appendix III.6.

⁷Enclosure to Annex to No. 41.

⁸Appendices III.5 and III.6.

⁹On 12 June, Mountbatten informed Liaquat that "the resolution of the Muslim League Council on the announcement of 3rd June had aroused misgivings in the Congress camp." The latter explained that "the Muslim League Council had accepted the plan without reservation, though naturally they were dissatisfied about the partition of Bengal and the Punjab." See TP, XI, No. 153, 287.

¹⁰ & ¹¹See No. 85.

¹²The Interim Government decided to appoint a Committee with the Viceroy as Chairman to work out the machinery for implementing partition. The Viceroy was to "consult the leaders informally regarding its composition." *Ibid.*, No. 95, 171.

¹³Refers to Viceroy's seventeenth miscellaneous meeting held on 7 June 1947. For minutes of the meeting see *ibid.*, No. 100, 184-90. For conclusions of the meeting see Enclosure to No. 53.

¹⁴For minutes of the meeting see *TP*, XI, No. 152, 284-7.

¹⁵Enclosure to No. 53, para. iv.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, para v.

¹⁷See *TP*, XI, Nos. 124 and 128, 232-5 and 241-2.

¹⁸On 6 June Jenkins informed Mountbatten of the arrangements for implementing partition in the Punjab. *Ibid.*, No. 97, 173-5. On 7 June Abell observed in his note that Jenkins was pessimistic regarding the staying on, after partition, of the British officials. *Ibid.*, No. 98, 177-9.

¹⁹Jenkins had opposed Mamdot's proposals for composition of partition machinery in the Punjab. See *ibid.*, No. 144, 268. Liaquat asked Mountbatten to intervene in the controversy between Jenkins and Mamdot on the composition of the partition machinery in the Punjab. *Ibid.*, No. 145, 270-2.

²⁰No. 4.

²¹No. 62.

X.3

*Louis Mountbatten to Earl of Listowel*¹

IOR, L/PO/6/123

TOP SECRET/PERSONAL

27 June 1947

I forwarded no Personal Report last week, as I was away from Delhi for brief visits to Simla and Kashmir.

2. The internal situation in the country is much quieter with the unfortunate exception of the Punjab, where trouble has flared up again in Lahore, Amritsar and the Gurgaon District. In the two former the trouble is confined to arson and stabbing on a widespread scale. It is carried out by "cloak and dagger" methods and is therefore very difficult to put down. In Gurgaon, where my wife went again on the 20th June there has been longstanding feud between the Meos and Jats, and now that additional troops with increased vehicles and wireless facilities have been sent in I hope that we shall be able to control the troubles. A similar Meo-Jat flare-up in the United Provinces was dealt with very quickly, as the authorities were ready for it.

3. Every responsible person is particularly worried about the situation in Lahore and Amritsar, for if we cannot stop this arson both cities will soon be burnt to the ground. In his interview with me on the 23rd June, Jinnah begged me to be utterly ruthless in suppressing trouble in Lahore and Amritsar. He said: "I don't care whether you shoot Muslims or not, it has got to be stopped".² On the 24th June, Nehru came to

see me and talked in the same strain. He suggested turning over the cities to the military, withdrawing the police and declaring martial law.³

4. I accordingly asked Jenkins for his views by secraphone,⁴ so that I could raise the matter in Cabinet on the following day. Jenkins replied⁵ to the effect that he had discussed a similar proposal on the 23rd June with the Lahore Area Commander and the Inspector General of Police and later with the local Party leaders, and had decided against it. His reasons were that since decisive action by troops against "cloak and dagger" activities was out of the question, martial law might well fail, and the troops would soon be exposed to the same communal attack as the police. To sum up, Jenkins, while admitting that the situation was causing him grave anxiety, did not think that martial law was the answer to trouble of this kind.

5. The meeting of the Cabinet on the 25th June was a very difficult one.⁶ I was violently attacked by leaders of both parties for the complete failure of the "British" to maintain law and order under Section 93.⁷ Nehru, as usual, completely lost control of himself and demanded the sacking of every official, from the Governor downwards, that same day. I had to reprimand him publicly for this irresponsible suggestion. I must admit he took the rebuke very well. Patel then ranted against the British, saying that in the days when they were putting down Congress and freedom movements, they had no difficulty in keeping law and order. He said it was a case of the British covering up for the British. I told him I could not take such a slur, and he immediately said he had not meant it as a slur. Then the League started attacking me and saying that there would soon be no city left for them to inherit. Baldev chimed in with a "shoot everyone on sight" cry; upon which Patel pointed out that the only people shot by the troops were the wretched householders who were forced into the streets during curfew hours when their houses were set on fire!

6. Finally I obtained unanimous agreement that the Governor should be invited to form a Security Committee of the local leaders of the Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs; that this Committee should draw up an agreed list of local officials in whom all three parties would have confidence; and that they should be put in power wherever possible. I suggested that the Security Committee should meet every day and that all the leaders, from the High Commands downwards, should use every effort to call off all violence. These proposals were well received and I passed them on to Jenkins at once.⁸ I am glad to say that the news from Lahore is now better.

7. On the 20th June the members of the Bengal Legislative Assembly met and decided on the partition of Bengal. At the preliminary joint meeting it was decided by 126 votes to 90 that the Province, if it remained united, should join a new Constituent Assembly (i.e. Pakistan). At a separate meeting of the members of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly on the same day, it was decided by 58 votes to 21 that the Province should be partitioned and by the same majority that West Bengal should join the existing Constituent Assembly. At a separate meeting of members of the East Bengal Legislative Assembly, it was decided by 106 votes to 35 that the Province should not be partitioned, and by 107 votes to 34 that East Bengal should join the new Constituent Assembly should partition eventuate. It was also decided, by 105 votes to 34, that in the event of partition East Bengal would agree to amalgamation with Sylhet.

8. The Punjab has also decided for partition. At the preliminary joint session of the two Assemblies held on the 23rd June 91 members voted for joining a new Constituent Assembly and 77 for the present Constituent Assembly if there were no partition. The East Punjab Assembly, meeting separately, decided in favour of partition of the Province by 50 votes to 22, and by the same majority for joining the present Constituent Assembly. The Western Punjab Assembly, meeting separately, voted against partition by 99 [? 69]⁹ votes to 27, and by the same majority for joining a new Constituent Assembly.

9. As anticipated, the Sind Legislative Assembly at its special sitting on the 26th June, decided by 33 votes to 20 that Sind should join the new Pakistan Constituent Assembly. Thus we can now look upon the creation of Pakistan on the 15th August as legally decided upon.

10. I have been discussing the Boundary Commission for the Punjab and Bengal with the leaders including Baldev Singh, and I am glad to say that very simple terms of reference have now been agreed upon.¹⁰ They are as follows:

For the Punjab:

The Boundary Commission is instructed to demarcate the boundaries of the two parts of Punjab on the basis of ascertaining the contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims. In doing so it will also take into account other factors.

For Bengal:

The Boundary Commission is instructed to demarcate the boundaries of the two parts of Bengal on the basis of ascertaining the contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims. In doing so it will also take into account other factors.

For Sylhet:

In the event of the referendum in Sylhet District of Assam resulting in favour of amalgamation in Eastern Bengal the Boundary Commission for Bengal will also demarcate the Muslim majority areas of Sylhet District and contiguous Muslim majority areas of adjoining districts.

11. The Boundary Commissions are now being set up, Congress and the League having each nominated two representatives to each Commission.¹¹ The question of the Chairman has been causing a lot of trouble. At the first meeting of the Partition Council held to-day Jinnah's proposal¹² was accepted by Congress, namely that Sir Cyril Radcliffe should be appointed as the Chairman of both Boundary Commissions with a final casting vote, as this was considered to be the only way in which the boundaries could be definitely settled before the 15th August. Meanwhile the Boundary Commissions would start work at once and only what is in dispute would be laid before the Chairman.¹³

12. We held the last meeting of the Partition Committee on the 26th June and it was highly acrimonious. When Liaquat asked that one of the six Government printing presses should be moved from Delhi to Karachi,¹⁴ as they only had one small press there which was not sufficient for the Provincial Government's needs and could not possibly handle the Pakistan Government's requirements, Patel flared up. He said that all six presses were fully occupied with Government of India work and could not be spared. When I appealed to him to release at least one press to Pakistan, even if it meant inconvenience to the new Government of India, he flared up again and said "No one asked Pakistan to secede. We do not mind their taking their property with them but we have no intention of allowing them to injure the work of the Government of the rest of India merely because they have not sufficient resources of their own". I told Patel that I thought that this was a shocking spirit in which to start partition, and Liaquat remarked that if that spirit persisted there would be no possible hope of the Pakistan Government being ready to take over on the 15th August.

13. It was decided¹⁵ that the Partition Committee should be turned into the "Partition Council" at the next meeting, which was held on the 27th June. It was agreed that the Partition Council should consist of any two of three members nominated by each side and thus Jinnah was able to attend this meeting. By means of private discussion with Patel I was able to move him to agree to Pakistan having the use of one of the six Government presses forthwith, provided it was not moved, and that this press should continue to work for them until a new press had been bought and set up in Karachi. I undertook to send a telegram

home urging that the highest possible priority should be given to the purchase of the necessary press and sending it to Karachi forthwith, since Congress are unwilling to allow their press to work one unnecessary day for Pakistan. Congress also want another press. I might add that this amicable solution was not obtained without a lot of hard work on my part.¹⁶

14. The biggest crisis with which I have been faced however has been the reconstruction of the Interim Government.¹⁷ As there are only seven weeks left before partition I had hoped that all parties would be content to continue working with the present Interim Government under the Standstill arrangements to which all parties had agreed. But it appears that Nehru,¹⁸ who is becoming more and more temperamental through overwork, protested that this would be a breach of faith in that I had agreed¹⁹ to obtain His Majesty's Government's consent to giving the Congress party complete control over their own area whilst giving the League adequate safeguards for Pakistan areas. He apparently informed his Working Committee that he would resign forthwith unless this arrangement were honoured, and there was a danger of other Congress leaders following his example and my being left without a responsible Congress Government.

15. In the case of Bengal, which was about to be partitioned, Jinnah had refused to allow Regional Ministries or a Coalition Ministry to be formed, but had agreed²⁰ that West Bengal should be allowed to have Ministers without portfolio who could hold a watching brief over the League Ministry and see that they did nothing to harm West Bengal. I pointed out to Jinnah²¹ that if he considered that the interests of West Bengal were adequately looked after by this proposal, then I considered he should accept a similar proposal for the whole of India. The proposal I put up was that I should call for the resignation of all members of the Cabinet and then invite the leaders of both parties to nominate nine members each to form two Committees of the Cabinet. The Union of India members would each take two of the eighteen actual portfolios, but should confine their activities to the area which would belong to the Union of India after the 15th August. The League Members would be given only "Pakistan portfolios" and would be responsible for looking after the interests of Pakistan areas for the remaining six or seven weeks. They would be shown all papers and would have the right of veto, as well as the right of asking for action to be taken.

16. In the event of a corresponding Pakistan and Union of India member disagreeing, the matter would be brought to the full Cabinet

of eighteen members. There would be parity in the Cabinet and I would give a decision ■ to whether the matter affected the interests of one or other of the future Dominions, and action would be taken accordingly. In any case everyone is so busy on partition that practically all other action is at a standstill.

17. I saw Jinnah about all this, but was unable to move him. I therefore raised the matter at the Partition Council meeting,²² at which I forced Jinnah to admit that the arrangement I proposed would adequately safeguard the interests of Pakistan; but he maintained that the system I proposed was an insult to the League since they were to be deprived of actual portfolios. I personally drafted out a press announcement²³ which was so worded that the general consensus of the meeting appeared to be that the announcement could not be construed into an insult. Jinnah then shifted his ground by saying that it was illegal; but as he had for quite different reasons maintained that the Cabinet was no Cabinet but merely consisted of Members of the Executive Council nominated by the Viceroy, he weakened his own case.

18. He finally said that he wished to put in ■ note protesting at the illegality of my proposed action, and asked me to refer it to His Majesty's Government. I told him that if he would let me have the note by Sunday the 29th June I would ask for a reply before the next Cabinet meeting on Wednesday the 2nd July. But I warned him that if His Majesty's Government upheld the legality of my action it would have to go through. He shrugged his shoulders, and I quickly passed on to the next item. He may not like this new decision, but it is perfectly fair, and I am convinced that he will accept it; the more so since he was kind enough to say that he realised that I was acting in good faith and that he did not hold me responsible for the situation created by Congress.

19. We have reached a complete stalemate about the Arbitral Tribunal. Jinnah would like Radcliffe to be the Chairman;²⁴ but Congress opposed this (apparently under the impression that he is a Conservative and therefore likely to favour the League!) and then put up the proposal that they should use the existing Federal Court.²⁵ Jinnah said he could not possibly accept this. Judicious enquiry from the Chief Justice (who is staying with me in the house at present) has revealed that he chose his Muslim colleague Mr. Justice Fazl Ali for his non-communal outlook and fairmindedness; and presumably Jinnah would like to nominate ■ pro-League judge! In the meanwhile Congress have stuck to their guns, and so has Jinnah, and I have now got a new headache in trying to get agreement about the personnel of the Arbitral

Tribunal.²⁶ Jinnah glibly remarked that until the Tribunal was set up, it would be for me to give the arbitrary decisions, but I made it abundantly clear that I have no intention of doing this.

20. I am glad to say that general agreement has been reached between the three parties in the Punjab about the partition machinery, which is to be on the same lines as that at the Centre.

21. It will be recalled, that when His Majesty's Government's announcement of the 3rd June was shown to Nehru in draft, that he objected to the method of election proposed for Baluchistan, and it was eventually agreed that an attempt should be made to evolve a more democratic procedure. This has not proved feasible in the time available and Nehru expressed himself as satisfied with the original arrangement that the election should be left to the members of the *Shahi Jirga*, excluding the *Sirdars* of Kalat State and including for this purpose elected representatives of Quetta Municipality. However, Jinnah who had in the first place expressed himself as satisfied with the proposed arrangement, wrote to me a few days ago²⁷ saying that he could not now agree and that he too would like something more democratic. I saw him personally²⁸ and after explaining to him that considerable delay would be involved by any other method he agreed to leave the matter in my hands, and I have therefore adopted the original arrangement.

22. The referendum in the N.W.F.P. has been the subject of considerable discussion. I saw Gandhi about it on the 17th June,²⁹ when he still wanted Jinnah to go and see the N.W.F.P. leaders, to "woo them" as suggested in the statement he had prepared with Ismay³⁰ and which was sent to Jinnah. He was most dissatisfied at Jinnah's reply stipulating that there should be no Congress interference in the N.W.F.P.,³¹ but he still wanted me to urge Jinnah to go, as their correspondence had come to a full stop.

23. I asked him whether he would agree to see Jinnah right away, and on obtaining his agreement, sent a telephone message to Jinnah, asking if he would come earlier than his original time, to see Gandhi. He came at 11 a.m. and joined the meeting until 12 noon. Both these great men spoke in such low voices that they could not hear each other, so I had to move their chairs closer together. After a good deal of mutual recrimination about their correspondence, I finally solved the problem by suggesting that since Abdul Ghaffar Khan had been invested with plenary authority by the Frontier Ministry, Jinnah should take advantage of his presence in Delhi to meet him here.

24. Both leaders seemed to think this a good idea, but Gandhi said

that Abdul Ghaffar Khan was most mistrustful of Jinnah and would not come unless he received a written invitation. Jinnah said he had frequently extended verbal invitations, and that if Abdul Ghaffar Khan was not prepared to accept these, he certainly had no intention of sending him a written invitation. After this wrangle had gone on for some time, I offered to invite all concerned to meet me at 7.45 the same evening. Both accepted and honour was satisfied. Unfortunately, Abdul Ghaffar Khan had had an engagement 100 miles outside Delhi, and although he was due back between 6 p.m. and 7 p.m., he did not get back in time for the meeting. I personally telephoned Jinnah and Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Gandhi's Secretary, and got them to agree to a meeting with Abdul Ghaffar Khan at the Viceroy's House the following day under the chairmanship of Ismay.

25. This meeting was held at 4.30 on the following day,³² but Jinnah refused to have any discussion at all with Abdul Ghaffar Khan beyond extending an invitation to him to come and visit him at his house. Nothing anyone could say could shake Jinnah, and so the meeting broke up after half an hour and was continued at Jinnah's house at 7.30 the same evening. Jinnah subsequently told me that this meeting was not a success and that Abdul Ghaffar Khan in fact had decided to boycott the referendum since they still wished to have authority to vote for an independent Pathanistan.³³ Fortunately the Congress High Command is not agreeing to this,³⁴ so the referendum will be a walk-over for the League, and I hope that bloodshed may be avoided.

26. I have had some difficult meetings, particularly one with the leaders on the 13th June, about the position of the Indian States.³⁵ Nehru pursued the traditional Congress party line that any Indian successor Government is entitled to assume Paramountcy after the transfer of power and strongly denying the right of States to declare their independence. He attacked the Political Adviser, Sir Conrad Corfield, to his face and said he ought to be tried for misfeasance. In fact, as usual he completely lost control of himself. Jinnah, of course, took the opposite point of view that Indian States were Sovereign States for every purpose, except in so far as they had entered into treaties with the Crown. After a long and acrimonious discussion all agreed that the Government of India should set up a new department, to be called the "States Department", to deal with matters of common concern with the States; in fact that it should take over everything not connected with Paramountcy from the present Political Department.

27. I am glad to say that Nehru has not been put in charge of the new States Department, which would have wrecked everything. Patel,

who is essentially a realist and very sensible, is going to take it over in consultation with Nishtar. Even better news is that V. P. Menon is to be the Secretary. By this means, I think we shall avoid a really bad break with the States with all the endless repercussions that this would have entailed.

28. I am arranging to get representatives of the States up on the 25th July, to discuss and if possible ratify Standstill Agreements with the new States Department. I was only able to prevent the future Indian Government from trying to send in agents against the will of the States to take over the Residencies and Political Agents' offices by getting them to agree that the States should be given the opportunity of sending representatives to Delhi or Karachi instead, to maintain liaison with the Dominion Governments.

29. On the subject of the States, Nehru and Gandhi are pathological. Nehru said he must go to Kashmir to get his friend Sheikh Abdullah (the President of the States National Conference) out of prison and to support the Freedom movement in the State. Gandhi came to see me and suggested that he should go to Kashmir to prepare the way for Nehru. Finally I told them I had an invitation from the Maharajah, who is an old friend, and that I would greatly prefer that they should let me go and have some discussions with the Maharajah and his Prime Minister before they tried their hand. They were both very anxious that he should make no declaration of independence and should, in fact, indicate a willingness to join the Constituent Assembly.

30. Accordingly I went to Kashmir from the 18th to the 23rd June. I had several preliminary talks with the Maharajah and with his Prime Minister (Kak), but nearly always in the presence of others. I therefore asked for an hour's interview alone with the Maharajah, to be followed by an hour with him and his Prime Minister.³⁶ The Maharajah suggested this should take place on the last day, the 22nd June. I agreed and on that last morning the Maharajah remained in bed with colic and was unable to have his interview. Corfield remarked that this was his usual technique to avoid unpleasant discussions. The same view was expressed by Nehru,³⁷ who was bitterly disappointed at my not being able to discuss the release of Sheikh Abdullah. However, I think he was pleased at the Maharajah and Prime Minister agreeing not to make any independence declaration for the present and agreeing to give serious consideration to joining one or other Constituent Assembly as soon as the picture about Pakistan was a bit clearer.

31. On the 26th June Gandhi came to see me³⁸ in high distress about Kashmir. He said that either he or Nehru must go at once to Kashmir. I

did my best to dissuade him and have finally written to the Maharajah³⁹ suggesting that he should accept a visit from Gandhi as very much the lesser evil than a visit from Nehru from his point of view, particularly as Gandhi gave me an undertaking that he would make no propaganda speeches.

32. I had an interview with the Nawab of Bhopal, Sir Walter Monckton and Zafrullah Khan (Advisor to the Nawab of Bhopal and late of the Federal Court) on the 17th June. This interview was mainly in connection with the Nawab's letter of the 14th June, of which copies have been sent to the Prime Minister and to the Secretary of State for India.⁴⁰ The Nawab of Bhopal and Zafrullah Khan between them restated the case for the Indian States as set out in the note. I told them that in the short time available to me to arrive at a solution of the problem of how to transfer power, I had discussed the matter as far as possible with different rulers and *dewans*, and I had sent Corfield home to look after the interests of the States in Ismay's discussions with the Cabinet.

33. I also told the Nawab that I had sent home his idea of States being allowed to group together and have Dominion Status,⁴¹ and that the Nizam of Hyderabad's telegram⁴² asking for Dominion Status had been placed before the Cabinet Committee. I told him that Corfield had assured me that if I could get the Memorandum of the 12th May⁴³ reaffirmed and the statement of the 3rd June accepted by all parties, it would give fresh life to this memorandum and be looking after the interests of the States in the best possible manner. Zafrullah Khan explained that the Memorandum of the 12th May, when taken in conjunction with the Cabinet Mission Plan of the 16th May 1946, presented a different picture from that presented by the Memorandum of the 12th May, taken in conjunction with the plan of the 3rd June 1947, since, in the former case, there would have been a united but very loosely-knit India: whereas in the latter case, there were two communal Dominions with very tight centres.

34. I told him that I believed Congress would be quite willing to accept States coming in on an agreement for the three central subjects of the Cabinet Mission Plan. The Nawab of Bhopal, however, pointed out that his population included 150,000 warlike Muslims, who would never agree to his joining a purely Hindu Dominion. He reiterated that His Majesty's Government had left the Princes in the lurch again, but was kind enough to absolve me personally from any blame, although I told him I must take responsibility for the plan. I told him that basically Congress would never have accepted the plan if there had been

more than two Dominions: they had even refused to allow Bengal to vote for independence and separate Dominion status to avoid partition.

35. The Nawab asked me for my advice about what he should do and I strongly urged him to get together with Walter Monckton and follow the same general line as the Nizam of Hyderabad had done, since both States had the same communal problems, though on a different scale. I begged him on no account to declare independence, but to come forward in a generous manner and offer to enter into relations with the appropriate Dominion, since I was certain that the only abiding harm he could do himself and his State was to throw down the glove and take on a straight fight with Congress, as C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer had done in the case of Travancore.⁴⁴

36. I had a further interview with the Nawab of Bhopal, on Wednesday the 25th June and informed him about the new States Department and that Vallabhbhai Patel would be the Member in charge, with Mr. V. P. Menon as Secretary. He could hardly contain himself with pleasure at this unexpected bit of good news, and said "This alters the whole outlook for the States. By a coincidence I had already written to Patel: now if I may I will add my congratulations and good wishes on his new appointment." I told him that I thought it would be a good thing for him to do so.

37. The Home Department of the Government of India have circularised Provincial Governments and Secretary of State's Services asking them to state their intention about serving on, transferring to other Provinces or retiring.⁴⁵ The Home Member does not, however, intend to appeal to British officials to serve on in India and, although Pakistan will probably welcome British officials, and in the Sind at any rate they are likely to stay, the official Pakistan attitude is not yet known. There is no doubt that Nehru's speech to the All-India Congress Committee meeting, of which I attach extracts at Appendix A,⁴⁶ is likely to reduce to negligible proportions the number of British officials who will stay on in the Congress Provinces. In this connection, I attach as Appendix B⁴⁷ the Governor of the Punjab's remarks on Nehru's speech.

38. Nehru, was also reported (in the *Indian News Chronicle* of the 23rd June) as having made the following statements at Hardwar:

- a. The Frontier Congress, will, in all probability, decide to boycott the proposed referendum.
- b. In the event of a one-sided referendum, the present Ministry will resign and fight elections afresh on the issue of Pakistan *versus*

Free Pathanistan.

- c. Whatever may be the immediate future of the Province, the freedom-loving Pathans will continue their struggle for an independent Pathan State.

39. When I saw Nehru on the 24th,⁴⁸ on my return from Kashmir, I showed him this article and told him that Jinnah had the night before protested to me about this, on the ground that his statement was highly improper coming from a leader of Congress who had accepted that there should be no alternative for the N.W.F.P. except to join Hindustan or Pakistan. Nehru defended himself by saying that he had made no statement to the Press, nor had he seen any pressmen. This statement appeared to have been extracted by a reporter from refugees with whom he had been in conversation, and did not represent either what he said or his views. I told him I would inform Jinnah accordingly.⁴⁹

40. I have designed flags for the two Dominions consisting of the Congress and League flags with a small Union Jack in the upper canton. On account of the design of the original flags, instead of the Union Jack extending to half the depth of the flat it only extends to one-third. I have given copies to Nehru⁵⁰ and Jinnah⁵¹ and it remains to be seen what their reactions will be.

41. Jinnah recently asked⁵² for my advice where to hold the Pakistan Constituent Assembly meeting, which he proposed to call in mid-July; and asked whether I thought it would be a good thing to hold it in Delhi. Knowing that the Congress were calling their Constituent Assembly at the same time and that the Legislative Assembly Chamber would be empty, I thought it would be an excellent idea that they should meet simultaneously in different Chambers and have an opportunity of getting together socially in the evenings. I even offered to give a party myself to bring them together. Jinnah was all for this, but when I mentioned it to Nehru,⁵³ Patel, Rajendra Prasad and Gandhi, all four absolutely blew up and said that in no circumstances would they agree to allowing the Pakistan Constituent Assembly anywhere near Delhi. No amount of argument could make them see that this would be a good gesture for the future happy relations between the two Dominions.

42. The Chief of the Imperial General Staff has been staying with me and has had a most useful series of talks with Nehru,⁵⁴ Jinnah,⁵⁵ Auchinleck and Ismay. I am so glad that the withdrawal of British troops from India and also the employment of Gurkha troops in the British Army both appear to be on the way to a satisfactory settlement.

Jinnah would have liked the withdrawal to take longer but Nehru regretted it would take as long as six months, though he accepted this.

43. Plans are going ahead for the partition of the Army and both Congress and League leaders have been insistent that on the 15th August the respective armies should be reconstituted under separate operational Commanders-in-Chief. I am insisting however that the administration of the Army shall remain under Auchinleck until the partition of personnel and physical assets is complete. Trivedi (Governor of Orissa) who has had more experience than any other Indian official on defence problems has come to Delhi at my suggestion, and with the concurrence of both leaders, to assist in these partition arrangements.⁵⁶

M[OUNTBATTEN] OF B[URMA]

¹TP, XI, No. 369, 679-91.

²See Appendix II.21.

³Mountbatten informed Jenkins that Nehru had suggested to him: "(i) That martial law should be declared forthwith in Lahore, Amritsar and any other area you think fit; (ii) That the whole operation should be handed over to the military, all police being withdrawn ostensibly for rest and recuperation; (iii) That the troops should be empowered to be utterly ruthless and to shoot at sight." See *ibid.*

⁴See *ibid.*

⁵Jenkins was of the opinion that "no change in organisation or personnel will work unless parties bring genuine private pressure to bear on their own *goonda* supporters." See TP, XI, No. 327, para. 4, 606.

⁶The Meeting decided that (a) Jenkins should invite Punjab party leaders to (i) suggest agreed "names of officers in whom they had confidence" for posting in Lahore and Amritsar; (ii) "to form a permanent security committee of officials and non-officials;" (iii) to encourage them to use their influence to stop violence and that (b) the Defence Member should review the position in Gurgaon to ensure that sufficient number of "mixed troops" were deployed in that district. *Ibid.*, No. 338, 620-3.

⁷Governor's Rule.

⁸Abell informed Abbott that Mountbatten had desired Jenkins to withdraw all police and replace all local officials in Lahore by men agreed upon by all three communities and that the latter be also asked to form a Standing Security Committee. See TP, XI, No. 343, 633-4.

⁹"The correct figure here should apparently be 69." *Ibid.*, No. 369, note 6, 681.

¹⁰See Appendix IV.2 and Annex II to No. 312; Enclosure to No. 100, item 2; and Appendix IX.5, item 2.

¹¹See TP, XI, No. 207, 401 and No. 317, 588-9. Also see No. 224.

¹²Jinnah had suggested that a distinguished member of the Bar from England might be appointed as Chairman of both the Boundary Commissions and had promised "to consider whether he thought Sir Cyril to be a suitable Chairman" when the latter's name was mentioned by Mountbatten in confidence. See Appendix IX.5, item 2.

¹³At the meeting of the Partition Council on 27 June 1947, the Congress and ML agreed to the proposal put forward by Mountbatten the previous day, that Radcliffe be invited to come out as Chairman of the two Boundary Commissions which will start functioning from 30 June 1947. See TP, XI, No. 369, note 10, 683.

¹⁴Liaquat sought a directive from the Partition Council to instruct all departments to spare a Government press for the use of Pakistan Government. The request was refused on the ground that the "existing number of Government presses was inadequate to cope with the work they had to do." See Enclosure to No. 256, para. 4, and Enclosure 2 to No. 273. Also see TP, XI, No. 354, minute iii, 651.

- ¹⁵On 26 June it was decided to replace the Special Committee of the Cabinet by the Partition Council which would comprise three members each from the Congress and the ML. See *ibid.*, minute ii, 651.
- ¹⁶At the meeting of the Partition Council held on 27 June 1947, Mountbatten offered to approach HMG at the highest level to supply two presses for India, one for use at Karachi and the other for the rest of India. *Ibid.*, No. 369, note 13, 683.
- ¹⁷Jinnah resisted the idea of resignation of all Members of the Interim Government "on grounds of equity and legality." *Ibid.*, No. 379, para. 7, 710. Also see No. 311.
- ¹⁸Mountbatten informed Listowel that Nehru "was determined to resign unless the Interim Government were dismissed." *Ibid.*, No. 379, para. 4, 709.
- ¹⁹Mountbatten had agreed to convey Nehru's views to HMG regarding complete control over their own area. See Annex II to No. 452, Vol. I, Part I, 820-1.
- ²⁰Appendix IX.5, item 3.
- ²¹Mountbatten's draft statement which read that "the Viceroy has called for the resignations of all Members of the Central Government and is asking the leaders each to nominate their own future Governments" was resisted by Jinnah. *TP*, XI, No. 379, para. 5, 710.
- ²²This meeting of the Partition Council was held on 27 June. For minutes of the meeting see *ibid.*, No. 367, 675-7. Mountbatten contested Jinnah's objection to the legality of demanding Members' resignations by pointing out that he had obtained prior approval of the Cabinet Committee in London to that effect. Jinnah maintained that "legal opinion were often influenced by the manner in which a problem was presented." *Ibid.*, No. 379, para. 9, 710.
- ²³The draft announcement envisaged that "The Viceroy has called for the resignation of all Members of the Central Government and is asking the leaders each to nominate their own future Governments." *Ibid.*, No. 379, para. 5, 709-10.
- ²⁴See Appendix IX.5, item 2.
- ²⁵There was difference of opinion between the ML and the Congress over the composition of the Arbitral Tribunal, Jinnah favouring a member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council as Chairman while Nehru suggested that the Tribunal may consist of three Federal Court judges. See *TP*, XI, No. 175, item 3, 328.
- ²⁶It was agreed in the meeting of the Partition Council on 27 June "that the two sides would let the Viceroy have a list of those whom they considered suitable for appointment to this Tribunal and that the Viceroy himself would endeavour to find a suitable Chairman." *TP*, XI, No. 369, note 23, 685.
- ²⁷No. 206.
- ²⁸See Appendix IX.5, item 4.
- ²⁹See Appendix IX.2.
- ³⁰Gandhi had suggested that Jinnah visit NWFP in order "to woo" Frontier Congress leaders to join Pakistan. See *TP*, XI, Annex to No. 99, 182-4. For subsequent developments, see Nos. 84, 94 and 99.
- ³¹Nos. 84 and 94. Also see Appendix V.7.
- ³²Appendix V.15.
- ³³Annex III to No. 299.
- ³⁴Appendix V.9.
- ³⁵See Annex to No. 349.
- ³⁶Appendix VIII.10.
- ³⁷*Ibid.*
- ³⁸"No record of this interview has been traced." *TP*, XI, No. 369, note 35, 689.
- ³⁹Appendix VIII.11.
- ⁴⁰Appendix VIII.5.
- ⁴¹The Nawab of Bhopal had raised the question of "future political relations between the States and the United Kingdom. He mentioned the possibility of States, or groups of States being granted Dominion Status—or perhaps similar relationship with other countries, for example the United States of America." See *TP*, X, No. 9, 10. Mountbatten subsequently conveyed the same to HMG on 2 April. *Ibid.*, No. 59, 90-4. The Nawab also said that "the majority of the Rulers, wished to remain within the Commonwealth." Mountbatten

- emphasised that he could not "be a party to any proposals which would weaken the chance of a unified India." *Ibid.*, No. 225, 444-5.
- ⁴²On 27 May the Nizam requested Mountbatten for Hyderabad's membership of Commonwealth and entering into some kind of Treaty with British Government before the transfer of power. *Ibid.*, No. 548, 1008.
- ⁴³Appendix X, Vol. I, Part II, 479-81.
- ⁴⁴The Maharaja of Travancore had decided to declare independence after the lapse of paramountcy. See *TP*, XI, No. 226, 438-9. Also see No. 144.
- ⁴⁵See Enclosure 3 to No. 232.
- ⁴⁶Nehru in his speech at AICC meeting on 16 June accused British Officers of mismanagement and fomenting chaos in the Punjab riots. See *TP*, XI, Enclosure to No. 218, 429.
- ⁴⁷Jenkins defended British officers' role in curbing violence in the Punjab riots against Nehru's allegations of their inability to control the situation there. See *TP*, XI, No. 218, 427-9.
- ⁴⁸See Appendix V.19.
- ⁴⁹No. 228.
- ⁵⁰*TP*, XI, No. 319, 591-3.
- ⁵¹No. 228.
- ⁵²See Appendix IX.5, item 7.
- ⁵³See No. 255, note 1.
- ⁵⁴Montgomery's talks with Nehru related to withdrawal of British troops from Hindustan and employment of Gurkhas in the British Army. See *ibid.*, No. 315, 586-7, Nos. 330, 331 and 332, 608-10 and No. 337, 616-9.
- ⁵⁵See Appendix IX.6.
- ⁵⁶See Enclosure to No. 286. On 26 June the Special Committee of the Indian Cabinet agreed in principle that each dominion should have operational command of its armed forces but that administrative control should remain with a common body pending its transfer to the respective dominions. See *TP*, XI, No. 354, item vi, 654-5.

Glossary

<i>A'la Hazrat</i> (<i>An'la Hazrat</i>)	Most dignified		<i>cottahs</i> equal to a <i>bigha</i>
' <i>Auli Janab</i>	Exalted one	<i>Darbar</i>	Court
<i>Aameen</i>	"So be it", said specially at end of prayer	<i>Dar-ul-Aman</i>	Abode of safety
<i>Abba Jan</i>	Dear father	<i>Dar-us-Salam</i> (<i>Dar-us-Salaam</i>)	Abode of peace
<i>Adib-i-Mahir</i>	Skilled man of letters	<i>Deh</i>	Village
<i>Al-Hijra</i>	Islamic calendar	<i>Eksala</i>	One-yearly
' <i>Asar</i>	Afternoon	<i>Firman</i>	Royal proclamation or edict
<i>Ashiana</i>	Roost	<i>Fussal (Fasal)</i>	Crop; harvest
<i>Assalaamo 'Alaikum</i>	Peace be upon you (Muslim salutation)	<i>Ganja</i>	A narcotic substance
' <i>Aumil (Amil)</i>	A functionary	<i>Ghunata</i>	A unit of measurement of land
<i>Bachcha</i>	Child	<i>Goondaism</i>	Ruffianism
<i>Bajra</i>	Millet (seed)	<i>Gur</i>	Lump of unrefined sugar
<i>Bania</i>	Hindu shop-keeper or money lender	<i>Gurdwara</i>	Sikh temple
<i>Bay'f</i>	Fealty; homage	<i>Hadiith</i>	Saying of the Holy Prophet (PBUH)
<i>Bayt Allah</i>	The House of Allah at Makkah	<i>Hara-kiri</i>	Suicide by disembowelment, formerly practised by the samurai in Japan
<i>Bayt al-Maal</i>	Public treasury	<i>Hedaya</i>	Divine guidance
<i>Begum</i>	Lady	<i>Hegira (Hijra)</i>	Islamic calendar
<i>Bighah (Bigha)</i>	A unit of measurement of land	<i>Hukum ash-shara'</i>	Injunction of the Islamic law
<i>Boraq (Borraaq)</i>	The horse-like animal on which the Holy Prophet ascended to Heaven	<i>Imam</i>	Muslim spiritual or religious leader; one who leads Islamic prayers
<i>Charas</i>	Marijuana	<i>Insha 'Allah Ta'ala</i>	The Great God willing
<i>Chowkidar</i>	Watchman	<i>Jageer (Jagir)</i>	Fief; land
<i>Chukla</i>	Area of a town	<i>Jageerdar (Jagirdar)</i>	Holder of a <i>jagir</i>
<i>Chukledar</i>	Officer in charge of a <i>Chukla</i>	<i>Jai Hind</i>	Victory to India
<i>Cottah (Kottha)</i>	A unit of measurement of land; twenty		

<i>Jama'at</i>	A body of people; congregation; assembly	<i>Mullah</i>	Muslim preacher
<i>Jamadossanee</i>	Sixth month of the <i>Hijra</i> calendar	<i>Munsiff</i>	Judicial officer
<i>Janab</i>	Sir	<i>Muslima</i>	Muslim lady
<i>Jehad</i>	Religious war waged by Muslims	<i>Nastaleeq</i>	One of the Persian scripts
<i>Jirga</i>	Council of tribal elders	<i>Nazim</i>	Administrator
<i>Juar</i>	Indian millet	<i>Pargana</i>	Group of villages smaller than a sub-division
<i>Jum'a</i>	Friday	<i>Qadi</i>	Judge; judicial officer
<i>Jumma (Juma)</i>	Total	<i>Qadi al-Qudah</i>	Chief Judge
<i>Kabala</i>	A title deed	<i>Qurbani</i>	Sacrifice
<i>Karakul</i>	Skin of an unborn lamb	<i>Rajib (Rajab)</i>	Seventh month of <i>Hijra</i> calendar
<i>Khaksar</i>	Humble; also a member of the Khaksar Movement	<i>Sadqa</i>	Gift to the poor; propitiatory offerings
<i>Khash (Khas)</i>	Exclusive	<i>Salamat (Salaamat)</i>	Safe; secure
<i>Khassadar</i>	Tribal Police	<i>Sallamohul-Allah Ta'ala</i>	May Allah shower His Blessings
<i>Khidmat-i-Khalq</i>	Service to humanity	<i>Salo (Sala)</i>	Yearly
<i>Khulafa-i-Rashideen</i>	The Four Righteous Caliphs	<i>Sirdar (Sardar)</i>	Chieftain
<i>Khutbah</i>	Sermon	<i>Sarhad</i>	Frontier
<i>Mahal</i>	Palace	<i>Sarkar</i>	Estate; government; title of respect
<i>Majlis</i>	Assembly	<i>Shahanshah</i>	Emperor
<i>Mali</i>	Gardener	<i>Shahi Jirga</i>	Supreme Council of tribal elders
<i>Malik</i>	Monarch; tribal chief	<i>Shari'ah</i>	Islamic law
<i>Malkano (Malkana)</i>	Proprietorship of land	<i>Shikra</i>	Hawk
<i>Manji (Manjhi)</i>	Boatman	<i>Soobahdar (Subehdar)</i>	Governor of a province
<i>Millat</i>	Nation	<i>Soubah (Subah)</i>	Province
<i>Modar-ool-Mahom</i>	Prime Minister; manager	<i>Sultan</i>	King
<i>Mo'tabar</i>	Worthy of trust	<i>Sunnah</i>	Traditions or actions of the Holy Prophet (PBUH)
<i>Mofussil</i>	Places outside big towns	<i>Taluka (Talook, Taluqa)</i>	Estate
<i>Mouza</i>	Village	<i>Taluqadar</i>	Landlord; holder of an estate
<i>Mufti</i>	Jurist		
<i>Mukhtiarkar</i>	Revenue official		

<i>Tarana</i>	Patriotic song	<i>Zakaat (Zakat)</i>	A fixed rate of
<i>Thana</i>	Police Station		contribution
<i>Til</i>	Sesame seed		by Muslims
<i>Tonga</i>	Horse-drawn		

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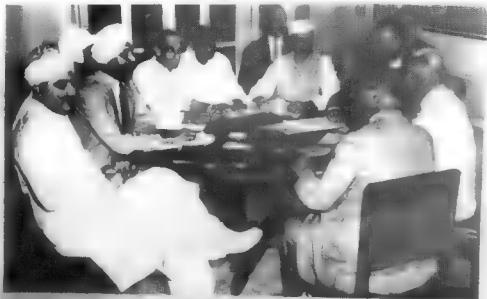
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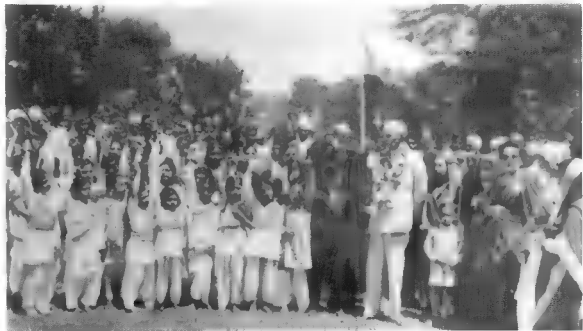
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3rd June The 7 Leaders accept Transfer of Power Plan
 Clockwise :- Netaji, Baldev Singh, Kripalani, Patel, Nehru
 D. Tanna Lingayat in Viceroy's Study.

Mountbatten meeting Indian leaders on 3 June 1947



Jinnah with children's Muslim League



Jinnah's Bombay residence

If your mother would be.

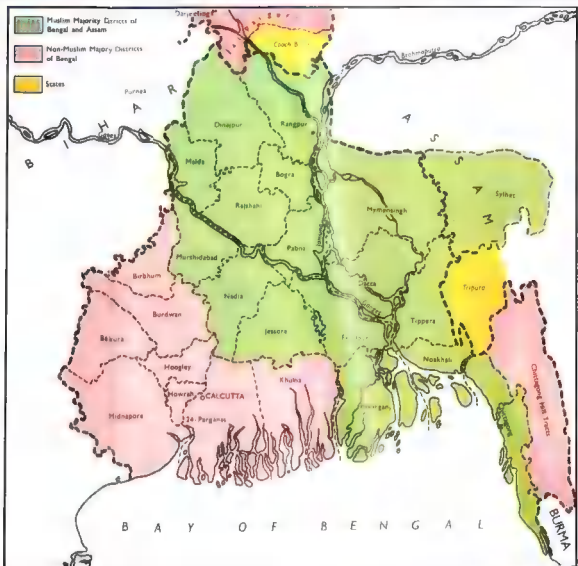
"Money lost - nothing lost"

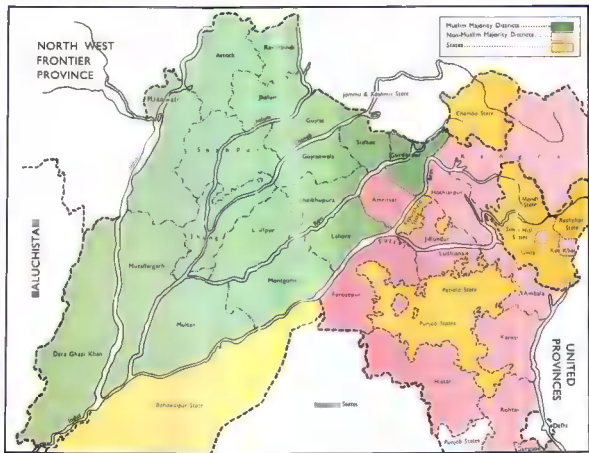
"Courage lost much lost"

"Honour lost most lost"

"Soul lost all lost"

Dutch Proverb

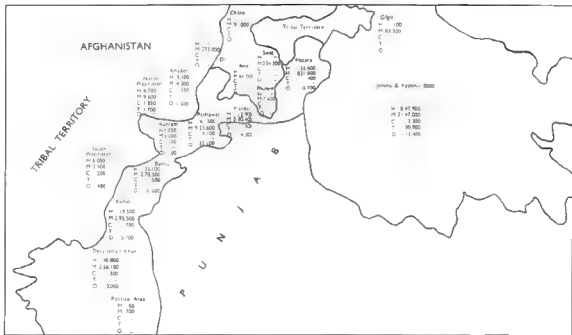




(H - HINDUS, M - MUSLIMS, C - CHRISTIANS, T - TRIBES, O - OTHERS)

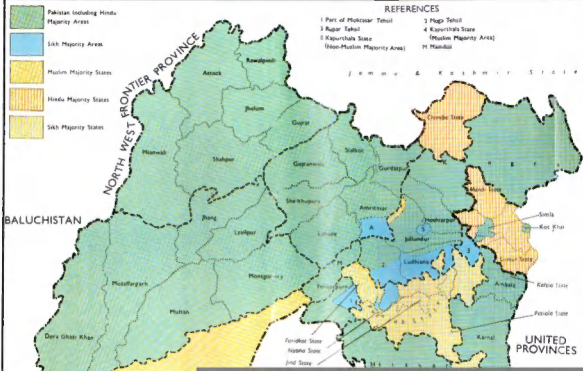
Map No. 3

Waters to Evaluate 1 to 40 SEP



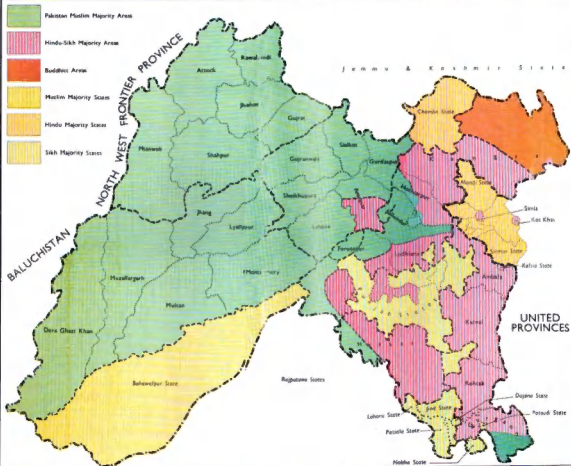
PROPOSED SIKH STATE WITHIN THE UNPARTITIONED PUNJAB
PROVINCE OF PAKISTAN

Map No. 1
(Refer to No. 330 & 337)



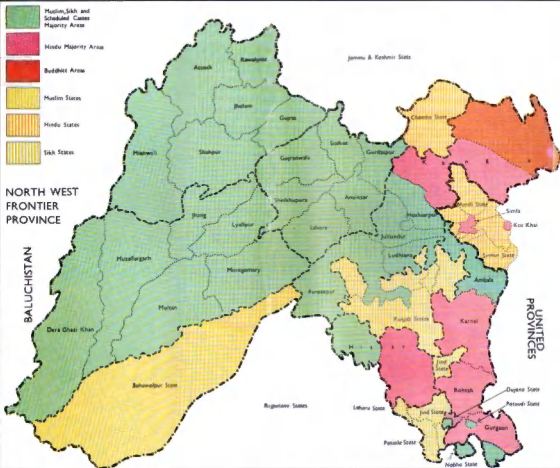
PROPOSED NON-MUSLIM MAJORITY AREAS IN THE PARTITIONED PUNJAB

Map No. 5
(Refer to Nos. 226 & 227)



PROPOSED PARTITION OF THE PUNJAB IN THE
EVENT OF SIKHS AND THE SCHEDULED CASTES
DECIDING TO ALLY THEMSELVES WITH THE MUSLIMS

Map No. 8
(Refers to No. 337)



DESIGN OF PAKISTAN FLAG AS SUGGESTED BY MOUNTBATTEN

BUT NOT AGREED TO BY JINNAH

Ref: D. NO. 278

